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# HERODOTUS

THE SEVENTH, EIGHTH, & NINTH BOOKS

WITH

INTRODUCTION, TEXT, APPARATUS, COMMENTARY,  
APPENDICES, INDICES, MAPS

BY

REGINALD WALTER MACAN, D LITT.

UNIVERSITY READER IN ANCIENT HISTORY  
MASTER (SOMETIME FELLOW AND TUTOR, FORMERLY SCHOLAR) OF  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOL. I.—PART I

INTRODUCTION, BOOK VII. (TEXT AND COMMENTARIES)

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*TRIBUS VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS*

HENRICO STEIN

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EDITORIBUS EDITOR

## PREFACE

THE present publication completes a task undertaken upwards of twenty years ago, and but partially absolved in 1895 by the issue of an edition, in the same series, of *The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books of Herodotus*. The most obvious difference in method between the two works is the addition of an *Apparatus Criticus* to this volume. That *Apparatus*, however, makes no pretence to independent authority. Fully aware that fresh collations of some of the Codices are desirable, I could have wished in particular to have had something better and more recent in relation to the Sancto MS than Gaisford<sup>3</sup> (1840) to work upon. *Non omnia possumus omnes* I dare not face such further delay of this publication as was involved in a thorough collation, and I could not guarantee the results of a perfunctory reading. If the present work have any special or novel merits, they will be discovered in some other directions, yet I am not without a hope that the printed text may prove a convenience, and the synthesis of the labours of previous editors, presented by the *Apparatus*, lack neither interest nor utility for those to whom these volumes are addressed.

*Commentary* and *Appendices* may claim to present a good deal more than a mere synthesis of the labours of others; yet I despair, even with recourse to an *Index Auctorum*, of acknowledging adequately my obligations to previous and contemporary scholars and historians. I have nowhere consciously exploited another man's work without acknowledgement, but

now and again virtue has peradventure flowed over me from masters unknown or forgotten. Thirty years have I lectured and taught in the University upon the topics treated in these volumes, and have doubtless profited directly and indirectly by the winged words of fellow-students, at home and abroad. I am no longer able to father my every thought upon its 'first and only begetter'. Moreover, what scholar has not known again and again old ideas rediscovered and proclaimed as novelties, in perfect good faith? It has happened to me also to encounter, in print or viva voce, points or parallels which I could almost have sworn were my very own. The jealous scramble for priority of publication in the well-worked fields of Herodotean research were a little difficult to justify, and the attempt here to enumerate items which I believe to be fresh and original in my own work, a sorry speculation so woefully would omitted articles and unconsidered bagatelles depreciate the claim. I shall be more than content if the comparatively small number of readers—all I can hope for—who are capable of a judgement in the matter, find my work serviceable and interesting. It is addressed to the friends of Hellenic studies: except for that appeal, it has been accomplished through long years, amid many conflicting duties, and latterly under some physical disabilities, purely for its own sake, and as a debt of honour—*almae Matri nutricia*—to the University of Oxford, which in according me a quasi-professorial position upon her staff, laid silently upon me (as I understood) an obligation to diminish, so far as in me lay, the reproach—perhaps a trifle antiquated—of sterility, still too often levelled against her resident sons.

Somewhat full analyses, or *Tables of Contents*, are prefixed to the *Introduction* and to the *Appendices* in these volumes, but, without recourse to the *Indices*, it will not be possible for those who consult the work to assemble all the references bearing upon the almost innumerable topics discussed. In particular, the argument of the *Introduction* is constantly enforced, and supplemented, in *Commentary* and *Appendices*, and it is only,

for example, in Index IV that the fuller references for 'the priority of the last three Books' in Composition, or the hypothesis of the 'three Drafts,' and so forth, are to be found I fear, indeed, that I have not always succeeded in avoiding unnecessary repetitions: at least one such case of superfluous affronts me in the parallel passages on the Hellespontine Bridges. The passage in the *Commentary* was printed first, and yet it seemed impossible, when the Bridges loomed up in the *Appendix*, to be content with a simple reference back to the *Commentary*, leaving an obvious lacuna and inconsequence in the sustained argument of the section: but I would fain hope that this case is all but unique. Exception may be taken to my inconsistencies in transliterating proper names, and to discrepancies between the spelling in my text and that upon some of my *Maps*. Such objections in part affect the mystery of book-making, and your author is hardly quite a free agent, or responsible in part, such discrepancies, which never leave the real objective in any doubt, seem to me almost negligible quantities. If that is not enough, I will make bold to say that, had I the whole work to do over again, I would be, if you please, even more pedantic in such matters, and enforce a transliteration of Greek proper names as exactly as Grote and Browning did: 'Herodotus,' though I have adhered to it, is an abomination to me, and 'Thucydides'—which the Anglo-Saxon pronounces 'Theusydides'—an absurdity.

But perhaps what might most loudly call for an apology is the audacity of my dedications. I have ventured to inscribe the first volume of this *Ex voto* to the three distinguished Editors on whose foundations my *Apparatus* is in the main erected, and with the second volume I have dared couple the names of three distinguished fellow-countrymen of my own, all brilliant expositors of old Greek life and letters. They will not, I hope, be shocked if I say in defence that Herodotus had in him the makings of a very decent Irishman, just as Thucydides might pass, of course, for a typical John Bull. But, as I may call them in some sort, all three, friends of long standing, they will forgive

me when they find their names—that is, their good examples and courageous spirit—associated with my work. Had Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb been still within hearing of such an *Ave*, I might have claimed a like indulgence for the unauthorized use of his name.

I have to acknowledge with cordial thanks the care and acuteness with which an old friend and former pupil, Mr George Buckland Green, now a Master at the Academy School in Edinburgh, has assisted me in the correction of the proofs of this work. My gratitude is due to Messrs. R. & R. Clark, of Edinburgh, and to their accomplished and learned staff, for the accuracy and unfailing courtesy with which the lengthy business of printing these volumes has been conducted, and to the House of 'Edward Stanford,' for the pains bestowed upon the maps in the second volume. Last, and not least, I desire to record my grateful sense of the patience and kindness with which my publishers, and in especial Dr George A. Macmillan, have endured a long-drawn engagement, from which neither publisher nor author can expect to derive pecuniary advantage.

REGINALD W. MACAN

OXFORD, *December* 1907

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## INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The seventh, eighth, and ninth Books, or 'Muses,' constitute a distinct part, or section, of the work of Herodotus. They form a whole in themselves, separate from the preceding Books, and closely continuous and related with each other. Though comprising in actual substance a full third of the work, the narrative in this volume presents but a single short war, of two campaigns, and is free for the most part from digressions and excursions, such as bulk so large in the earlier Books. The chronological conditions of the continuous narrative are complete in a dyad, or at most in a decade, of years. A somewhat larger demand is made in the geographical interest, but the requirements of the narrative, or of the composition, are satisfied without serious interruption of the main theme, and geography rarely, if ever, in these, as often in the earlier Books, becomes an end in itself. Nor is the story proper much neglected, or often deserted, for purely narrative digressions, stories within or beside the story of the war, if anecdotes or tales are brought in which break the strict sequence or continuity of the main narrative, yet they have mostly some bearing upon the subject in hand, as antecedents, consequents, or illustrations. There is, indeed, as compared with the preceding Books, a remarkable closeness in the texture and argument of this last trio. The subject proper comprises the story of the invasion of Greece by the Persians, the 'Barbarians,' under Xerxes, a well-defined and well-understood episode, or climax, to which Thucydides, for example, afterwards applied the title *τὰ Μηδικά*, 'the war with the Mede,' as a technical term<sup>1</sup>. In dealing with this special

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<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. 1. 23 1 *τῶν δὲ πρότερον ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος* 1 90 1, 95 7; 97 1, *ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ* 3 10 2 *τὰ Μηδικά* 1. 14 2, 18 3, *τοῦτο ὁμῶς δυὸν ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζο-* 97 2, 2 16 1, 21 2, 8 24 3 (*οἱ* *μαχίαν ταχέϊαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν* Cp 1 41. 2, 69 1, 73 2; 142 7, 6. 82 8)

subject Herodotus undertook to cover a good deal of ground, and to organise a large mass of material, the result is a treatment upon a scale for which the preceding six Books have afforded no parallel. How curt the stories of the Marathonian campaign, of the first expedition of Mardonios, of the six years' struggle with Ionia in revolt, compared with the scale on which the invasion under Xerxes is delineated! Even the invasion of Europe by Dareios in person, which might more nearly challenge comparison, is dwarfed beside the story of 'the great Expedition,' much more the other and earlier adventures, of Greek against Greek, or Greek against Barbarian, or of Barbarians among themselves, whereof the former Books of Herodotus have preserved a memory. So great, indeed, is the contrast in scale, method; and interest between the last three Books of Herodotus and the first three, that it would be difficult to relate these two sections of the work to each other, or to believe them parts of one whole, governed by one single plan and conception, if accident had divorced them, or if, say, the middle portion of the work, Bks 4, 5, 6, like the middle Books of the *Annals* of Tacitus, had been lost in the lost archetypal manuscript<sup>1</sup>. The distinct and independent unity of the last three Books is further accentuated by the clear stylistic break between the sixth and seventh Books on the one hand, and the total absence of any stylistic break between the seventh and eighth Books and between the eighth and ninth Books upon the other. Nowhere, indeed, is the existent division into Books less justified than in the last section of the work of Herodotus.<sup>2</sup> The break between Book 7 and Book 8 seems indeed inevitable from the otherwise unruly dimensions of the former, and a distinct pause is marked in the narrative, after Thermopylai, by the record of the erection of monuments, subsequently, upon the spot, and by the author's clear severance of the operations by sea off Artemision from the operations by land at Thermopylai. This justification or call for a convenient division is emphasized by the Spartan anecdote, probably a later addition, and hardly from the

<sup>1</sup> Cp my edition of Books IV-VI (1895), Introduction, § 4 (vol. 1. pp. xii. ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the *Oekonomie des Herodotischen Werks* in A. von Gutschmid's *Kleine Schriften*, iv (1893), pp. 183 ff., where

the whole work is divided into twelve *Δόμοι*, of which the last three comprise, indeed, the last three Books, but with new divisions (*Δόμος ι'* = VII. 1-177, *Δόμος ια'* = VII. 178-VIII. 129, *Δόμος ιβ'* = VIII. 130-IX. 122).

author's pen, with which the Book now concludes, but neither in the original nor in the final draft of this section or volume of the work was there any grammatical or stylistic break or pause between our Book 7 and our Book 8. The same observation is exactly true of the break between Books 8 and 9; grammatically the breach is ignored, and materially it is purely artificial, not to say unnatural. Least of all do the existing divisions correspond to a chronological skeleton, such as underlies the division of the work of Thucydides into Books<sup>1</sup>. The action of the last forty chapters of the seventh Book is synchronous, so to say, with that of the first twenty-five chapters of the eighth Book, just as the events narrated in the first half of the ninth Book are *ex hypothesi* synchronous with the events narrated in the second half. If the 'Book of Artemision' was to be separated from the 'Book of Thermopylai,' so might the 'Book of Mykale' have been parted, and with more justification in the nature of things, from the 'Book of Plataia'. The purely artificial or arbitrary nature of the divisions, plainly dictated by merely external convenience, is a witness to the essential coherence of the record as a whole. This coherence is further attested by the observation of the overlaps between Book and Book: thus the narrative of the naval operations is taken up at the opening of Book 8 from Book 7 c 196, and again in Book 9 c 90 from Book 8 c. 132, what would otherwise have been purely a naval story has been interrupted, we may say, in the one case by the story of Thermopylai, in the other by the story of Plataia. No other equal portion of the work of Herodotus exhibits so remarkable a coherence, continuity, and freedom from digression, interruption, or asides as this the third and last volume, or trio, of Books. Other particular and considerable portions of the work do indeed reveal an equal closeness and unity of structure, the Egyptian *Logoi*, the Skythian *Logoi*, the Libyan *Logoi*, each severally, but the size and separateness of the Egyptian *Logoi*, for example, destroys by its position the unity and continuity of the Medo-Persian history into which it has been inserted, and the smaller but substantial unities of the Skythian and Libyan *Logoi* have

<sup>1</sup> The second, third, and fourth Bks of Thucydides each contain the annals of a *triennium* the eighth, ninth, and tenth might have shown almost the

same scheme, had the work been completed, not by Xenophon but by the author. The division into Books 13, of course, posthumous.

combined to form a unity in Book 4, which has destroyed apparently for most students and editors the inner continuity of Herodotus's narrative from the passage of the Bosphoros by Dareios to the battle of Marathon, and its immediate sequelae. Moreover, the bewildering cinematograph of Hellenic histories developed in Books 5 and 6, and especially in the latter, throws into all the greater relief the comparative simplicity and unity of interest and story in Books 7, 8, 9. If that unity and that simplicity are not conspicuous to a fault, the result is due in the first place to the dividing and conflicting interest of actions conducted synchronously on land and on sea, and not always in sight of each other, it is due in the second place to the ubiquitous methods of the author, who is equally at home among invaders and invaded, and narrates with equal confidence deliberations and doings in the Persian court and camp on the one hand, and combinations and conduct among the Greeks on the other, passing from sea to shore and from side to side with a regularity which amounts to a principle, or at least a trick, of composition.

§ 2 Granted, however, that for practical purposes a subdivision of the third volume, or section, of the work was desirable, the existing divisions are sufficiently justified by the structure of the narrative and the nature of the subject.<sup>1</sup> The story falls almost spontaneously into the account of the antecedents and preparations for the great undertaking, as well on the offensive side as on that of the defence. The scenes of these two parallel streams of narrative and description are necessarily laid apart, on the Asiatic and on the European mains, until the invaders and the invaded are set face to face, by sea and land, at Artemision and Thermopylai. From that point onward the stories of the Perso-Hellenic war might flow in a single channel but for the double character of the operations, maritime and terrestrial. Thus, to the account of the preparations *ex parte Persarum*, which carries Xerxes and his forces to the threshold of Greece, uninterrupted by any reference to purely Greek affairs, succeeds the account of the contemporary preparations of the Greeks to meet the impending danger, down to the definitive occupation of their first line of defence. At this point the two stories coalesce

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<sup>1</sup> The division of the Herodotean work into nine Books was probably made in Alexandria, cp *Herodotus IV.-VI.*, Introduction, § 2 (vol. i. p. x)

into the narrative of the struggle for Thermopylai, with the capture of which post the seventh Book virtually concludes. Four or five subjects, in the main of continuous character, fill the eighth Book—the story of the naval operations off Artemision, the advance of the Persians through central Greece, including the attempted sack of Delphi and the actual capture of Athens, the naval movements culminating in the battle of Salamis and its immediate sequels on sea and land, the retirement of the King and his land-forces, and certain proceedings of the winter and spring antecedent to the second campaign. A minute analysis of this portion of the work will reveal a more open texture, a more composite structure, a certain embarrassment on the author's part in dealing with his materials, an appreciable increase in digressional and episodic elements, a greater complication than is observable in the construction of the seventh or of the ninth Books, but, for all that, the structure of Book 8 is simple in comparison with Books 5 and 6, or even Book 3. The ninth Book is the simplest, as it is the shortest, of all the conventional divisions: it holds but two compartments, the narrative of the operations of the armies in Europe, culminating at Plataia; the narrative of the naval operations culminating on the Asian side at Mykale, with a sort of corollary in each case respectively, the siege of Thebes, the siege of Sestos. Throughout this whole volume comprising these three Books the narrative flows on almost unbroken, except by those changes of scene and time which the nature of his subject itself or the sources of his knowledge imposed on or at least suggested to the author. To emphasize more fully the continuity and coherence of this narrative, to specify such digressional passages as do occur, to exhibit the structure and contents of these Books in somewhat greater detail, there is here subjoined a more detailed Analysis, which follows the clear divisions and self-advertisements of the work itself, with explicit references

### BOOK 7

§ 3. After a short Introduction (cc. 1–4), which serves to explain the delay in the Reinvasion of Hellas after Marathon by various considerations—the need of fresh levies, the revolt of Egypt, the death of Dareios, and the accession of Xerxes—the

seventh Book, as we reckon it, falls almost self-evidently into two, or into three, main parts. The first part deals with Persian history, and records the antecedents of the invasion, and the advance of the king to the gates of Greece (cc. 5–131). Whatever the Sources underlying this part of the narrative, the story is told so to speak, from the Asiatic point of view: it is not primarily Greek history. We may erect the historian's account of contemporaneous politics and preparations among the Greeks into a second and co-ordinate Part (cc. 132–178), though in bulk it amounts to little more than half the size of the previous Part. An equal section of the Book will then remain to make a third Part, comprising the story of the actual outbreak of hostilities, and of the conduct of the war down to the capture of Thermopylai (cc. 179–239). These two Parts taken together as nearly as possible equal in bulk the first Part, and as the material contained in them is manifestly Hellenic in origin and interest, some analysts might prefer to divide the Book into two equal Parts (I. 5–131, II 132–239). In either case, whether making a dual or a triple division, we recognize the principle of balance, of parallelism, of symmetry in the composition, which may have helped to determine the later division into Books—a division skilfully made in accordance, on the whole, with the inner structure of the work itself. Throughout the Book, in its dual or triple divisions, the narrative proceeds with little interruption, or digression, save what is immediately germane to the subject. The excursus on Sicilian history (cc. 153–156) most nearly approaches to a veritable departure from the argument, yet even this departure, though probably a later insertion, like many smaller passages, from the author's own hand, rather enhances than disturbs the main interest by a suggestive aside. The still minuter Analysis which follows may exhibit the structure and relations of the main Parts of the Book more intelligibly, and may also guarantee the observations above formulated upon the closeness of the argument, the continuity of the treatment.

#### INTRODUCTION (cc. 1–4).

- i. *Causa belli* (Marathon, etc.), c. 1
- ii Reasons for delay (cc. 1–4).
  - 1 Fresh preparations by Dareios, c. 1
  - 2 Revolt of Egypt, c. 1

- 3. Question of Succession, or Vice-gerency, determined in favour of Xerxes, cc 2, 3
- 4 Death of Dareios, c 4

Part I IMMEDIATE ANTECEDENTS, AND EARLY STAGES, OF THE INVASION  
(cc 5-137)

- i Accession, Policy, Councils, Preparations of Xerxes, cc 5-25
  - 1 Accession of Xerxes disposition to Peace, c 5
  - 2. Policy of war adopted, under the influence of Mardonios, c 5.  
Greek allies and exiles, Aleuadaí, c 6  
Peisistratidai.  
Demaratos
  - 3 Reconquest of Egypt, c 7
  - 4\* The King's Councils three days and three nights, cc 8-19.
    - (a) First Day First Council Speeches of Xerxes, c 8, and Mardonios, c 9, for War.  
Speech of Artabanos, in favour of peace, c 10.  
Decision of Xerxes, and speech, c 11
    - Night Repentance of Xerxes in spite of a Vision, c 12
    - (b) Second Day Second Council Speech of Xerxes in favour of peace, c 13  
Night Second vision of Xerxes, c 14  
Artabanos summoned Speech of Xerxes, c 15  
Speech of Artabanos, c 16  
Vision of Artabanos, c 17  
Speech of Artabanos, c 18
    - (c) Third Day : Third Council War policy supported by Artabanos and Xerxes, c 18.  
Night Third vision of Xerxes interpretation by Magoi, c 19.
- 5 Actual preparations for the invasion, cc 19-25
  - (1) The Levy *en masse*, cc 19, 20, 21  
Comparison of the expedition with others
  - (2) Athos-canal, and Bridges, cc 22-25 (cp cc 33-37).
  - (3) Commissariat cc 21-25 (cp cc 118-120, 187).
- ii The Advance of Xerxes and his Forces, cc 26-127 (137)
  - 1 From Susa to Kritalla, c 26
  - 2 From Kritalla to Sardes, cc. 26-31
    - A. On the march (1) From Kritalla to Kelainai, c. 26  
Geographical note on Kelainai and its rivers, *ib.*  
Mythological note on Marsyas and Apollo, *ib.*  
Episode of Pythios s of Atys, cc 27-29.
    - (2) From Kelainai to Kolossai, c 30.  
Notes on the Salt-lake, and the Lykos.
    - (3) From Kolossai to Kydraia, *ib.*  
Note on the *stele* of Kroisos.
    - (4) From Kydrara *via* Kallatebos to Sardes, c. 31.  
Notes road to Karia. sweetmeat manufactory at Kallatebos. anecdote of the Plane-tree.



- B Pause at Sardes (5) Xerxes winters in Sardes (cp 9. 108)
  - (a) Mission of Heralds into Hellas
  - (b) The Bridges on the Hellespont, cc 33-36
  - (c) Additional note on the canal, c 37.
  - (d) The Departure eclipse, *ib*
    - Pythios and his son, cc 38, 39
    - The order of march, cc. 40, 41.
- 3 From Sardes to Abydos, cc 37-43
  - A. On the march Eclipse of the sun, c 37.
    - Punishment of Pythios, cc 38-39.
    - Procession from Sardes, cc 40, 41
    - Thunderstorm, c 42
    - Xerxes at Troy, c 43.
  - B Pause Xerxes at Abydos, cc 44-53.
    - Naval review the tyrant's tears, c. 45
    - Dialogue with Artabanos, cc. 46-52
    - The King's general Order, c 53
- 4. The crossing of the Hellespont, cc. 54-56
  - An Hellespontian *bon mot*, c 56, prodigies, c. 57
- 5 From Sestos to Doriskos
  - A. The march, c 58.
  - B The halt at Doriskos, cc 59-107
    - Description of the place, c 59.
    - Numbering and organization of the host, c 60
    - Army-List, cc 61-88.
      - Infantry, cc 61-83.
      - Cavalry, cc 84-88
    - Navy-List, cc. 89-99
    - Review, c. 100.
    - Dialogue Xerxes and Demaratos, cc. 101-104.
      - Maskames of Doriskos, cc 105, 106
      - Boges of Eion, c 107.
- 6 From Doriskos to Akanthos, cc 108-121.
  - (1) Doriskos to the Strymon, cc 108-114.
    - Sacrifice at 'Nine Ways,' c 114.
  - (2) The Strymon to Akanthos, cc 115-121.
    - The King's Alliance with Akanthos, c. 117.
    - Cost of the King's entertainment, cc 118-120
    - Bon mot* of Megakreon of Abdera, c 120.
    - Note on the order of march from Doriskos to Akanthos, c 121
- 7 From Akanthos to Therme, cc 122-127.
  - The Fleet, cc 122, 123
  - The Army, cc 124-126
  - Encampment at Therme, c. 127.

The text, so far analyzed, though obviously saturated in Greek *medra*, is yet in the main Persian history, an account and description of the project and movement for the conquest of

Hellas wholly from the Persian side. A great deal of the material, for example the geographical notes and descriptions, which are copious and precise, is presumably of purely Hellenic provenience. The origin of various anecdotes, *bons mots*, speeches, and similar items is disputable; and even the scenes laid in Susa have a suspiciously Greek colour. But, irrespective of origin, and from the simple standpoint of the analyst, the subject matter so far is all, with trifling exceptions, so to speak, Persian history, a "description" of Persian institutions, affairs and persons. The exact point to which it is worth while to carry analysis of this kind may be disputed: the Analysis above given is over minute for some purposes, and not minute enough for others, but, at any rate, on the general character and main divisions of the subject matter there is not much room for discussion. Before, however, this obviously Persian *Logos* makes way for a no less obviously Hellenic *Logos*, its counterpart and parallel, we have to face a passage of ambiguous and transitional character. It is a medley of complex and even miscellaneous content. The historical value and provenience of the items are almost as much in doubt as their occurrence just in this place is perplexing from the point of view of the literary composition. The problems raised by this passage cannot be resolved until the questions of the Sources, Composition, and Genesis of the work have been stated and answered, meanwhile the passage has been reckoned to the first main division of the Book, because a fresh section clearly begins with c. 138.

Appendix to Part I. (of Book 7)

- |   |    |  |                |
|---|----|--|----------------|
| P | 1  | The king's visit to Tempe  | } cc. 128-130. |
|   | 2. | The geography of Thessaly  |                |
|   | 3  | The pause in Pieria, and the return of the Heralds, c. 131 (cp. c. 32) |                |
- 
- G. 4. List of medizing Hellenes the oath of the Patriots, c. 132  
 5. Why no heralds were sent to Athens and Sparta, c. 133  
 6. Story of the Wrath of Talthybios, cc 134-137.

This Appendix may be taken to ease the scene-shifting between Part I. and Part II. in this Book, but Herodotus does not by any means employ such transitions as essential in his composition, and the items contained in this Appendix generate each and all grave historical difficulties, the last item, the story of the Wrath of Talthybios, involving the fundamental

problem of the date and history of the composition. Unless the whole Book was written after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the close of this passage at least must have been an insertion, among the very last, from the author's own hand. It is, indeed, expressly marked as a digression by his own words. It will hereafter (cp § 9 *infra*) be shown that the stratification of this passage is probably the result of more than one later deposit, and that a somewhat complex theory of the composition of the work must be invoked in order to solve the given problem.

To resume analysis —

Part II PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS, cc 138–178

Attitude of the Greek states, c. 138.

The case of Athens, cc 139–144

The Historian's verdict, c 139

The Delphic Responses, cc 140–144

The services of Themistokles, cc 143, 144

Congress of patriotic states the programme, c 145

Spies to Sardes, cc. 146, 147

Negotiations with Argos, cc 148–152

Sicily, cc 153–167

Korkyra, c 168.

Krete, cc 169–171

Thessaly, cc 172–174.

The plan adopted to defend Thermopylae, cc 175–177.

Topography of Artemision-Thermopylai, c 176.

Occupation of the line, c 177.

Delphic oracle, on the wind, c 178

On this whole passage three observations may at present suffice. First, (1) the passage on Sikelian affairs (τὰ ἀπὸ Σικελίης) resolves itself clearly into four sub-divisions. (a) Origin and rise of Gelon, cc. 153–156; (b) Interview of the Greek ambassadors with Gelon, cc 157–162, a passage containing six speeches, *totidem verbis*, (c) The mission of Kadmos, cc. 163, 164, (d) The Sikelote variant on the main theme, cc. 165–167. Again, (2) the passage on Krete contains an explicit digression (παρενθήκη) in a note on the defeat of the Tarantines by the Messapian Iapygians (τὰ κατὰ Πηγίνοὺς τε καὶ Ταραντίνους). Finally, (3) the passage on Thessaly (cc 172–174) is of a special significance, as it records the decision of the Confederate Greeks in the first instance to include Thessaly in their line of defence, and the actual despatch of a large force to realize this plan, adopted only to be abandoned. The military and historical

aspects of this story must be reserved for discussion (cp Appendix IV. §§ 6, 7). From this analytical point of view it is worth while to observe that the projected defence of Thessaly makes the king's encampment at Therme, c 127, doubly suitable as the point at which to mark the finale of the first section of the Book, which carries the Persian from the capital of his Empire to the natural frontier of free Hellas.

The story of the mere antecedents and preparations of the struggle is herewith ended, and the story of the actual operations, the invader now in touch with the invaded, is about to begin. But this fact rather complicates than simplifies the practical problem of composition for our author. He has henceforward to deal with a double series of synchronous and more or less inter-related operations, those by sea and those by land, and he has to show himself equally at home among the Greek as among the Persian forces. He solves the problem in the main henceforth by a regular scene-shifting from sea to land, and from land to sea, coupled with an equally regular but more rapidly recurring alternation of the standpoint from the side of the Persian to the side of the Greek, and from the Greek back to the Persian side. When things come to close quarters, to actual blows, the story is told mainly from the Greek standpoint, as correspondents or reporters attached to Greek forces—had such fire-bringers (*πυρφόροι*) been then procurable—might have told the story. The results of this method are not altogether happy. The operations by sea and by land are divorced, at least in some situations, unduly from each other, by the literary practice, the literary result itself obtains, for considerable passages, somewhat of the mechanical beat of a pendulum, and the crucial or climacteric moments are nevertheless presented in somewhat one-sided a fashion. Yet the superficial aspect of the narrative is not deficient in variety. Herodotus is so rich a master of anecdote, asides, anticipations, reflexions, anachronisms, and all the ancillary devices of story-telling, that his work never presents the bald mechanics of a chronicle, the bare bones of mere annalism. In the subsequent tables the alternations above described will be indicated by appropriate letters. P = Persian side; G = Greek side; A = Army; N = Navy. An H indicates some extensive or noteworthy reflexion by the historian; other digressions, or excursions, are marked as such.

Part III. (or II.<sup>2</sup>) ACTUAL OPERATIONS, cc. 175 ff

## A. PERSIANS AND GREEKS AT SEA.

PN. (cc. 188-195) The King's Fleet advances from Therme to Magnesia,  
cc. 179-183

H. Estimate of the *maxima* of the King's Forces, cc. 184-187

PN. The Storm, cc. 188-191 (Athenian *Logos*, c. 189)

GN (Retreat, c. 183, and) Return of the Greek Fleet to Artemision,  
c. 192

PN. Movement of Persian Fleet to Aphetai, cc. 193, 196.

GN Capture of fifteen ships by the Greeks, cc. 194, 195.

Pause: Anecdote of Sandokes, c. 194

At this point the story of naval operations is abandoned, not to be resumed until the story of Thermopylai is complete.

## III B. THE STORY OF THERMOPYLAI, cc. 196-239.

PA. (cc. 196-201) Advance of Xerxes and the Army to Trachis,  
cc. 196-201.

Xerxes in Thessaly · Horse-races, c. 196.

in Achaia the House of Athamas, c. 197.

in Malis Topography, cc. 198-200.

The Persians face to face with the Greeks, c. 201.

GA. The Greeks at Thermopylai, cc. 202-207.

Army-List, c. 202.

Manifesto, c. 203

Leonidas his pedigree, c. 204.

Why there were Thebans at Thermopylai, c. 205

Why more Peloponnesians were not at Thermopylai, c. 206

Alarm of the Greeks · divided councils, c. 207.

PA Reconnaissance (Persian), c. 208

Xerxes and Demaratos, c. 209

GP. The three days' engagements at Thermopylai, cc. 210-225

First day, cc. 210, 211.

Second day, c. 212

Third day, cc. 213-225.

(P, 213-218) The 'treachery' of Epialtes, cc. 213-214.

The march of Hydarnes, cc. 215-218

(G, 219-222) Portents and news, c. 219

Devotion of Leonidas, Megistias, cc. 220, 221

Departure of the Greeks, save Lakedaimonians,

Thespians, Thebans, c. 222

G The third day's fighting, cc. 223-225

*Excursus* The Spartan Aristeia, cc. 226-227

The Monuments and Epitaphs, c. 228

Aristodemos the 'coward,' cc. 229-232.

Case of the Thebans, c. 233

PA After the battle, cc 234-238

Xerxes and Demaratos further plans, cc 234-237

Review of the dead the corpse of Leonidas, c 238

*Colophon*, or *Pause* Anecdote of Gorgo, c 239.

The bald analysis of the passage displays a great variety of materials, and presumes a large number of sources laid under contribution for the composition of so complex a record. A chronological indication at the close of c. 233 suggests that 'the case of the Thebans' is a late addition, unless indeed the whole composition is to be dated to the opening years of the Peloponnesian war. The *Colophon*, or *pause*, gained by the insertion of an anecdote, such as that on Gorgo, is entirely in Herodotus' manner; but only too good reason can be found for doubting the authenticity of the passage, which in any case will hardly have formed a constituent of the first draft of the work

## Book 8

§ 4. The eighth Book deals predominantly, though not quite exclusively, with naval affairs. Except for (1) the advance of the Persian army through central Greece (cc. 26-39), including the assault on Delphi, (2) the siege and capture of the Athenian Akropolis (cc. 51-55), (3) the notice of the fortification of the Isthmos by the Peloponnesians (cc. 71-73), (4) the retreat of Xerxes and Mardonios to Sardes and to Thessaly respectively (cc. 113-120), (5) the operations of Artabazos in the north (cc. 126-129); (6) the mission of Mys to the oracles (cc. 133-135), and (7) of Alexander to Athens (cc. 136-144), the affairs narrated concern the fleets and the operations at sea, and the scenes may be said to be all laid on the water. Even where for a few other moments we land, with the author, as on the shore of Salamis (c. 49 κτλ.), or the plain of Thria (c. 65), at Phaleron (c. 67), or for the award of the *Aristeia*, and so forth (cc. 121-125), the episodes are all closely related, as antecedents or consequents, to the naval operations. Thus, as a whole, the eighth Book has a certain unity in itself, arising from the predominantly naval interest, until this interest is lost at the close (cc. 133 ff.). Chronological coherence, too, the narrative possesses for the greater part of the Book, albeit this element of unity becomes obscure and problematic, with the winter following the

battle of Salamis (after c 121). On the whole, however, the Book forms a sort of unity in itself, by its subject and the chronological sequence of the narrative, and has, after a fashion, a beginning, a middle, and an end. The middle is clearly supplied by the stories of Salamis, and taking Salamis as the key to our analysis, the Book may be divided into three main sections—

- I Before Salamis, cc 1-39
- II Salamis, cc 40-96
- III After Salamis, cc 97-144

Of these sections the first is considerably the shortest, and the third the longest, but it may be worth while to observe that, if from the third section the latter portion (cc 133-144) be detached as essentially belonging to the operations of Mardonios and the land forces in the coming campaign, the middle and core of the Book would have before and after it two passages, or sections, of almost exactly equal length (cc 1-39, 97-132); and would form in that case a very nicely balanced whole.

The first part or section of the Book further subdivides very clearly into two distinct sub-sections, or main chapters:—

- 1. The Story of Artemision, cc 1-25.
- II The Persian Army in Central Greece, cc 26-39

Each of these sub-sections invites further subdivision as follows.—

1. THE STORY OF ARTEMISION, cc 1-25

Preliminary I The Greek Navy Contingents, c. 1.  
Command, c. 2.

Previous question of the *Hegemonia*, c. 3.

- 2. The craft of Themistokles Panic of the Greeks stayed by bribery and corruption, cc 4, 5

THE THREE DAYS' FIGHTING, cc. 6-22

First day. The Barbarians' plan, cc. 6, 7

Skyllas and his warning, cc. 8, 9

The first naval engagement, cc. 10, 11

Storm depression in the Persian Fleet, c. 12

wreck of the squadron off Euboea, c. 13.

Second day Greek fleet reinforced and encouraged; second engagement: destruction of Kilikian vessels, c. 14.

Third day Third engagement, cc 15-17.

(Athenian *Aristera*.)

After the battle Council of war, c. 18.

	Fate of the Euboians, c. 19, prognosticated by Bakis, c. 20.
	Disaster at Thermopylai announced retreat of the Fleet, c. 21
	The plan (c. 19) and inscriptions of Themistokles, c. 22
Fourth day	Advance of the King's Fleet to Artemision, c. 23
	Visit of the naval forces to Thermopylai, cc. 24-25
	<i>A bon mot</i> the prize of virtue, c. 26

Such is a bare analysis of the whole passage on the naval operations between Aphetai and Artemision, as presented by Herodotus. Whether the items are recorded in true perspective and chronological order, and whether the outline of events is historically acceptable, are questions to be here postponed. But one remark may be made affecting the merely literary presentation. Obviously the story of the naval operations, although resumed from Book 7 c. 196, where it has given place for a time to the story of Thermopylai, yet here is treated as a substantive and independent story, with something like a fresh introduction—a literary device which certainly tends to obscure the material relations between the operations at Thermopylai and the operations off Artemision. The story is closed characteristically with a *bon mot*, which, however, is obviously intended to apply as much to Leonidas and his men as to the naval forces, the preceding chapters have just reunited the Persian forces by the visit of the naval arm to Thermopylai to inspect the evidences of the King's victory on land. Thus a distinct pause in the story is marked by the anecdote in c. 26, and an occasion gained for a distinct move forwards with the land forces in the following passage. The pause is, moreover, augmented by an *excursus*, or digression, on the *Feud between the Thessalians and Phokians* (cc. 27-30), which, though connected with the matter immediately in hand, the further advance of the Persians in central Greece, yet harks back to events 'some few years before the King's expedition,' and preserves fortunately some details valuable in themselves, though quite unconnected with the immediate subject.

#### 11 THE PERSIAN ARMY IN CENTRAL GREECE, cc. 26-39.

*Excursus.* On the origin of the Thessalo-Phokian feud, and two recent disasters to the Thessalians, cc. 27-30.



Advance of the king's army through Doris, c 31, Phokis, c. 32, into Boiotia, c 33 (cp c 50 *infra*)  
The attack on Delphi a miraculous preservation, cc 34-39.

Herodotus here leaves the King and his army in Boiotia, in order to resume the main argument, to wit the operations on sea, which are to culminate at Salamis. The further movements of the army are introduced in the subsequent narrative, at least until the discomfiture of the King's fleet, as ancillary and subordinate to the naval operations. It may be open to question where exactly the next main section of the Book should be terminated most conveniently, and most in accordance with the inner principles, or instinct, governing the author's composition, but that something of a new start is made with c. 40 is hardly to be denied.

## II. SALAMIS, cc 40-96

### Preliminaries, cc 40-69.

G<sup>1</sup>N. The Greek Fleet at Salamis, c. 40.

Evacuation of Attica. portent of the snake, c. 41.

Navy-List, cc. 42-48

Council of war, c 49

P<sup>1</sup>A. Arrival of the King at Athens, c 50

Siege and capture of the Akropolis, cc 51-53.

The Athenian exiles on the Akropolis. portent of the olive, cc 54, 55.

G<sup>2</sup>N. Council of war at Salamis decision to retire, c. 56

Themistokles and Mnesiphilos, c 57

Themistokles and Eurybiades, c 58.

Council of war at Salamis decision to remain, cc. 59-63.

Themistokles, c. 60, Adeimantos, c. 61, Themistokles, c. 62.

Invocation of the Anakidae, c 64

The Eleusinian Portent (Dikaos, Demaratos), c. 65.

P<sup>2</sup>N. Advance of the King's Fleet from Histiaia (cp c 25) to Phaleron, c 66

H. Losses and gains.

The King's Council of war, cc 67-69.

Decision to do battle

The exact period, the number of days elapsing from the arrival of the Greek Fleet at Salamis, c. 40, to the decision of the King to do battle by sea, c. 69, is not marked or indicated by Herodotus, and, as will be shown elsewhere, the passage just analyzed cannot be regarded as giving a true perspective or

chronology of the events, for example, of the Greek councils of war. But the passage next in order must be taken as expressly presenting the events of the day and night before the battle, with the usual alternation from side to side, and the narrative then passes at once into the description of the actual battle, such as it is. The Analysis follows these diurnal indications, as above for Thermopylai and for Artemision.

SALAMIS THE DAY BEFORE THE BATTLE, cc 70-82

- P<sup>1</sup> (First) Movement of the King's Fleet and Army, c 70.  
*Aside* Fortification and defence of the Isthmos, cc 71, 72.  
*Excursus*: Ethnology of the Peloponnesos, c 73
- G<sup>1</sup>. Meeting or Council in the Greek camp at Salamis, c 74  
 The (first) mission of Sikinnos, c 75
- P<sup>2</sup> The Persian occupation of Psyttaleia fresh (or further) movement of the King's Fleet, c 76.  
*Digression*. An oracle of Bakis, c 77
- G<sup>2</sup> Debate of the Greek Strategoi in Council, cc 78-81.  
 Arrival of Aristeides Aristeides and Themistokles, cc 79, 80.  
 Aristeides and the Council, c 81  
 Arrival of the Tenians, c 82

THE DAY OF BATTLE, cc 83-96.

- i. The speech of Themistokles, c 83
- ii. The advance. Athenian and Aiginetan variants, c 84.
- iii. Greek exploits on the Persian side. Samian *Aristera*, c 85
- iv. General aspect of the battle (Athenian, Aiginetan), c 86.
- v. Exploit of Artemisia of Halikarnassos, cc 87, 88
- vi. Losses on the Persian side, c 89
- vii. Fate of certain Phoenicians, c 90
- viii. Exploits of the Aiginetans, c 91.
- ix. Themistokles and Polykritos (of Aigina), c 92
- x. The *Aristera* (Aiginetan, Athenian), c 93
- xi. Athenian scandal against Adeimantos and the Corinthians, c 94.
- xii. Exploit of Aristeides, on Psyttaleia, c 95  
*Colophon*: Bakis again, c 96

Even this Analysis may fairly suggest that the account given by Herodotus of the great battle dissolves into a mere spray or broken succession of items and episodes, without much of argument or unity, strategic or literary, underlying it. This character of obscurity continues to rest upon the ensuing passage, in particular the chronological indications, apparently so firm for the day of battle and the preceding day, relapse into the vague.

The Persian Fleet may have fled from Salamis on the evening, or night, following the battle, but, in the text of Herodotus, this movement is not recorded until (c. 107) after deliberations, digressions and excursions in the text, which seem to suggest an appreciable lapse of time. At least all unity centred on Salamis has disappeared with the notice of the oracle, which serves as a *colophon* to the account of the battle and these observations further justify the lines of the present Analysis.

### III. AFTER SALAMIS, cc. 97–end

#### *Immediate sequel* (cc. 97–107).

- P<sup>1</sup> Xerxes meditates flight begins building a mole, c. 97
- Excursus*. The Persian Postal service (*ἀγγαρχίον*), c. 98
- Reception of the news of defeat in Susa, c. 99
- Proposals of Mardonios, c. 100
- Artemisia's advice to the King, cc. 100–1
- Artemisia charged with the conveyance of the King's bastards, c. 103
- Digression* Story of Hermotimos, or the Eunuch's Revenge, cc. 104–106.
- Departure of the King's Fleet, c. 107

#### *The reputation of Themistokles* (cc. 108–112)

- G<sup>1</sup>. Greek pursuit, as far as Andros, cc. 108–112
- Themistokles and the Peloponnesians, c. 108.
- „ „ Athenians, c. 109
- „ „ King (second) mission of Sikinnos, c. 110
- „ „ Andrians, c. 111.
- „ „ other Nesiotas, c. 112

#### *The flight of Xerxes* (cc. 113–120)

- P<sup>2</sup> Xerxes' retreat to Thessaly Mardonios' Levy, c. 113
- Recompense for Leonidas demanded (Delphi), c. 114
- Xerxes' retreat from Thessaly to Sardes, cc. 115–117
- Sufferings of the Army the King of the Bisaltai
- Alternative story of the return of Xerxes, cc. 118–120
- H disapproved by Herodotus

#### *The award of the prizes* (cc. 121–125)

- G<sup>2</sup> Failure at Andros Karystos harried, c. 121
- Return to Salamis division of the spoil, *ib.*
- Thank-offerings Delphi and Aigina, c. 122
- At the Isthmos non-award of *Aristera*, c. 123
- Themistokles in Sparta, c. 124
- Bon mot* a retort by Themistokles, c. 125

Again a pause in the composition, the construction, is

reached, and marked by an anecdote, a *bon mot*, though it is plainly a subordinate pause. Yet to some extent a new chronological point rises in the next ensuing passage, together with a complete change in the scene, and in the chief actors. The events next recorded belong to the winter and spring that succeeded the battle of Salamis

AFTER SALAMIS, *continued*

*The winter's tale* (cc 126-130)

- P<sup>3</sup> A Artabazos with 60,000 men, after escorting the King, operates in Chalkidike siege of Poteidaia, cc 126-129  
 N Persian Fleet winters at Kyme and Samos rendezvous at Samos in the spring, c 130

*The Spring of the year* (cc 131, 132)

- G<sup>3</sup> N. Spring (of 479 BC) Rendezvous at Aigina of the Greek Fleet (110 in number) under Leotychidas, c 131 his pedigree, *ib*  
 Application of the Iomans (1) at Sparta, (2) at Aigina advance of the Greek Fleet to Delos

This passage supplies the last word on the Greek fleet, or on the naval affairs, which have bulked so largely throughout this Book, until the story is taken up again from this point in Book 9 c. 90. The remaining portion of this Book deals with acts and negotiations in Greece, directly preliminary to the land-campaign of Mardonios in the following year, or rather in the same year, judging from the standpoint gained in 8 132. Whether there is a chronological relapse, or overlap, in consequence, between the two sections cc. 126-132 on the one part, and cc 133-144 on the other, is a fair question, but concerns rather the historical criticism than the literary analysis of the passage. It is more important in the present connexion to observe the complete change of subject, scene, actors and interest in the passage next ensuing, and its complete coherence with the first Part of the ninth Book

AFTER SALAMIS, *continued*

*The intrigues of Mardonios* (cc 133-136).

- P<sup>4</sup> Mission of Mys (by Mardonios) to consult the Oracles, cc 133-135.  
 Mission of Alexander (by Mardonios) to seduce Athens, c. 136  
*Digression.* Origin of the Makedonian Monarchy, cc. 137-139

*The Temptation of Athens* (cc 140-144)G<sup>4</sup> Alexander at Athens . his speech, c 140.

The Lakedaemonians at Athens speech, cc. 141, 142.

Reply of the Athenians to Alexander, c. 143.

Reply of the Athenians to the Lakedaemonians, c 144.

The foregoing analysis may be taken at least to demonstrate the closeness and consequence in the structure, in the texture, so to speak, of this Book, down to a certain point (c. 125). But that the war involved a double set of operations, by land as well as by sea, the chronological sequence of the narrative were unbroken, except for the passage of the Historian from the Persian side to the Greek and back again. The digressional and discursive element is relatively insignificant in the eighth Book of Herodotus. Apart from mere asides, or anecdotes *en passant*, there are but five separable excursions in this Book, and two of these are mere 'notes,' occupying small space. (1) The Ethnography of the Peloponnesos, c. 73, is hardly called for in the given context, but (2) the note on the Persian Postal Service, c. 98, startles the reader only by its tardy appearance. (3) The account of the causes of the Thessalian hostility to the Phokians, cc. 27, 28, is fairly, if not fully justifiable, in its immediate setting, while (4) the story of the Eunuch's Revenge, cc. 105, 106, though out of place, is a story after Herodotus' own heart. Far the most considerable excursus is (5) that on the Makedonian Royal House (c. 137), which, as foretold and promised in 5. 22, has a special bearing on the problems of the composition and construction of the work, as a whole.

## BOOK 9

§ 5. The ninth Book of Herodotus, as it stands, is the shortest of the nine received divisions of the work, and calls for but curt analysis. The narrative is all but continuous, so far as the records of two concurrent and synchronous series of events can be continuous. Apart from some trifling digressions or excursions, to be duly catalogued in their places, the Book falls into two main divisions, the first (cc 1-89) treating of the conduct of the war on land, in Hellas proper, and culminating in the victory of Plataia; the second (cc. 90-107, 114-122) treating of the conduct of the war by sea, or rather by the

maritime forces, and culminating in the victory of Mykale, which was a victory in a land engagement, though apparently won by the marines. Further analysis will present a better conspectus of the substance and structure of each part

Part I THE CAMPAIGN OF PLATAIA, cc. 1-89

Preliminaries cc 1-19

P<sup>1</sup> (cc. 1-5).

i. Advance of Mardonios from Thessaly to Athens, cc 1-3\*

Advice of the Thebans, c 2

Mission of Murychidas, c 4\*

Fate of Lykidas, c 5

G<sup>1</sup> (cc. 6-12)

Athenian negotiations with Sparta, cc. 6-11.

i. Representations of Athens, Megara, Plataia at Sparta, c 6.

ii. Speech of the Athenians, c. 7

iii. Dilatory inaction of the Ephors, c 8

iv. Intervention of Chleios of Tegea, c 9

v. Despatch of Forces under Pausanias, c. 10

vi. Final interview of the Envoys with the Ephors, c. 11.

P<sup>2</sup> (cc. 12-18).

i. Argive message to Mardonios, c 12

ii. Mardonios evacuates Attica (c 13), raids Megaris (c. 14),  
retreats into Boiotia. position and camp, c 15.

iii. The banquet of Attagnos, c 16

iv. The reception of the Phokians in the Persian camp, cc. 17, 18.

The operations in Boiotia cc 19-70.

G. Advance of Peloponnesian forces.

Junction with the Athenians at Eleusis.

Occupation of the first position in Boiotia, c 19

GP Fighting in the first position, cc 20-24

Defeat of Persian cavalry by the Athenians.

Death of Masistios. Barbarian mourning

GP. Operations in the second position, cc. 25-51

First ten days

Advance of the Greeks to a fresh position, c. 25

Dispute between Athenians and Tegeatai for precedence, cc.  
26, 27

Hellenic battle-array number and composition of the  
army, cc 28-30

Persian battle-array. composition of the forces, cc. 31, 32

Divinations cc 33, 36

*Digressions* Story of Teisamenos, cc 33-35

Story of Hegesistratos, c. 37

Reluctance on both sides to begin the attack lapse of ten days

Skirmishing, cc 38-40 The Greeks cut off from the main pass of Dryos Kephala

Eleventh day (cc 41-46)

P (cc 41-43)

Dispute between Mardonios and Artabazos, c 41

Mardonios resolves on doing battle next day reassures Greek commanders anent oracles, c 42

H Hdt on oracles Bakis again, c 43

G Visit of Alexander to the Athenian camp, cc 44, 45

The Athenian Strategoi and Pausanias, c 46

Twelfth day (cc 47-57)

The Athenian and Spartan (ex)change of positions, c 47

The challenge of Mardonios, c 48

Cavalry assaults on the Greek position, c 49

Greek council of war resolve to retreat to 'the Island' and to relieve baggage-train, cc 50, 51

Night of the twelfth day (cc 52-57)

Retirement of the Greeks the centre to the Heraion, c 52

Obstinacy of Amompharetos, c 53

Action and message of the Athenians, cc 54, 55

Thirteenth day (ἦώς) Pausanias retires, c 56.

Amompharetos rejoins the main body, c 57

The final battle, and victory of the Greeks, cc. 58-70

Mardonios' speech to the Aleuadae, c 58

Persians cross the Asopos in pursuit of the Lakedaimonians, c 59

Pausanias summons the Athenians to his aid, c 60.

The engagement on the right wing (Spartans, Persians), cc. 61-65 death of Mardonios, c 63

The flight of Artabazos with 40,000 men, c 66

The engagement on the left wing (Athenians, Boiotians), c. 67

Rout of the Persian forces covered by the cavalry, c 68

Advance of the Greek centre (in two divisions) defeat of the left centre by the Boiotian cavalry, c 69.

Capture and sack of the Persian fortified camp, c 70

Numerical losses on both sides, c. 70

AFTER THE BATTLE, cc 71-89

i The *Aristera* Spartan (Aristodemus, Poseidonios, Philokyon, Amompharetos, Kallikrates), cc 71, 72

Athenian Sophanes of Dekelera, cc 73-75

*Note:* ancient connexion between Dekelera and Sparta

ii The Lady of Kos, c 76

- III Mantinelians, Elcians, too late ' c 77
- IV Proposal of Lampon (of Aigina) rejected by Pausanias, cc. 78, 79
- V Collecting the spoils (origin of Aiginetan wealth), c 80
- VI Division of the spoils memorial offerings, c 81
- VII An object-lesson on luxury, c 82
- VIII. Curiosities of the battle-field, c 83
  - The burial of Mardonios, c. 84
  - The tombs at Plataia, c 85.
- Siege, surrender and fate of Thebes, cc 86-88.
- The escape of Artabazos, c 89 (cp c. 66 *supra*)

As there are unusually precise data in the text regarding the journal, or diary, of Plataia, from the occupation of 'the second position' onwards, they have been utilized for the purposes of the Analysis, but, of course, without prejudice to the questions of fact, and the military problems underlying the presentation of the whole matter in Herodotus. The purpose of this Analysis was simply to represent the subject in bare outline, as found in the Herodotean logography. How far his stories are consistent and credible in themselves, in relation to each other, and to the permanent or *a priori* conditions of the problem (geographical, strategic, anthropological), are questions not arising in a mere Analysis. The Analysis, however, may be taken to show that Herodotus describes the operations on the Asopos with unusual minuteness at unusual length, and here if anywhere advances a claim to be judged as a military historian. At least three distinct positions are assigned to the Greek forces in the course of the operations, and the account of the final engagement discriminates clearly the behaviour of the two wings and the quondam centre. Although in some few passages the author sets his readers on the Persian side (cc. 24, 41-42, 58, 66, 89), the story is in the main told obviously from the national standpoint, and in this case even the Persian record is almost as much Greek as Barbarian. Chronological sequence is manifestly abandoned in the miscellaneous series of items and episodes comprised under the heading 'After the Battle,' though the items in themselves will be found of special value for the determination of the sources and composition of the first Part of the Book.

The digressional element is reduced almost to a minimum in this Part. The record of the operations and events *in loco* is only interrupted by the stories of the Diviners, in cc. 33-37, and



by the author's own aside concerning oracles in c. 43. When the chronological sequence and continuity is dropped 'after the battle' a larger excursional element makes its appearance, and at least one note, that on Dekeleia (c. 75), may carry down almost as late as any other throughout the whole work.

The second Part of the ninth Book (cc 90 ff.) deals on a smaller scale—perhaps there was less to record—with the operations of the fleet, culminating at Mykale, the story being resumed from Bk. 8 c 132, and the movement being *ex hypothesi* synchronous with the events recorded in the first Part, the exact synchronism of the battle of Mykale with the final engagement at Plataia being expressly marked.

Part II THE NAVAL OPERATIONS, cc 90–end.

- 1 The campaign of Mykale, cc 90–107.
- Delos The Greek Fleet at Delos, cc 90–92 (cp 8 132)  
 Envoys from Samos Hegesistratos  
 Admission of the Samians to the Alliance.  
*Digression*: Story of Evenios of Apollonia, father of Deiphonos, the Divinei, cc. 93–94  
 If Deiphonos was really his son? c 95
- Samos Movement of the Greek Fleet from Delos to Samos, c 96  
 The Persians at Mykale, c 97.
- Mykale Advance of the Greeks. Leotychidas' appeal to the Ionians, c. 98  
 Landing of the Greeks, c 99  
 The *φύμη*. the *κηρυκῆιον* Divine coincidences, cc 100, 101  
 Athenians rout the Persians, c. 102  
 Arrival of the Lakedaimonians, c 103  
 Loyal conduct of Samians, c 103, and Milesians, c 104.  
 Second Revolt of Ionia from the Persians.  
*Arusteria* of the Athenians, c 105
- Samos Return of the Greek Fleet to Samos Council, c 106  
 Division of opinion between Peloponnesians and Athenians as to the future position of Ionia  
 Admission of Samians, Chians, Lesbians, Nesiotai into the Alliance
- Sardes Retreat of the Persians to Sardes quarrel of Artayntes and Masistes, the commanders Xeinagoras of Halikarnassos saves the life of Masistes, c 107
- 2 *Digression* (a domestic tragedy) Life in an Oriental Harem, or The Amours of Xerxes, the revenge of Amastris, and the death of Masistes, cc 108–113
- Sestos 3 Operations on the Hellespont, cc 114–121.
  - 1 The Greek Fleet at Abydos. departure of the Peloponnesians, c. 114

- ii. Siege and capture of Sestos by the Athenians, cc. 115–120, or the story of Artayktes
- iii. Return of the Athenians home, c. 120.  
*Colophon* Anecdote of Kyros, his wisdom, c. 122

Thus rapidly after the story of Plataia is once ended the work of Herodotus draws to a close were it not for the considerable digressions, and especially the major one, which disparts them, the stories of Mykale and of Sestos had been soon told, and the symmetry in the composition, demanded to some extent by the supposed co-ordination of the two series of events, were even more hopelessly lost. The conscious parallelism in the construction extends, perhaps, even so far as to establish a balance between the two sieges, of Thebes (cc. 86–88) and of Sestos (cc. 114–121); and the whole concludes most characteristically with an anecdote, a *bon mot*, which carries a moral for Greece, *mutato nomine*, and points in that manner the most obvious lesson of the war just recorded, as a victory of the mountain over the plain, of poverty over luxury, of the sound mind in sound body over degenerate wearers of purple and fine linen. It is the moral anticipated in the object-lesson of Pausanias, on Lakonic simplicity and Persian pomp (c. 82), and by design, or happy accident, might seem to have suggested the introduction of that lurid picture of oriental despotism, vice and cruelty presented in the major digression, on the amours of Xerxes, as though the historian would say. Horrors of that kind were rendered for ever impossible in Hellas by the stricken fields of Plataia and Mykale!

Thus compact, finished and complete, the work of Herodotus as a whole, and the last three Books as its third volume, emerge from our Analyses. And yet there are eminent authorities<sup>1</sup> who still doubt whether the ninth Book, whether the work as a whole, is to be deemed finished and complete according to the design and conception of the author; or whether, as clearly in the case of Thucydides, some catastrophe prevented the fulfilment of the historian's lifelong ambition. To the solution of this problem our argument naturally proceeds

<sup>1</sup> The last, not the least, U von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who, in his *Aristoteles und Athen*, i 26 f (1898), asserts that "the present close of the work of Herodotus is manifestly not in accordance with the author's intention"

(dass der jetzige abschluss des herodotischen werkes nicht vom verfasser beabsichtigt ist, liegt auf der hand oder sollte es doch tun.) There is much virtue in *doch*.

§ 6. Is the work of Herodotus, then, incomplete, unfinished, as it stands? The comparative shortness of the ninth Book does not make for an affirmative. Though the division into Books is not the author's doing, the ninth Book possesses practically a complete structure of its own, as above exhibited, the story of Mykale and of Sestos is complete in itself, and the Colophon with which the Book, and so the work, concludes is Herodotus' own way of marking from time to time a pause, a *finis*, more or less absolute<sup>1</sup>. Nor are such peculiarities as may be detected in the ninth Book attributable to want of finish, but mainly to the nature of the subject and the Sources<sup>2</sup>. The final Book of Thucydides may be taken to show unmistakable signs of incompleteness and want of finish: a chronological scheme *manqué*, speeches still all left in the oblique oration, stylistic peculiarities, the abrupt breaking off. Not merely has the annalistic record of Thucydides been arrested some years short of its promised conclusion, but the latter end of it is obviously in the raw, as compared with other portions. No such assertions can be sustained against the final Book of Herodotus, at most it might be said that Herodotus intended to carry on his story further, that the main subject has not reached its proper end with the capture of Sestos, and that another Book, or Books, would be required to bring down the history of the war to its actual finale. But what should this proper finale have been? Ought Herodotus to have carried his story down to the transfer of the naval hegemony, or to the victory of the Eurymedon, or to the Peace of Kallias, if there was such a Peace, or to the *de facto* cesser of hostilities between Persia and Athens, wherever that is to be placed? Not one of these events, real or supposed, would be a better finish to the story than the point at which Herodotus leaves off, before the schism between Sparta and Athens, before the new departure involved in carrying the war into the enemy's country, before the disappearance and disgrace of the heroes of the war, before the entrance on the scene of new

<sup>1</sup> For other examples of similar pauses, or relative conclusions, marked by anecdotes, cp. 3 160; 4 143-4, 6 187-140, 7 239 (well placed, even if not genuine). The assertion that 9 122 is displaced in our text misses a point in

Herodotus' methods.

<sup>2</sup> The Sources of Bk. 9 are predominantly Attic, cp. § 10 *infra*, Appendices VII, VIII., and Commentary *passim* hence its Atticisms. But I base no argument on its stylometry.

actors and the rise of new interests Herodotus is an artist, not a mere annalist; but, even from the strictest historical point of view, the story of 'the great expedition' may be considered ended after the battles of Plataia and Mykale, with the triumphant return of the Athenian fleet from Sestos, bringing home the cables which had yoked the Hellespont, linked Asia and Europe, and rendered the vast invasion possible. No ancient authority, or critic, regarded the work of Herodotus as incomplete, or suspected an intention on his part to carry his narrative below the point just indicated. On the contrary, the Persian war, the great expedition, meant for his successors, from Thucydides to Diodoros, exactly what it had meant for Herodotus himself.<sup>1</sup> To suppose that these authorities, *imprimis* Thucydides, accepted an imperfect conception of the subject due to the accidental failure of Herodotus to carry out his whole project, is to ascribe to them an exaggerated respect for his authority. Probably the conception of τὰ Μηδικά as the Invasion of Xerxes, comprising the two campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C., came to Herodotus himself ready-made, an accepted view of the case, justifiable on its merits he simply stereotyped and gave it currency. Nowhere does he indicate precisely in advance the limits of his subject, or the date, or event, which is the terminus of the war; there is no ground so convincing as that would be, had he announced an end which he fails to reach, for charging the work with incompleteness. The only plausible argument in support of the view that the work of Herodotus is incomplete as it stands arises from the unfulfilled promises made by the author in the course of the work. There are three such cases in all: two of these, the promise to relate the capture of Nineveh (1. 106), and the promise to make mention of some kings of Babylon (1. 184), do not affect the conclusion of the work as it stands, for no one can suppose that the fulfilment of these pledges was to find place in the present work after the record of the capture of Sestos. Either Herodotus at some time contemplated a distinct work on Assyrian history, or he intended to add to the end of the third Book, as we have it, some further

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<sup>1</sup> Thucydides virtually begins his review of the *Pentekontaeterns* from the point reached by Hdt., the overlaps being only such as to dovetail his narrative into that of his predecessor; cp. Thuc. 1. 89 ff. For Diodoros cp. Appendix I § 13 (vol. II p. 74).

notices of Babylon and Assyria. It is difficult to set down the non-fulfilment of these two promises, *in pari materia*, and occurring so nearly together, to an oversight, and I am inclined to believe that Herodotus had projected a separate work on 'Assyrian' history, which he never achieved. The argument is different in the third and only remaining case, the promise to complete the story of Epialtes, 7 213, which is nowhere fulfilled. But, if we are not here in presence of a pure oversight, at most the case proves that Herodotus did not quite fully and finally revise his work, it cannot prove that he had projected a later close, or finale. Such a project would have landed him in the *Pentekontaetæris* to encounter all the difficulties and inconsequence above adverted to, in seeking a better, a more artistic conclusion than his actual work presents. Moreover, the numerous explicit references to events of the *Pentekontaetæris*, which occur throughout the work of Herodotus, and especially in the last three Books, supply a positive bar to the supposition that he intended to carry his connected and continuous narrative over any considerable portion of the period subsequent to the capture of Sestos. On any such hypothesis those references would involve reiterated anticipations of the narrative still to come of an inartistic and clumsy sort, which has no parallel in the actual work of Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> Yet, if we are led to acquiesce in the view that the work of Herodotus missed the very last revision from the author's hand, it is less on the strength of this one clearly unfulfilled pledge than on account of the occurrence of numerous inconsequences, or maladroitnesses, which repeated filing might perhaps have removed from the finished work, much as your modern author will revise a complete and final edition of his works though even in such a case a writer rarely succeeds in removing all inequalities, or inconsequences, from productions drawn from various quarters, dealing with many diverse interests and topics, and spread in composition over a considerable number of years, and it may be doubted whether any number of revisions and retractations could quite have brought every story, every chapter, every line in the work of Herodotus into perfect consistency with every other, in view of his empirical methods and conflicting sources.

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<sup>1</sup> On the references to the events of the *Pentekontaetæris* see § 8 *infra*

A further argument in favour of the view that the work of Herodotus is complete, after the author's own conception, is to be found in the general plan and scope of the work as a whole. The whole falls, as has been already, and elsewhere more fully shown, into three great sections, or volumes, each comprising, as it happens, a trio of Books, and each nearly equivalent in bulk to each. A remarkable symmetry and proportion obtain in the tripartite work, anticipating, perhaps suggesting, the symmetry in the work of Thucydides, had the latter but obtained the destined bulk and finish from its author's hand. In neither case was the actual plan of the complete and symmetric work in existence before the inception of the undertaking in each case, surely, the idea of the whole dawned and grew upon the author in the course of composition. This hypothesis is verifiable in the case of Thucydides, and highly probable in the case of Herodotus. But in the latter case, whatever may have been the point or stage at which the author first conceived the idea of the work as a whole, matters nothing to the present argument for the completeness of the work as it stands. To have added, that is inserted, the *Assyrian Logoi*, which were surely to have been as bulky as the *Egyptian*, or at least as the *Libyan Logoi*, would have destroyed the symmetry of the extant whole, *a parte ante*, to have carried the chronicle of the wars with Persia down to the battle of the Eurymedon, or the more complete end of actual hostilities, about the time of Perikles' ascendancy, would have destroyed the symmetry of the work *a parte post*. The addition, indeed, of the further records, or *Logoi*, indicated to the first and the third sections, or volumes, of the work respectively, would have left the symmetry of the composition inviolate, but would enormously have increased the bulk of the whole, would have still further retarded the main argument by a fresh digression, and would have destroyed the moral atmosphere and effect of the work, by involving the story in the decadence and disruption of Hellas. It may have been the very impossibility of adding to the story of the Persian war, of carrying it below the capture of Sestos, without departing from recognized principles, and becoming entangled in endless difficulties and inconsequences, which determined Herodotus to preserve the proportions of his work as a whole by omitting the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι from the first volume, and reserving the

fuller stories of Nineveh and of the Babylonian kings for an entirely distinct work. If the *Assyrian Logoi* were to have been a separate and distinct work, as appears most probable, then the references and promises in respect of them in no degree bear out the view that the existing work was incomplete, or unfinished, in the author's judgement and conception. The argument has to rely simply upon the promise in the seventh Book, a frail support for a conclusion otherwise so improbable, and as it can be shown, from numerous authentic additions and insertions, that the author revised his work certainly once, and probably more than once, the most extreme conclusion justified by the state of the evidences amounts to no more than the admission that Herodotus, had he revised his work yet once again, might have removed a few more of the still remaining inconcinnities, which go to prove that the work, as we have it, artistic, complete, and highly finished as it is, a whole, with a beginning, a middle and an end, nevertheless was not originally conceived and projected upon the lines, and with the structure and great argument thereinto imported by the author in the course of his years of apprenticeship and mastery.

Last, and not least, if not merely is the work a result of years of study, of wandering, of experience and production, as all critics will in some degree admit: if also the earliest portion, or section, of the work to attain relative completeness and definite form was just the History of the Great Invasion, τὰ Μηδικά, our last three Books: why, then, the argument in favour of regarding the work as complete and finished, in structure and general conception, gains additional weight and substance. If the history of the Medic war was the primary and principal subject to the record and illustration of which Herodotus first addressed himself, it is probable that the history of the Medic war is complete and finished in the author's conception and creation. This history forming the end of the Herodotean work, as we have it, that work is finished, and has reached its proper end, whatever *lacunae* may be detected in its earlier portions. The problem of the order in which the various parts and portions of the work of Herodotus were composed, or the materials for their composition collected, is in itself an important and interesting problem to the student of historical literature. Should it be decided in accordance with the hypothesis just indicated, it must be held to afford

fresh ground for recognizing the work as finished and complete in its present form; and all arguments for the substantive priority of Books 7, 8, 9 become ancillary arguments for the completion and completeness of the work. Should the problem of the order of composition be decided otherwise, or be held definitely insoluble, still all the considerations already adduced remain to make it practically quite certain that the connected and continuous story of the Barbarian and Hellenic worlds, and of the wars waged between them, had reached its end and conclusion, as conceived and projected for his work by the author, and nothing in the work itself, much less elsewhere, justifies the view that the story of the war is incomplete.

§ 7 The view that the contents of the last three Books were the earliest portion of the work collected, and even put by the author into literary shape, has been repeatedly advanced by competent critics,<sup>1</sup> but cannot be said to be much in favour at the present time. The case, indeed, has never been quite fully stated, nor the whole argument sufficiently elaborated. Undue stress has been laid on one or two partial observations, and certain cumulative arguments have been overlooked, or treated as self-evident. An absolutely demonstrable conclusion is not likely to be attained upon this subject, the problem being mainly a literary one, where direct testimony is not forthcoming. But at least the question should be recognized as a purely open one at starting, unprejudiced by the particular order in which the subject matter is now presented in the finished and completed work. The primitive assumption that the *Logoi* of Herodotus were collected and written down by him in just the order in which they now meet us in his work, though substantially maintained by Kirchhoff,<sup>2</sup> is neither probable in itself nor in accordance

<sup>1</sup> Blakesley in England (1854) and A. Scholl in Germany (1855) were apparently the first to suggest it. A. Bauer's *Entstehung des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, Wien, 1878, is still the most considerable tract in its support, cp my *Herodotus IV-VI*, vol. 1 p. xcii (1895).

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die Entstehungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, 2te Aufl. Berlin, 1878, maintains the composition

of the work strictly in the existing order, but recognizes three stages and three localities in its genesis, Bks 1, 2, 3 1-119 having been composed before Hdt's migration to Thurioi, Bks 3 120-160, 4 and 5. 1-76 at Thurioi between 443 and 432 B.C., and Bks 5 77-124, 6, 7, 8, 9 at Athens during the early years of the 'Peloponnesian war.' Cp § 9 p. lvi *infra*. According to the more naive doctrine of the ancients the



with analogy, nor borne out by the inner indications to be found in the work itself. The clearest single test of such an assumption is the position of the second Book, for the occurrence of this colossal excursus, so early in the course of the work, is difficult to reconcile with the hypothesis that the existing work was conceived as a whole, and its several parts composed exactly in the existing order. The date of the author's visit to Egypt, the date of the composition of the second Book, which is a unity in itself, must be treated, at starting, as open questions, so must the date and origin of each subordinate unit, into which the work of Herodotus can be fairly analyzed, be left at starting an open question the Skythian, the Libyan, the Lydian, the Medo-Persian histories, the records and traditions of particular Hellenic states (Samos, Athens, Sparta, Korinth, Syracuse), the Ionian Revolt, the Marathonian campaign, and likewise the account of the Great Invasion, must all be regarded as potentially separable units. The problems of genesis, date and composition arise equally in relation to the many precise passages of a digressional or excursional character with which the work is enriched; such materials have been gathered, perhaps, at widely different epochs of the author's life, and may have been inserted in the work at various dates, the order of their occurrence in the work by no means corresponds of necessity to the chronological order of their collection, or of their insertion. One conclusion, perhaps only one, need be posited at starting, that the whole work of Herodotus being composed of many different and separable units, partly corresponding to, but partly irrespective of, the existing division into nine Books, these parts, or subdivisions, still recognizable in the work will have existed, some or all, in a state of relative completion, or substantial independence, before they were brought together and fused, more or less flawlessly, into the existing whole. The exact degree of that independence and individuality may have varied in different cases, great and small, and can never have amounted, except perhaps in the case of the second Book, and of some minor and clearly detachable excursuses, digressions, stories, to complete identity of form and substance with the passages as now observable in the work of Herodotus.

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work of Hdt. was all accomplished at      at Samos (Sudas) or later at Thurioi  
 one time in one place, whether early      (Pliny, *Nat Hist* 12 18)

Any other assumption would involve the corollary that Herodotus, notwithstanding the splendid artistic result, put his materials together by a purely mechanical method, and that the final redaction, perhaps the last of several revisions, was without appreciable effect upon the composition, the fusion, the organisation of the whole. Such a corollary were an absurdity. But there is no inherent absurdity in the view that the artistic whole is a product, not of one original and single inspiration, proceeding from one single idea, but of a gradual enlargement of plan, and probably of materials and knowledge, there is no absurdity in the assumption that even the skilful and artistic hand of Herodotus, applied again and again to his great and growing work, failed to remove and obliterate entirely all traces of its genesis. The genesis of the work is a legitimate subject of speculation, and what theory is at once more simple and more consistent with the work, as we find it, than the view that Herodotus first projected and, to a greater or less extent, first elaborated the History of the Persian War, in Bks. 7, 8, 9, though not in quite the exact form, or with all the details, now presented in those Books, and that afterwards there developed before his mind the possibility of working up into a vast prelude to that main theme materials amassed during many years of study, research, inquiry, travel, a prelude that should portray the historic antecedents, both Barbarian and Hellenic, of the great struggle, and present in vivid colours a panorama of the two worlds that clashed together in the final duel?

There would certainly have been much more of novelty in an attempt to relate, in an adequate and also picturesque manner, the story of a recent war, as represented in the last three Books of Herodotus, than in the attempt to reproduce geographical descriptions and ethnographical memoranda more or less in the style of Hekataios, such as are to be found in the second and fourth Books, and to a considerable extent also in the first, third, and fifth. The precise advance which Herodotus made upon his prose predecessors appears to have lain in his applying to history methods and ideas drawn from the only sphere of literary art so far practised, poetry, and chiefly the *Epos* and the *Drama*. To emulate Phrynichos and Aischylos by taking a subject from the immediate past, and to relate it in prose, with artifices and methods largely drawn from the Homeric *Epos* as well as from

the stage, was an inspiration far surpassing any previous achievement in prose composition, and one well worthy the genius of Herodotus. While the subject was thus original, the methods of representation were largely imitative. There is no part of the work of Herodotus where the Homeric influence is so visible as in the last three Books. The introduction is modelled upon the first Book of the *Iliad*, the second Book of the *Iliad* supplies a good precedent for the catalogue of Army and Navy. Elsewhere Herodotus might seem to have drawn his inspiration from the *Odyssey*, as he travels, or seems to travel, over the world, visiting the tribes and cities of men in many climes, the concentration of interest on the war in the last three Books reproduces rather the atmosphere of the older *epos*. It is unnecessary to pursue these analogies into detail: the direct deposit of Homeric style and terminology is strongest in the last three Books<sup>1</sup>. A similar observation holds of the relation of these Books to the Drama. The influence of Aischylos is undeniable, less in details concerning the march or the battle, where there are also noticeable differences between Herodotus and the poet, than in the presentation of character, and in the moral setting of the whole. It has been observed also that the speeches in the last three Books of Herodotus are far more truly dramatic than the speeches in the earlier Books.<sup>2</sup> There they are too often mere substitutes for narrative; here they have a real bearing on action, and the march of events. It was not, we may fairly surmise, at the end of his life and literary achievement that Herodotus would show most clearly such influences. The distinctly religious tone of the narrative favours the same conclusion. The heroic and poetical standpoint of Herodotus breaks down in the later decades of the century into the colder estimates of Thucydides.<sup>3</sup> Herodotus writes this history in the spirit of Aischylos and of Simonides, of Panyasis and of Pindar. The little we know of his biography, and particularly of his early education, favours the view that the subject he first chose for literary illustration in prose was an epical subject, such as that offered by the invasion of Xerxes. Herodotus was trained, so to speak, in the school of his uncle Panyasis, one of the last of the epic poets. His history of the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Appendix II § 2, vol. II p. 125, and Commentary *ad ll.* are in *oratio obliqua*, e.g. 8. 83 Cp. § 11 (1) *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> The most authentic-looking speeches <sup>3</sup> Cp. Appendix I § 4.

great invasion is but the application of the principles of Panyasis to a new subject, the freshest that could have engaged his attention, or lent itself to such treatment.<sup>1</sup> Materials and encouragement would not be wanting in Halikarnassos, where Artemisia had but just passed away; in Samos, which had played no unimportant part at the crucial moment, in Ionia, which had supplied no small part of the King's Fleet, and had revolted, 'for the second time,' as Ionians were proud to remember, from the Persian yoke on the morrow of Mykale. When Herodotus began to write, about the middle of the fifth century, some thirty years after the victory of Salamis, and before the travels, more or less extensive, in Europe, in Libya, in Asia, which are implied in the earlier Books, what boon could he bring to European audiences more acceptable than the deft and glorious records of the Greek victory over the hosts of Asia—meet pendant to the Trojan war—or what stronger motive could he have for visiting European Hellas than the desire to complete, by the means there available to him, in Athens, in Delphi, in Sparta, the projected story, and round it into a finished whole?

Whatever be the varying proportion of written to oral sources in the successive parts of the work of Herodotus, for no part of his record can Herodotus have had oral tradition so copious and so fresh as for the history of the Invasion contained in the last three Books. The amount of matter in these Books drawn from literary sources has, indeed, been generally under-estimated; but be it set never so high, there remains a larger and more constant echo of the *vox viva* in this volume than in any other equal portion of the work. It could hardly be otherwise from the nature of the case, and from the relation of the author to his subject. Herodotus stands indeed to his subject in one degree less intimate than Thucydides to the annals of the Peloponnesian war, but he was only just not contemporary with the expedition of Xerxes. The elder generation, amongst whom he grew up, had taken part in the war, upon the Persian side; nor was it only with one medizing Greek from Greece proper that he had held converse.<sup>2</sup> The happy selection of a virgin subject, knowledge of which was still largely to be gleaned from the lips of living men

<sup>1</sup> Cp Suidas, *s.v.* Παράσις. On the relation of Choniilos and Hdt. cp. § 10 *infra*

<sup>2</sup> Cp § 9 16 and § 10 *infra*.

and women, themselves witnesses and actors in the drama, goes far to explain the most characteristic quality of the author's style, the *εἰρομένη λέξις*, that impression of the living voice in the literary narrative, caught naturally in the first instance from the lips of the story-teller, mother, or mother's brother, exile and refugee, Ionian, Dorian, Persian, and what not. It is, indeed, not easy to detect more than one style in Herodotus, the acquisition or formation of which is most readily explained by the supposition that it was first acquired and exercised on such a subject, and on such materials, as those presented in the last three Books, and then applied, with but slight modification, to more remote subjects, for which literary evidences were already forthcoming in greater abundance, as was the case, in varying degrees, with the earlier Books of the finished work.<sup>1</sup>

§ 8 All these general observations and reflexions could at best establish but a probability in favour of the prior composition of the story of the Great Invasion. That probability requires to be fortified and supplemented by a detailed examination of the passages, of various kinds and orders, which may be quoted in support of the main thesis. These passages are, of course, cumulative in their evidential value, and their partial classification will (it is to be hoped) strengthen, or clarify, the argument. Two or three obvious considerations, however, tend to complicate the problem, or at least to generate *caveats* or canons in bar of too facile a conclusion. (i.) Herodotus undoubtedly draws, throughout his work, from a great variety of sources, without a strenuous attempt to co-ordinate their data, or reduce the result to self-consistency. Inconsistencies, inconsequences, may be found not merely between Book and Book, but often in close juxtaposition in his pages. In either case such occurrences may prove not differences of time and design in composition, but simply differences of source imperfectly reduced. Again, (ii) the indubitable fact of revision, of insertions on revision, while it helps to explain, helps also to obscure the evidence in regard to the genesis of the work, and in some cases we are left with an

<sup>1</sup> I have despaired of applying stylistic tests to the problem of the order and *genesis* of the Herodotean *Logos*, there being no fixed *datum* for any portion of the work from which to start. Book 4 might afford a *point de départ*, but

its subject matter, and sources, neutralize the stylistic argument. The appearance of a closer texture in sundry places is probably due to the presence of literary sources, and the introduction of controversial matter.

apparently arbitrary or capricious result, and no good reason why a given passage, note, or remark occurs in this rather than in that context. If in the end there emerge not a demonstrated conclusion, but at best a tenable hypothesis, there will still be a twofold gain—incidentally a harvest of problematic and interesting gobbets gleaned from the work, the co-ordination of which is, in itself, an essay in the higher criticism; and ultimately a resultant theory, which more than any of the known alternatives renders the genesis of the work, as a whole, intelligible, and explains how parts, at first sight so disparate, as, for example, the first three and the last three Books of Herodotus, come to fall into their places as symmetrical factors in the organic opus. Finally, (iii) the problem is a literary, or at most a biographical one<sup>1</sup>, success and failure in its solution alike leave the historical values in the work intact. The truth or falsity, the weight or authority, of what Herodotus reports of the Persian war is but little affected by the determination of the precise date, within the possible range of twenty years, at which he reduced it to writing least of all could the priority of the last three Books militate against their authority. Subject to these cautions the argument may proceed with its review of the proofs in detail.

The story of the war ends appropriately with the capture of Sestos; but in no equal part of the work of Herodotus are there so many references to later history as in the last three Books. To events, situations, developments, falling into the period conveniently and correctly known as the *Pentekontaetæris*,<sup>1</sup> there are about three dozen references in the course of these Books.<sup>2</sup> From the chronological rearrangement of these references an important observation results. Three cases carry down to the opening years of the third Peloponnesian war, the Ten Years' War of Thucydides<sup>3</sup>, the other thirty and odd cases, with one doubtful instance,

<sup>1</sup> πεντηκονταετηρίς is the term used by the Scholiast to Thucydides 1.97. The term πεντηκονταετία (used apparently in the same sense by the Scholiast *ibid.* and *ad* 1.89) is found in Dionysios of Halikarnassos 4.82 in the sense of 'the age of fifty.' Revived by Busolt for the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, it is now commonly so used in Germany and England.

<sup>2</sup> There are at least thirty-six refer-

ences in the last three Books to events subsequent to the capture of Sestos, as against from ten to twelve in Bks. 4, 5, 6, and as against some five or six in Bks. 1, 2, 3. The nature of the contents and sources, in the three volumes respectively, will in part account for this difference in the distribution of contemporary references but not wholly.

<sup>3</sup> These three cases may be numbered: (35) the reference to the Theban sur-

carry down only to the breach between Athens and Sparta, and the first Peloponnesian war.<sup>1</sup> The latest event in this the main body, or stream, of references to contemporary events is the mention of the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> In the references, then, to events subsequent to the ostensible close of the historian's record, there are two groups: the first group comprises a considerable mass of references belonging chronologically to the twenty years immediately succeeding the fall of Sestos; the second consists of three references, which belong chronologically

prise of Plataea, in 481 B.C., 7. 233, cp Thucyd. 2. 2, (36) the sparing of Dekeleia by the Spartans, in 481 B.C., 9. 73, cp Thucyd. 2. 23, (37) the fate of Nikolas, Aneustos, and Aristeus, in 430 B.C., 7. 137, cp Thucyd. 2. 67. Cp next note. For supposed later references cp note to 7. 235. 6 (i. 346).

<sup>1</sup> The exact succession can scarcely be determined for all cases, but the dates, or approximate dates, for the more important events can be ascertained, and this evidence is irrespective of the general atmosphere, and signs of afterthought, perceptible throughout the narrative. To the first decade or so after the war might be reckoned the rewards, or punishments, meted out to actors in the war, whether on the Persian or the Greek side, with other more or less cognate matters: (1) Theomnestor and Phylakos, 8. 85, (2) Xenagoras, 9. 107, (3) Megapanos, 7. 62, (4) Amyntas (?), 8. 136, (5) rewards for the burial of Mardonios, 9. 84, (6) fate of Masistes, 9. 108-113, (7) rewards to Maskames and his descendants, 7. 106 (carries down into the reign of Artaxerxes), and here might be added (8) 'the old age of Amastias,' 7. 114. On the Greek side the cases of (9) Antidoros, 8. 11, (10) Sikinnos, 8. 75; (11) Epialtes, 7. 213, (12) Hegesistratos, 9. 38, (13) the Tenians, 8. 82; (14) the Korkyraians, 7. 168, a case that might carry down much later. There are, besides, the notices of monuments and relics connected with the war, which imply dates

in the *Pentekontaetis* for their erection, or it may be for the historian's view of them, such as (15) the tombs at Themopylai, 7. 228, (16) offerings at Delphi, 8. 121, 122, cp 7. 179, 9. 81, (17) at Athens, 7. 189, (18) at Plataea, 9. 83. But of more interest are the events in Greek history to be dated previous to the first rupture between Sparta and Athens, such as (19) the liberation of Thiace, 7. 106; (20) the heroism of Boges, 7. 107, (21) the transfer of the naval hegemony, 8. 3, (22) the battle of Tegea, 9. 34, (23) the battle of Dipaea, *ibid.*, (24) the Tarantine disaster, 7. 170, (25) the death of Hermolykos, 472 B.C., 9. 105, (26) the exploit of Aneristos, 468 B.C. ? 7. 137, (27) the expulsion of Mikythos, 467 B.C. ? 7. 170, (28) the medium of Themistokles, 466 B.C., 8. 109, (29) deaths of Sophanes and Leagros, 465 B.C., 9. 75, (30) the Messenian war, 464 B.C., 9. 34, (31) death of Aemnestos, 464 B.C., 9. 64. Events after the rupture between Athens and Sparta (462 B.C.) follow: (32) the war in Egypt, 459 B.C., 7. 7, (33) the battle of Tanagra, 457 B.C., 9. 34, (34) the embassy of Kallias, 7. 151, possibly earlier than the war in Egypt, but more probably after the death of Kimon (449 B.C.), or even after the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). In the latter case there is a considerable gap between the dates of (33) and (34).

<sup>2</sup> 9. 34. See No. (33) in preceding note.

to the years 431–430 B C, and may of course have been actually penned a year or two later. Between the two groups of references there is objectively a chronological interval of nearly thirty years, perhaps broken by a single reference, of doubtful date.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion to which these observations point is clear. The last three Books of Herodotus must in the main have been composed not very long after the battle of Tanagra, in part presumably from information collected upon the European side, but, this draft was laid aside for many years, and then revised, or retouched, in the opening years of the Peloponnesian war, the Ten Years' War, apparently during a visit to Athens. If there was a second or intervening revision in the meanwhile, it involved no reference to contemporary events in Hellas (with the one doubtful exception above mentioned), and was, therefore, presumably made in some place where Herodotus was removed from the main current of Hellenic affairs. It is manifest that these observations accord perfectly with the hypothesis that the last three Books of Herodotus were in substance composed some time before the previous six Books, that their first draft was succeeded by a period of travel, or further travel, and research, and that the work of Herodotus, as we have it, only came into existence after the author's return to Athens, and is the result of a third and final revision from the author's own hand, in the opening years of the Peloponnesian war: a revision, perhaps, never quite fully carried out.

In view of the number of passages in the last three Books where matters are mentioned which have been more fully described or narrated in the previous Books, it is curious (if we are to believe that the first six Books were already in existence before the last three Books were written) that there are only two express references in the last three Books to passages in the earlier Books. Of these two references the first is on a very trivial point, is made in somewhat unusual form, without any personal reference, and reads very like a gloss.<sup>2</sup> The second case is irreproachable in form, is quite in Herodotus' usual manner, is made to an important passage, or rather to two im-

<sup>1</sup> No. (34) in note 1, previous page. This passage might belong to the final revision of the work, and date with the latest insertions

<sup>2</sup> 7. 93 οὗτοι δὲ (sc. Κᾶρες) οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοις τῶν λόγων εἴρηται



portant passages in the fifth and sixth Books, and has all the appearance of being authentic.<sup>1</sup> But unique as it is, and referring moreover to events which have been previously implied in the narrative and speeches of the seventh Book, it is more probably a later addition, on revision, from the author's own hand, than an integral part of the first or original draft of the history of the Great Invasion. Certainly neither of these passages should be cited in support of the view that the Books of Herodotus were composed in just the order in which they now stand, or even that the seventh Book is later in original conception, or composition, than the first, the fifth and the sixth. There is also something apparently capricious in this one express reference to an earlier story, in view of the many passages where reference to the earlier Books, had those earlier Books been in existence, would have been equally in point, or even more so. The argument *a silentio* may not be much stronger in this than in any other application, yet it counts for something, and must be faced. Whatever, indeed, may be the best explanation of the anomalies presented by the following cases, the anomalies demand attention.

The total absence of any reference back from the Army and Navy Lists in Book 7 to passages on the same tribes and nations as described in the first four Books is remarkable, if the first four Books were compiled and composed before the seventh, the silence is simple enough, on the supposition that the seventh Book is older in the genesis of Herodotus' work than the earlier Books. Persians, Medes, Skyths, Libyans, Arabians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Assyrians defile before us in the seventh Book as though we had never heard of them before; but the passages in the seventh Book concerning them show in some respects a more imperfect and presumably earlier state of knowledge. The absence of express reference to the story of the conquest of Egypt as told in the third Book is remarkable, still more remarkable is the absence of any express reference to the story of the Skythian expedition of Dareios, if the third and fourth Books were already in existence when Herodotus was writing the seventh. Could he have lost himself in wonder over the

<sup>1</sup> 7. 108 ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρό- Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕ-  
τερὸν μοι δεδήλωται, ἢ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας τερον Μαρδονίου  
πάντα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ δασμοφόρος,

bridges and canal of Xerxes if he had already described, without astonishment, the bridges and canal of Dareios, the latter at least a far more stupendous work? The total omission of any reference to Kyrene in relation to the expedition of Xerxes is the more remarkable, if Herodotus was already so fully acquainted with the history of Kyrene as he shows himself in the *Libyan Logoi*. All these, and other similar if less striking omissions of direct reference, are easily intelligible on the supposition that Herodotus drafted the history of the expedition of Xerxes in much the form now presented by the seventh and following Books before he had written, or even acquired the materials for writing, the earlier Books, more especially those portions of the earlier Books which describe the history and antiquities of the non-Hellenic nations, whether civilised or barbarous.

There are three or four passages in the last three Books which clash with passages in the earlier Books, and where the absence of a reference, or explanation, is almost inexplicable on the supposition that the last three Books were the last compiled, or composed, by the author. (1) To take the two notices of Sophanes of Dekeleia, and especially his victory in a duel with Eurybates the Argive, in Aigina. the absence in 9.75 of any reference to 6.92, if the latter passage was in existence when the former passage was first penned, is certainly remarkable. (2) In this connexion it might further be urged that the absence in Book 7 of any reference to the story, or details, of the Aiginetan war, had that story already been committed to writing in the form now found in Books 5 and 6, is also a noticeable omission. The confusion and obscurity in which that story is involved in no wise militate against the later date for the fifth and sixth Books. (3) Still more striking is a third instance, where a backward reference might fairly be expected, all the more because there is inconsistency, not to say contradiction, involved in the two passages. Book 7.163 gives a story of Kadmos, son of Skythes of Kos, and of his father Skythes, in which the absence of any reference to Book 6.23, 24, where a variant story of Skythes is told, is the more astonishing in view of the difficulty of reconciling, or harmonising, the data of the two passages. This omission is more intelligible on the supposition that the passage in the sixth Book is the younger passage, and was not in existence when Herodotus first penned the passage in the seventh Book,

than on the reverse hypothesis. (4) There is another pair of passages, in this case, indeed, a precise doublet, which would settle once for all the priority of the eighth Book to the first, in order of composition, could the authenticity of the two passages be guaranteed. Book 8. 104 appears to reproduce from Book 1. 175 an account of the portent of the bearded priestess of Pedasa, in almost identical terms, but with one marked variation: according to Bk. 8 the portent has occurred twice, according to Bk. 1 three times. The conclusion is obvious. the passage in Book 1 is the later of the two. Unfortunately for the argument the occurrence of this unique doublet suggests a scribe's gloss, in one place or the other, and the variation may easily pass for a lapse of memory, or of pen, on the glossator's part.

On mere inconsistencies, or even apparent contradictions, between passages in the last three Books and in the first six, cited to prove the independence of the last three Books as against the first six, and the probability therefore of their prior composition, much stress cannot be laid; for the cases cited need prove only the independence of the sources in various parts of Herodotus' work, and the absence of a thorough co-ordination and rationalisation of the data of varying sources—facts everywhere patent throughout the work of Herodotus. If, for example, in the seventh Book (c. 8) Aristagoras accompanies the Greeks to Sardes in 498 B.C., while in the history of the Ionian revolt (5. 99) he stays behind in Miletos, it may be said that the latter statement is obviously preferable, and shows better knowledge, and is consequently a later statement, it may also, however, be said that the former is a blunder dramatically put into the mouth of Xerxes, and in no way commits Herodotus. It would be fair to reply that the blunder seems a rather gratuitous one, but still, the inconsistency here has obviously a very low evidential value either way. Again, in Book 7. 54 Xerxes the Persian king pours libations, while in Book 1. 132 we learn that the Persians have no such custom or rite. Had Herodotus possessed this information when he wrote that passage, he must (it is said) have suppressed, or at least have explained, the inconsequence. But the argument is not convincing. Herodotus might follow an ill-informed tradition, and forget in one place what he had said in another, especially in passages of such different character and provenience, or again, Xerxes might sanction religious rites, upon occasion, which were

not strictly 'Persian,' and so on. A supposed inconsistency has been discovered between the statement in 9. 35 that Teisamenos and his brother were the only outlanders ever admitted to the Spartan franchise, and the record in 4. 145 of the admission of the Minyai, but again reply is easy. The one case belongs to the historical, the other to the legendary period; Herodotus overlooks the infinitesimal inconsequence, or, finally, he records that the Minyai lost the franchise after gaining it, so the instance would hardly count. A fairer case might be made out in the fuller details of the domestic history of some of the recent Spartan kings given in Bk 6, as compared with Bk. 7, but even here difference of source might account for most of the variations, and in any case our author's whole style and method of research, thought, and composition is hardly close and cogent enough to give such observations any great weight in determining the theory of the order in which various parts or sections of his history were composed.

Much more weight attaches to a group, or series, of passages found in Books 7, 8, 9, the presence of which therein would be more or less anomalous, or surprising, if Books 1-6 had been written first. Thus, it is curious that we should have to wait until the seventh Book (c. 11) for the Achaemenid Pedigree, if Books 1-3 were composed before Books 7-9. The natural and proper place for its introduction would have been in connexion with the accession of Dareios, or failing that, as Herodotus calls Kyros an Achaemenid,<sup>1</sup> in connexion with his name. The device of placing his own pedigree in the lips of Xerxes suggests that Herodotus was rather hard bested for an excuse to introduce a matter which might much more easily have been introduced in the first or in the third Books, had he written, or had he entertained the plan of writing, them at the time. A similar remark attaches to other pedigrees which occur in the last three Books. It is curious that we should have to wait until these Books are unrolled for the genealogies of the Spartan kings, and of Alexander of Makedon. It may be said that the pedigree of Leonidas (7. 204), the pedigree of Leotychidas (8. 131), are introduced on great occasions, to give solemnity to the stories

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<sup>1</sup> 3. 75 ἀρχαίμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμέμενος ἐγενεολόγησε τὴν πατρίην τὴν Κύρου—as Hdt. has made Xerxes do in 7. 11

with which they are associated, but are we to suppose Herodotus holding his hand not merely in the first Book, where Spartan kings now meet us for the first time, but throughout the fifth and sixth Books, in which the inner history of Sparta, the fortunes of the royal houses, and the succession of these very kings, Leonidas and Leotychidas themselves, are in question, for the chance of utilizing the Herakleid genealogies to elevate the stories of Thermopylai and Mykale into a more heroic atmosphere? The case of the Makedonian dynasty is not very dissimilar, and here the pedigree is given, in the baldest and coldest style, as a mere note or appendix to a brilliant story, which gains nothing but a touch of legal formalism from the genealogical finale. The context here encountered reaches further. In the eighth Book (cc. 137-9) Herodotus tells the story of the origin of the Makedonian monarchy, and explains the Hellenic descent of the Makedonian kingly house from the Temenids of Argos. In the fifth Book (c. 22) Herodotus tells a story, which records the dispute at Olympia over the Hellenic claim of the Makedonian house, and the decision in its favour, but there expressly postpones the justification of the claim, and pledges himself to relate it hereafter. What hypothesis better explains this curious procedure than the supposition that, when Herodotus was writing the fifth Book, the eighth Book, with the passage on the Hellenic descent of Alexander embedded in it, was already in existence?

Within the class of cases now under review there is none of higher evidential value than the excursus on the origin of the Makedonian Royal House. There is, however, another case of almost equal weight, save for two considerations the absence of the proleptic reference, and the possibility that the whole passage is a later insertion, as a part of it at least most certainly is, in the body of the seventh Book. But to regard the whole passage as an insertion makes its anachronistic introduction in its present context doubly perplexing. In Book 6 c. 48 Herodotus records the mission of heralds by King Dareios to the Greek states in 491 B.C. demanding earth and water, but does not record the treatment, good, bad or indifferent, which these heralds underwent in Athens or in Sparta, nor does he even expressly record their arrival in Athens, or in Sparta, at all. In Book 7 c. 133 an ever-memorable account is given of the defiant outrage of which these royal

messengers were the victims in Sparta, and in Athens likewise. The historical merits of this account are not for the moment in question. the present problem is to explain the occurrence of this story in the seventh Book, out of its proper and obvious connexion, rather than in the sixth Book, under the annals of the year to which it chronologically and naturally belongs. What simpler explanation for this anomaly can be suggested than the hypothesis that the story had already been placed and utilized by the author in the records of the Great Invasion to explain the action of Xerxes (which, by the way, needed no such explanation) in omitting to send heralds to Athens and Sparta in 481 B.C. ? If the whole story (cc. 133-7) were an insertion, made at the last revision of his work by the author, it is hard to see why it was inserted in the seventh Book rather than in the sixth. The absence of a forward reference in the sixth Book, which might certainly have been desirable, is yet easily intelligible: Herodotus may have taken his record in Book 6 to imply that heralds were sent to Sparta and Athens, as to other Greek states, though the only one expressly named is Aigina, and that for a reason immediately supplied by the context. A proleptic reference to the sequel of the mission, the story of the reception, Herodotus did not happen to insert, either in the first draft of the sixth Book or on revision. Such references are quite exceptional in his pages, and the wonder is rather that he gave one in the case of Alexander than that he omitted one in the case of the heralds. In Alexander's case, to be sure, an explanation for the omission of the pertinent story was demanded by the argument itself. But for the actual postposition of either story it is hard to see any reason, except that each story was already, so to speak, in type, in place, to wit, in what are now respectively the seventh and eighth Books.

Other anomalies of the same kind, though more subtle in degree, are best explained by the same hypothesis. Why is there no adequate description of the forces of the whole empire, which Dareios led with him into Thrake and Skythia, except that the historian had already exhausted the subject, perhaps even exploited the available sources, in describing the Host of Xerxes ? So likewise the description of the Bridges of Xerxes in the seventh Book has rendered a description of the Bridges of Dareios in the fourth Book superfluous. If we would know the states

contributing to the Ionian fleet of Dareios on the Danube in 512 B.C. we must turn back, so to speak, to the Navy-list of Xerxes in 480 B.C. Dareios sent many messages throughout his empire; he was undoubtedly the reorganiser, if not the inventor, of the Imperial postal system, but it is only in the eighth Book (c 98) that we read Herodotus' account of the Persian courier service. It is not to be assumed that Herodotus has always and everywhere made the best possible use of his materials, or that accident had no part in shaping his results. Many trifling anomalies may be left unaccounted for, or at least refused independent weight in the argument, but the greater anomalies establishing a presumption, the lesser fall into line in support of that presumption, and the presumption is in part verified by insignificant details<sup>1</sup>.

So, finally, there is a class of cases, in themselves by no means conclusive, although, as it seems, they were the first to suggest the hypothesis of the priority in genesis, or composition, of the last three Books over their precursors in the final achievement of the work. A number of persons are introduced in the seventh Book as though for the first time, partly by the terms in which they are described, and partly by the employment of the patronymic in connexion with their names. The use of the patronymic has more than one purpose with Herodotus. He undoubtedly employs it upon occasion to lend emphasis, to mark a strong situation, to gain a rhetorical point, even as he may use a pedigree or a family name for the same purpose. In some cases recurrence of the patronymic may be due to the source from which name and father's name have been taken over together, without set purpose or significance. But the whole object of such an employment would be lost if this use were not exceptional, or if the presence and absence of the patronymic were determined by purely casual motives. The rule undoubtedly holds that the patronymic is used in introducing the person, and then is dropped, unless occasion arise to distinguish two persons of the same name, who might be confused, or for some other special reason, as above indicated. If King Dareios is given his

<sup>1</sup> Adolph Bauer (*Die Entstehung usw.*) presses a large number of details into the service of the argument, which have here been discarded as inconclusive

in themselves in regard to the order of composition, though favourable to the more or less independent composition, of the various λόγοι.

patronymic in the opening words of Book 7, it is because there is here a new beginning, or a fresh departure.<sup>1</sup> Demaratos might, perhaps, have had his father's name, without remark, but why the details of his deposition and flight from Sparta if the seventh Book originally, as now, came after the sixth, in which details had just been given, making such a note quite unnecessary? Mardomos, too, is described, not merely befathered, though we are, on that hypothesis, just come from an important passage on him in the sixth Book. The Peisistratidai make their appearance in terms which read strangely, considering what a space they have filled in the fifth and sixth Books; and the mention of Hipparchos as 'the son of Peisistratos' after Book 5 is itself less perplexing than the total omission in the seventh Book of any mention of Hippias and his end—if at least Book 7 originally succeeded Book 6 as a continuous record. Atossa and Artabanos, Xanthippos and Alexander, Kadmos and Sophanes might be names all occurring for the first time, as much as Themistokles and Aristeides, Artabazos and Artemisia, or any of the numberless personages proper to the story in these Books. The nett result of such observations is to accentuate the impression of separateness, distinction, independence, and priority claimed for these Books on other grounds.<sup>2</sup>

§ 9 The priority in genesis or composition here demanded for the last three Books of Herodotus involves the recognition of a redactive act, or series of acts, whereby these Books have been combined with the other six, to form the existing whole. Whether this literary fusion was achieved once for all, or resulted from more than one revision or process of readjustment, is a problem the solution of which depends partly upon the general theory of the genesis of the whole work, and partly upon the actual evidences, or marks, of revision, which may be detected, and with more or less probability chronologized, within the volume here immediately in view. The general priority of the last three Books over the first six is more easily established than the respective order in composition of those six Books, or their constituent parts. The all but total absence in the last three Books of the notes of travel, specially towards the East and South, makes heavily for the original priority in the composition of this volume of the work.

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<sup>1</sup> Contrast its absence in I. 130

<sup>2</sup> For the instances of the use of the Patronymic cp. Index IV. *sub v*



Apparently when Herodotus first drafted the story of the Invasion of Hellas by Xerxes his *Wanderyahre* had hardly begun, his major journeys lay still before him, the Pontos, the West, Libya, Egypt, Syria, were still unvisited. The first relatively completed draft of the story of the Persian war was doubtless in the main calculated for an Athenian audience, its tentative publication perhaps brought our author the means and opportunity for those more extensive voyages, the results of which are conspicuous in the earlier Books, and more especially in the Skythian *Logoi*. There are two fairly well attested and convincing *points d'appui* in the life and work of Herodotus—the voyage to the Pontos, and the voyage or migration to Italy, the clearest traces of which are to be found in the fourth Book, and these two points combine to serve the theory of composition and redaction here propounded. The association of the Skythian *Logoi* with the expedition of Perikles into the Pontos in 443 B.C. is a thoroughly acceptable suggestion, whatever precise rôle may be assigned to Herodotus personally in connexion with that adventure.<sup>1</sup> The association of his western migration, and consequent access to western sources, with the Periklean settlement of Thurioi in 443 B.C., is an ancient and long-established tradition in the biography of Herodotus. The first drafts of much of the Hellenic *Logoi* now preserved in the earlier Books, especially the histories of Athens, Sparta, Korinth, may well date from Herodotus' first visit to the mainland of Hellas. The Skythian *Logoi* cannot well be much earlier in date than his migration to the West, and were perhaps composed in the first instance for a western audience. Western sources flow freely in the fourth Book, and it is only by an oversight that their presence in the first Book can be denied,<sup>2</sup> while their effect in the third Book, notably in its last section, is a datum with which every theory of the genesis of the work has to reckon. If Herodotus was ever resident in Thurioi, it can hardly have been for long<sup>3</sup>, and no positive proof of a visit to Syracuse, or to Sicily, can be adduced, but, perhaps, enough time can be

<sup>1</sup> Cp my *Herodotus IV-VI*, Introduction, § 21 (vol. 1. pp xc ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Cp especially I. 163, 165-7, also c. 94.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Thurioi cp Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III 1 (1897) 518-40

The settlement was hardly a success from an Athenian point of view. The total silence of Herodotus in regard to Thurioi makes it less easy to believe that he was actually one of the colonists.

allowed in his western adventure to make room for what may not inconveniently be termed a 'Thurian redaction' of his work. Though the last three Books nowhere suggest extensive travels, least of all in the East or South, yet a western deposit, presumably due to his 'Thurian' migration, is incontestably present, these Books have been revised in the interests of what we have ventured to call the Thurian redaction.<sup>1</sup> It was this redaction which first gave the work its full scope, its great width, its profound unity, but it remains a difficult and delicate problem to determine how much of the work, as it now exists, was incorporated in this, its second and enlarged edition, so to speak. A revised story of the Invasion of Xerxes was there, the antecedents of the war were there, the earlier history of the Greek states, the earlier history of the Persian empire, the attempted conquest of Europe by Dareios, the Ionian revolt, the Marathonian campaign, perhaps all of these. It is easier to say, with confidence, what was not yet to be found in the work. The Lydian *Logoi* were perhaps already involved with the *origines* of the Persian power; but not the Libyan *Logoi*, still less the Egyptian. The second Book of Herodotus contains (as I believe) the key to the position, and points to the right solution of the problems of composition, genesis, and redaction presented by the work. The higher criticism has tended recently to date the Egyptian visit of Herodotus, and consequently the composition of the second Book, relatively late, but not quite late enough. Let the visit to Egypt be placed after the western adventure, yes, if you will, on the way back from Italy to Athens, and the composition of the work of Herodotus falls into the better perspective.<sup>2</sup> The second

<sup>1</sup> The passage on Sicily, 7. 153-67, contains much which is drawn from local sources, notably, the story of Gelon's rise, cc. 153-6, the story of Kadmos, cc. 163 f., the battle of Himera, cc. 165-7. Just thereafter τὰ κατὰ Πηγίους τε καὶ Ταπάρτιους is an obvious addition (and note Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντινοὶ ἐνέμοντο). Western sources may underlie the note on the European habitat of the lion, 7. 126, and the story of Evenios, 9. 93-95.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Meyer (*Forschungen*, 1. (1892) 155) has well seen that Hdt's

visit to Egypt falls relatively late—he dates it "about 440 B.C.," after the historian's return from Thurioi to Athens. I should rather suggest that Hdt visited Egypt (and then Tyre, cp. 2. 44) after leaving Thurioi but before returning to Athens (possibly taking Kyrene on the way, 2. 181). However that may be, the composition of the Egyptian *Logoi* falls late in the genesis of Hdt's work. Bk. 2 was composed after Bk. 3, cp. 2. 38 and 3. 28 (for, if 3. 28 was not already in existence, why not include the σημήια in 2. 38?). Bk. 2 was com-

revision or enlargement of the plan of the work, 'the Thurian redaction,' was not final a later handling, probably again in Athens, incorporated the Egyptian *Logoi* in the first section of the work, perhaps appended the Libyan *Logoi* to the second, and to the third added at least those rarer touches which belong chronologically to the opening years of the Peloponnesian war, and which, in the case of the last three Books, are separated from the great mass of contemporary references by so considerable an interval.

It is most important to realize that the general priority in the composition of the last three Books is a far simpler and more easily admitted conclusion than any view of the order and dates in the composition of the first six Books, or their constituent parts, and the precise times and places of the successive redactions by which such disparate elements were fused into a relatively continuous and complete whole. In regard to the last three Books, with which this Introduction specifically deals, the evidences of revision, even of successive revisions, can hardly be gainsaid. The gap in the references to contemporary events proves it. How is that gap to be explained if the whole sum and substance of the last three Books was being written down by the author in its present form about, or just after, the date of the three isolated references to 'the Ten Years' War'? Moreover, the signs of successive revision are apparent in the prevailing tone and point of view of the general narrative, as well as in the patent stratification of several distinct passages. The general tone and tendency

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posed after Bk 1 (cp. 2 100 with 1 185-7) Bk 2 was composed after Bk 4 (2 161, 4 159). The fourth Bk is of cardinal importance to the argument, as the *Scythian Logoi* were plainly written, or written up, in the West, and western sources flow freely also in the *Libyan Logoi*, presumably composed afterwards. The analogies between the *Egyptian* and the *Libyan Logoi* are strong. 'Western' sources show themselves in Bk 2, notably in cc 10 (the Echinades), 33 (the course of the Danube), 52, 55 (Hdt. in Dodona), perhaps in c. 81 (Pythagorean orgies). Assuming an affinity, or similar interest,

between 'Egyptian' and 'Assyrian *Logoi*, the unfulfilled promises in regard to the latter (1 106, 184) bring the composition of the *Egyptian Logoi* down to the end of Hdt's literary labours. Bk 2 is fatal to the unity and continuity of the Herodotean composition: it is practically a separate treatise, it could never have formed an original part of the continuous argument, or ground-plan of the work, its insertion, as an afterthought, is to be justified as furnishing a balance, so far as mere bulk is concerned, to the Beginning of the work as against the Middle and the End, cp § 6, p xxxvii *supra*.

of the Books suggest a date for their composition before the middle of the fifth century, while the particular marks of revision point down as late as the Archidamian War. The great mass of references to events of the *Pentekontaeterns* belong, as already pointed out, to a date before the middle of the fifth century. To that period may be referred the original draft of the story of the war—a subject for which domestic and Asianic sources would be largely available, and which Herodotus might easily have projected before leaving Halikarnassos, and executed, at least in part, without travelling further than Samos. The war, indeed, is already a matter of history, the chief agents in it are no more. Xerxes, Pausanias, Themistokles, Aristeides, are as dead as Leonidas and Mardonios. It is not so clear whether Alexander of Makedon was still alive when the first or second draft of the story was made: his successor is never mentioned, and the omission of all reference to the Odrysai among the Thrakians would be almost inexplicable if the passages on Thrake had been written after the rise of that tribe to supremacy. Herodotus must have found out before the completion even of the first draft of his story that, although he could get on fairly well with the account of naval operations, including Mykale, or even with the march of Xerxes as far as Thermopylai, perhaps as far as Athens, yet for his account of the preparations of the Greeks, for the campaign on land, for Thermopylai, above all for the story of Plataia, a journey to Athens, to Sparta, to Delphi, to Thebes, perhaps further afield, was desirable. It may be that a considerable interval elapsed between the original composition of the earlier parts of the story and its first provisional completion, a labour perhaps accomplished before the death of Kimon, if not before the death of Alexander of Makedon. Athens is evidently growing in unpopularity. the rehabilitation of Argos is in progress, that of Delphi is a *fact accompli*, but Thebes has hardly yet emerged from the cloud, and though the breach between Athens and Sparta has taken place, and the battle of Tanagra had been fought, the battle of Koroneia, with its momentous consequences, is still in the future. There are no true notes of a 'Periklean redaction' of the Persian war-story in the last three Books of Herodotus. The son of Xanthippos is not so much as named; the Periklean disdain for the Eastern question would have been fatal to the Herodotean logography: Herodotus writes for a

public that still regards the Barbarian as its chief enemy. The argument from silence, from omissions, must not be pressed, the subject and the sources will here account for so much; yet it is to be observed that the special notes of the Periklean policy, resumed from Themistokles, anti-Lakonism, 'Medism,' the Empire, are not found in these Books, or only found in some of those passages which have been inserted on revision, and furnish forth the cumulative proof of re-editing and redaction.

The list of such particular passages is a lengthy one, especially for the seventh Book, and some show traces of more than one retractation. Such a passage is (1) the highly composite passage, which connects the first and second parts of Book 7, and especially cc. 133-137, characterized by the author himself as a digression, and bearing the marks of more than one revision. Such again are (2) the passage on the geography of Thessaly, 7 128-129; (3) the digression on Argos, 7 150-152, (4) the Sikeliote history, 7. 153-167, (5) the notes on Doriskos, 7 106, (6) the king's high-way in Thrace, 7. 115, (7) the habitat of the lion, 7. 126, (8) the insertion (*παρευθήκη*) on Mikythos, or the war between Rhegion and the Tarentines, 7 170, (9) the geographical notes on Thermopylai, 7. 176, and so forth. Moreover, many of the passages on Thessaly, on Athens, on Delphi have the appearance of insertions, or additions at second or third hand; e.g. (10) the story of the expedition to Tempe, 7 172, 173; (11) the oracle of the winds, 7. 178; (12) the defence of Athens, 7. 139. To these instances of addition, retractation, from the seventh Book, which might probably be increased, may be added some further ones from Books 8 and 9; (13) the deliverance of Delphi, 8 36-39, (14) the guardian of the Akropolis, 8. 41; (15) the Athenian exiles on the Akropolis, 8. 54, 55, (16) the oracle of Bakis, 8 77 (perhaps other citations of the Boiotian seer should be added), (17) the Delphian column, 8 82, (18) the apparition at Salamis, 8 84 ad f; (19) a variant story of the flight of Xerxes, 8. 118-120; (20) the siege of Potidaea, 8 126-129; (21) Mardonios and the Oracles, 8 133-135, (22) the origin of the Makedonian monarchy, 8 137-139. From the ninth Book may be added: (23) the story of Teisamenos, 9 33-35, (24) the correct exegesis of an oracle, 9. 43, (25) the note on Dekeleia, 9. 73, (26) the story of Evenios, 9 93, 94. The great majority of these passages belong to the 'second draft', only definite

references to the Peloponnesian, i.e. Archidamian war, can be admitted as additions at third hand, or on final revision. The list of insertions and additions in the second draft might probably be considerably enlarged, but a *caveat* may here be entered against gratuitous anachronisms, and the exaggerated suspicion of contemporary reference. If any stratum in these Books belongs to the original draft, it is the series of passages in which Demaratos figures, and the remark put into his mouth with reference to the island of Kythera is no more a reflexion of the achievement of Nikias<sup>1</sup> in 424 B.C. than the phrases *περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον* (7. 236) or *ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου* (8. 113) are borrowed from the Athenian strategics of the Archidamian war, nor is it possible to bring down the final revision of these Books, and therewith the publication of the work as a whole, much below the date of the last clear reference to the events of that war<sup>2</sup>.

§ 10. General analyses and discussions on the *Sources* of Herodotus are disappointing and inconclusive, nor is the secret of this disappointment far to seek. The work is too large and complex, its parts are too diverse in character and origin, for generalizations, based upon the indiscriminate citation of verses, or evidential items from the whole work *passim*, to be convincing. A critique and evaluation of the Sources to be satisfactory must be conducted on such a scale as to be exhaustive. Moreover, the historical appreciation of the contents of the work, as attempted for example in the Appendices of the present edition, requires constant reference to the particular Sources of particular passages, and supersedes the attempt at a general and vaguer analysis. Yet, for particular Books, or groups of Herodotean *Logoi*, each with a predominant character of its own, something by way of a general account of the Sources may within reasonable compass be profitably achieved; and this Introduction to the three last Books, which deal with the story of the Great Invasion, a story comprising but two or three years as its chronological condition, and a comparatively limited area for its geographical scenes, would be incomplete without some attempt to deal generally with the question of the Sources from which the narrative was derived. Those Sources can only have been of three kinds. (1) *autopsis*, or personal inspection, (ii) hearsay or tradition, (iii) documentary

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Thucyd. 4. 53-57.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. further, Index IV *sub vv* Composition, Draft, etc.

or literary evidence. Even such a classification is apt to be fallacious, especially in connexion with the work of Herodotus. The line between a monument and an inscribed monument is somewhat evanescent: the difference between a description based upon eyesight in the first degree and in the second is not always easy to detect; the affidavits of the agent and of the agent's family, or friends, are sometimes curiously stratified. Herodotus himself rarely draws clear distinctions between the specific categories of historical evidence.

(1) The precipitation of the element of *autopsia*, personal inspection, in the seventh, eighth and ninth Books of Herodotus involves, as in the case of every part of his work, the evidences of his own movements, travels and researches. Now, apart from the suggestions, or rather confirmation, of a voyage, or migration, to the west, you would hardly discover or even suspect from the contents of these Books that Herodotus had been a great traveller in his day. Nothing suggests the visit to Egypt, or the voyage in the Pontos. There is no hint of the writer's having seen Susa or Babylon, though both are mentioned in these Books. The Kyrenaica is conspicuous by its absence. Even the scenes in Sardes, and on the route of Xerxes in lower Asia, show little or nothing that might not be put down to fairly vivid but secondary Sources. It would be pleasant to picture Herodotus tracing in person the route of Xerxes from the still unidentified Krtalla to Sardes, or even from Sardes to the Hellespont, and there would be no great extravagance in the supposition, at least so far as relates to the latter stage, but it is just here that we find it especially difficult to detect Herodotus in person. At some time or other Herodotus beheld Abydos, but apparently not before he had drafted his account of the march of Xerxes. It is much easier to carry, or to follow, Herodotus by sea than by land from his native Halikarnassos round the Aigaian world; and, except in the Hellenic peninsula and in the valley of the Nile, he scarcely penetrates inland. These Books may be taken to show, or to suggest, *autopsy* for Samos,<sup>1</sup> Athens,<sup>2</sup> Sparta,<sup>3</sup> Delphi,<sup>4</sup> Thebes,<sup>5</sup> and perhaps also

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the Army and Navy Lists, in the story of Mykale, etc. Cp. 8. 85. Sources, cp. 7. 189, 8. 84, 9. 73, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 7. 137, 224, 226, 227, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The precision of the Attic topography, and the copiousness of Attic

<sup>4</sup> 8. 35, 82, 9. 81

<sup>5</sup> 8. 136.

Tegea,<sup>1</sup> Argos,<sup>2</sup> and other places in Greece proper. The proof that Herodotus visited Plataia, or the battle-field, before drafting his account of the battle is not convincing, but, as he certainly saw Thebes at some period of his career,<sup>3</sup> he probably saw Plataia, and wrote, or revised, the story of the campaign, with the advantage of a tardy visit to the scene, though without a clear or full perception of the strategic and tactical problems involved in his own narrative.<sup>4</sup> The gross blunder in the orientation of Thermopylai makes it very difficult to believe that Herodotus had studied that story of Spartan heroism *an Ort und Stelle*, even though points in the narrative, or topography, are extremely graphic.<sup>5</sup> The description of Thessaly, as seen from the neighbourhood of Tempe, has suggested to more than one reader the idea that Herodotus convoyed Xerxes from Therme to Tempe, because he had performed the voyage himself, and the passage has 'notes' of *autopsis* about it besides its graphic force.<sup>6</sup> If so, Herodotus' problematic visit might be connected with his traditional residence at the Makedonian court, but the alleged residence at the Makedonian court is itself probably only an inference from the evidence afforded by the work, particularly in the eighth and ninth Books, of an admiration for Alexander, a special interest in his achievements.<sup>7</sup> Athens, Delphi, Olympia, all might have supplied evidences and sources sufficient to account for the colour and warmth of Herodotus' notices of the Makedonian monarch. There are many vivid touches in the Makedonian and in the Thrakian geography of these Books<sup>8</sup>, but lists of cities and tribes were to be had for the asking, and there was no district better known in Athens than the tributary Thrakian region. The older geography of Hekataios was especially bright and copious in the north Aigaian. A serious blunder in regard to Chalkidike<sup>9</sup> undoes the impression made by the descriptions of the canal, of Potidaia, of the neighbourhood of Therme, and the too graphic touch on the

<sup>1</sup> 9. 70. But the term *ἀξιοθέητος* cannot be pressed, cp 9 25, 109

<sup>2</sup> 7. 148

<sup>3</sup> Cp 5 59

<sup>4</sup> Cp Appendix VIII § 3.

<sup>5</sup> 7 176.

<sup>6</sup> 7 128, 129

<sup>7</sup> Suidas *τινὲς δὲ ἐν Πέλλῃ αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι φασιν*. 'Makedonian' sources

are ostensibly cited, 7 73, 8 138; 'Potidaean,' 8 129

<sup>8</sup> e.g. 7. 115 *τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήκες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ*

<sup>9</sup> 7 22, 122 (with notes *ad l.*)



European habitat of the lion shows that Herodotus can be vivid and precise at second hand<sup>1</sup> If Herodotus had personal knowledge of 'Thrake,' it is most natural to connect his Thrakian experiences with his visit to the Pontos, and not unreasonable to date that voyage later than the first draft of these Books, a view which harmonizes well with the non-appearance of the Odrysai in this volume<sup>2</sup> But, however the vision of 'Thrake' be dated, it is rash to infer that the geography of the region is in the main based on personal observation, rather than on the copious Sources, of various kinds, available for the purpose.

(ii) Apart from the advantage to his geographical and topographical data, and the vivifying effect on a narrative of events due to acquaintance with the scenes of action, the vast gain to Herodotus from his travels in the Greek world arose from the numerous opportunities afforded him of contact ~~and~~ conversation with men of various tribes and cities who had taken part in the war, upon the one side or the other Besides what the actors themselves still had to say, there were doubtless strong local traditions in various places, and among the rising generation, in respect to the parts played by the various cities and powers of Greece throughout the great struggle It would no doubt have been possible, in the time of Herodotus, to compile a history of the war purely based upon oral traditions, and to have gathered those traditions largely on the Asiatic main. Such a history might have borne a marked resemblance, in ensemble and in details, to the actual work of Herodotus in this part. There is no equal section of his history where the terminology of oral tradition is so strong and patent, or where, failing exact and decisive terms, the general indications and conditions point so clearly as in the three last Books to the living voice as the main source of the writer's knowledge Over and above such cases the catalogue of passages based on oral tradition may fairly be enlarged by referring thereto every story, or paragraph, for which a scriptural source is, not distinctly preferable. It is a curious fact that Herodotus has explicitly named as an informant, and for a comparatively trivial occasion, but one person, that one happily contemporary with the war.<sup>3</sup> As little as one such reference can represent

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<sup>1</sup> 7 126<sup>2</sup> Cp. 4 92<sup>3</sup> Thersander, 9 16.

the contact of Herodotus with the men who had actually taken part in the war, so little perhaps do the explicit notes of oral information represent the actual mass of materials due to this source in the pages of Herodotus. Waiving the terms, which are ambiguous (*λόγος, λέγεται, λέγουσι, φασί κτλ.*), and used indifferently of oral and of written information,<sup>1</sup> though perhaps in these Books more generally of oral than of written information, - there are not much more than ten or twelve passages in which unambiguous or explicit reference is made to an oral source (*ἀκοή*). Six times the express use of the term for hearing (*ἀκούειν*) guarantees the presence of first-hand oral information<sup>2</sup>, four times the hardly less explicit term *φάτις* is used, though with a less direct personal assurance.<sup>3</sup> If the term *πυνθάνομαι* can be thrown into the same scale, the total of such references may amount to the baker's dozen.<sup>4</sup> For the most part, be it observed, the passages so marked record comparatively trifling circumstances to which Herodotus attaches little importance. The chief exception is signalized not by the terms employed, but by the express nomination of his informant. We dare not infer from this paucity of reference that Herodotus had documentary or written authority for all the rest. The nature of the case, the character of the story in itself, Herodotus' own date and the evidences of his travels, all go to prove page after page of these Books the first literary redaction of the living voices of men. The Halikarnassian speaks in the exploits of Artemisia,<sup>5</sup> the story of Hermodimos,<sup>6</sup> the service and reward

<sup>1</sup> Cp my *Hdt. IV.-VI*, Introduction, § 20 (i. pp lxxv ff). The point can be easily proved again from Bks 7-9. Thus (i) *λόγος, λέγειν*, etc., are used freely of Hdt's own work, e.g. 7. 152 (*λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα*), 7. 213 (*ἐν τοῖσι θπισθε λόγοισι σημαίνω*), etc., (ii) used of other literary authority, e.g. 7. 95 (*Ἑλλήνων λόγος*), cp 7. 20, 189, 191, 193, 8. 55, 9. 28, etc. (iii) Such phrases as the following are conclusive 7. 228 *ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τᾶδε* 8. 22 *τὰ δὲ γράμματα τᾶδε ἔλεγε* 8. 136 *ἐπιλεξάμενος δ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 7. 35 (branding the Hellespont), 7. 55 (the King's crossing last), 9. 16

(Thersander), 9. 84 (burial of Mardonios), 9. 85 (Aiginetan kenotaph), 9. 95 (paternity of Demophonos)

<sup>3</sup> 7. 3 (of Demaratos), 7. 198 (Athenian invocation of Boreas), 8. 94 (Athenian scandal against Korinthians), 9. 94 (an Ephesian buried Mardonios)

<sup>4</sup> 7. 114 (cruelty of Amastris in her old age), 7. 166 (disappearance of Amilkar), 8. 35, 38 (the Delphic miracle), 9. 85 (the kenotaphs at Plataia), 7. 224 (names of the Three Hundred Spartans) must surely go back to an inscription 7. 233 (anecdote of Gorgo) is probably spurious

<sup>5</sup> 7. 99, 8. 87, etc.

<sup>6</sup> 8. 104-106

of Xeinagoras.<sup>1</sup> Incidents of the battle of Salamis, the campaign of Mykale, and more besides, come from the lips of Samians<sup>2</sup> Athenian or phil-Athenian report, and apparently still unwritten report, dominates the records of Artemision, of the battle of Plataia, and other considerable portions of the narrative.<sup>3</sup> It was in Sparta, or at least from Spartans, that Herodotus heard many incidents connected with Thermopylai, and with the battle-field of Plataia.<sup>4</sup> Delphic sources, not written, though sometimes connected with monuments and inscribed objects, flow freely, and partly to the confusion of truth and consistency in the historian's work.<sup>5</sup> Boiotians are not silent<sup>6</sup>, Argives,<sup>7</sup> Korinthians,<sup>8</sup> and Thessalians<sup>9</sup> are to be heard, 'Thrakians,' that is Greeks of Thrake, may have spoken with Herodotus, at Athens for example, even if he had not visited Thrake when he first wrote down its geography.<sup>10</sup> Western witnesses are cited in a way that suggests, bearing all the circumstances in mind, a personal rapport.<sup>11</sup> For the copious insertions of contemporary events, the contribution of Herodotus to the *Pentekontaeteris*, it stands to reason that his source is Hearsay, or what might count as such.<sup>12</sup> The mass of materials thus recognized is immense, and gives this volume of the work a specific character.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, behind the living voice we here and there catch an echo of the traditions in the making.<sup>14</sup>

(iii.) But the mass of materials thus recognized, though immense, is not quite exhaustive, and of a surety the amount of information, even in the last three Books of his work, which

<sup>1</sup> 9. 107

<sup>2</sup> 8. 85, 130, 9. 90 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 7. 140-144, 8. 3, 4, 10, 11, etc., 9. 21, 26-7, 44-6, etc. Cp. Appendix VIII. § 3

<sup>4</sup> 7. 137, 224, 226, 227, 230, 232, 9. 71, 72

<sup>5</sup> 7. 178, 220; 8. 35-9, 121-2

<sup>6</sup> 8. 136, 9. 16

<sup>7</sup> 7. 148-50, 152.

<sup>8</sup> 8. 94.

<sup>9</sup> 7. 129, 188

<sup>10</sup> 7. 57-9, 108-27, 9. 120

<sup>11</sup> 7. 158, 165, 166

<sup>12</sup> Cp. p. xlv f. *supra*

<sup>13</sup> When Hdt. cites 'Persians' 7. 12, 'Medes' 7. 62, 'Phoenicians' 7. 89,

168, 'Phrygians' 7. 26, 'Kyprians' 7. 90, 'Carthaginians' 7. 167, he need not be understood to have visited those peoples, or even to be drawing from personal interviews anywhere. Probably in all cases except the last named he is drawing on literary sources, in that case, he may be reporting hearsay. So too with the Kietans, 7. 171.

<sup>14</sup> The message of Demaratos, 7. 239 (if genuine), the King's envoy in Argos, 7. 150 (if true); the report of the spies, 7. 146-7; the communications of Alexander, 7. 173, etc., the examination of prisoners, 7. 195, the first version of the story of Thermopylai (an Athenian), 8. 21, etc. etc.

Herodotus has drawn from literary sources, from documents and authorities of one kind or another, other than the living voice of the actors and spectators of the great war, has been greatly under-estimated by many recent critics. There is a great deal of substance in the last three Books of Herodotus besides the bare story of the war, and belonging to other departments where learned or poetic pens had long been busy. A deal of matter in these Books, notably in the Army and Navy Lists, was ancient history to Herodotus himself: legends, myths, traditions of migrations, colonization, settlements, foundations, which had all received treatment from poets and logographers, whose works Herodotus is innocently exploiting as a matter of course. Herodotus was not the first man to commit to writing the Achaimenid pedigree, or the genealogies of the royal houses of Sparta and of Pella. His geography and ethnography he had neither to discover for himself, nor to take simply on hearsay: there was a considerable geographical literature in existence, and a good deal of his material he found ready to hand in the works of Hekataios, and perhaps of others. But it may be thought that such matters, though not inconsiderable, only bear remotely, if at all, on the story of the war. There were documents of various kinds in existence concerning the war: the war had already, and almost immediately, created a literature of its own. Some critics write, or speak, as though it were much to the credit of Herodotus to have neglected all that, and begun *de novo*, as though to glean the oral tradition and ignore the written word were a special merit in the historian. Strange aberration! We should feel more complete confidence in Herodotus could we be assured that he had made a systematic study of all that had already been written about the war, and had examined all available documents dating from the war period itself. It is all to his credit if, scanty as are the materials for comparison, and slight as are the hints afforded by his own methods and result, we can yet perceive that he did not wholly ignore what others had done before him, or disdain the monuments of the war, the history whereof he undertook to write. Any one can see that Herodotus must have had access to written collections of Oracles, as well Delphic as less august vaticinations,<sup>1</sup> but there the recognition of written sources

<sup>1</sup> Musaios, 7 6 (8. 96), 9 43, Bakis, 8 20, 77, 96, 9 43, Lysistratos,

appears for some critics to stop. None will be rash enough to claim for him an inspection of the king's despatch to Mardonios, dramatically reproduced by Alexander,<sup>1</sup> and even the tablet of Demaratos has a somewhat apocryphal air about it.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus might easily report the inscriptions of Themistokles without having actually seen them *in situ*,<sup>3</sup> and the *Apographai* and *Anagraphai* of the Royal Scribes would have been indecipherable to him, even if he could ever have had them in his hands.<sup>4</sup> But his chronology, as far as it goes, is based at least in part upon official documents, for example the list of Attic Archons. His Army and Navy Lists, however composite, must go back ultimately to authoritative documents. He had seen many monuments of the war, tombs, *stelai*, votive offerings, and he had surely not merely heard what was said of them, but copied all that was written upon them.<sup>5</sup> The epigrams of Simonides were to be read all over the Greek world, and not his epigrams alone.<sup>6</sup> He and the other poets had been busy with the war.<sup>7</sup> It is not fanciful to trace some items in Herodotus to the Attic *Skoloi*.<sup>8</sup> We can see the legend of Themistokles growing under the malignant pen of Timokrates; and the stories of Themistokles told by Herodotus have already suffered from such pens.<sup>9</sup> Aischylos and Phrynichos had both celebrated events of the war upon the stage, long before Herodotus committed the facts to prose.<sup>10</sup> The debt of Herodotus to Aischylos is admitted, though it concerns rather the spirit than the letter, the moral rather than the material of the story, making us moderns, with our precise habit in the weighing of evidence, wonder more at a difference in the legends of Salamis than at a resemblance in the portraits of Xerxes. Had we more of the poetry of the fifth century in our hands we should probably find a still larger debt, in form and in substance, to its credit with Herodotus. A writer of large range and experience has thought it "not unlikely" that the story of the Greek embassy to Gelon came "from a play of

8 96, Delphic, 7 140-1 (twenty-four lines), 148 (three lines), 220 (seven lines), 7. 178, 8. 36; 9 33, 42. Oracles committed to writing, 7 142, 8 135 *λόγια*, 8. 62, 141; 9 42. Cp. also 7 76, 117, 197, 8 83, 133 ff; 9 93

<sup>1</sup> 8 140.

<sup>2</sup> 7 239

<sup>3</sup> 8. 22

<sup>4</sup> 7 100; 8. 90.

<sup>5</sup> (7 30), 7. 189, 228, 8 82, cf. 9. 91; 7 190, 8 115, 120, 121-2, 9 70, 81, 85, 121

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Appendix I § 3

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> 9. 74.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix I. § 3

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

Epicharmos"<sup>1</sup> Just now an exploded hypothesis has been recalled, and Choirilos of Samos figures once more among the Sources of the Herodotean version of the *Medaka*<sup>2</sup> There were, I suppose, collections of *bons mots*, of anecdotes, of wonders, of *gnomes*, or wise saws and modern instances, already in existence in Ionian prose literature, on which Herodotus sometimes draws<sup>3</sup> Some natural philosophy has found its way into the pages of Herodotus from earlier literature, as well as some moral philosophy<sup>4</sup> Was there no genuine historical literature connected with the war? It is generally admitted that 'the Hellenes,' who had, according to Herodotus, turned the name of Masistios into Makistios, were writers<sup>5</sup> The admission is a far-reaching one the authors are plural, and their concern is the Persian war. Was not Dionysios of Miletos one of their number?<sup>6</sup> If we cannot further verify the details, we must at least concede the principle, that even the story of the war had for Herodotus its literary sources. The attempt to identify one such source with the exiled Athenian Dikaos has not been generally regarded as successful; but the suggestion was a legitimate one, and its chief defects lay in undertaking to realize too definitely the contents of the *Memoirs*, and to confine too narrowly Herodotus' fountains of knowledge<sup>7</sup> The art of Herodotus, which has cast the glamour of the living voice over the most disparate materials, makes it difficult to determine nicely the exact quality of his several Sources, or the precise provenience of every chapter in his work.<sup>8</sup> His own action and redaction were too considerable in their effects for

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Hist. of Sicily*, II (1891) 414, 515.

<sup>2</sup> D. Mulder in *Klio*, VII (1907) 29 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For such *ἔρεα εὖ εἰρημένα* cp 7. 120, 135, 162, 210, 226, 227, 8. 26, 59, 88, 125, 9. 72. Some instances of proverbial philosophy may be found (dramatically put), 7. 39, 49, 50, 51, 104, 157. An obvious 'fable,' 8. 111.

<sup>4</sup> 7. 125 (camels and lions), 7. 129 (earthquakes), 7. 191 (storms and incantations), 8. 143 (the sun's path), 7. 16 (wind and waves), 7. 156 (Democracy), 8. 142 (tyranny), 7. 239 (rivalry), 8. 3 (*στάσις*), 7. 9 (folly of Greek warfare), 7. 104 (Law and Liberty), 9. 2 (*l'unité fait la force*), 9. 122 (Physics

and Politics) <sup>5</sup> 9. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Cp Appendix I § 2.

<sup>7</sup> P. Trautwein, "Die Memoiren des Dikaos, eine Quelle des Herodoteischen Geschichtswerkes," *Hermes*, xxv (1890) pp. 527-66. Cp note to 8. 65, and Appendix I § 2.

<sup>8</sup> An 'Artabazos-Quelle' has long been suspected, located in the Daskyleian Satrapy (cp 8. 126, 9. 89, with notes). Mr. J. Wells has now suggested a Zopyros-fountain; see his paper, "The Persian Friends of Herodotus," *JHS*, xxvii (1907) 37 ff., connecting 9. 108-113 definitely therewith. These are regarded as 'oral' sources. Cp, however, next note.

well satisfied, while incidentally a large contribution is made to the materials of 'Comparative Jurisprudence,' or the early history of Institutions. Exaggerations, inconsistencies, fictions abound in his pages; yet this 'liberty of prophesying,' as he practises it, carries to some extent its own remedy with it, and detracts surprisingly little from the purely historical results to be obtained. A more detailed discussion of the points just formulated will go far to justify the favourable verdict.

(i) That liberty which Herodotus, in common with most ancient historians, carried with him into his composition, may be most significantly tested by an examination of the speeches and dialogues plentifully introduced into the last three Books of the work.<sup>1</sup> From the purely critical point of view perhaps the best to be said for them is that they are not quite all equally unauthentic and fictitious. In some cases there may be a genuine reminiscence of words spoken on the given occasion, yet, even in passages apparently the most plausible, the language has taken on so strong an Herodotean colour that we cannot see in Herodotus a mere reporter: he has arranged the matter for publication, and the full copyright is his. Thersander of Orchomenos doubtless told to Herodotus the anecdote of his experiences at the banquet of Attagnos, but the conversation of Thersander with his Persian *convive* has a native Herodotean ring, which makes it, in its present form, unmistakably the author's, unless, indeed, Herodotus learnt a good deal of his own philosophy from the Boiotian.<sup>2</sup> Even less convincing is the conversation between Dikaos and Demaratos in the Thriasian plain on the eve of the battle of Salamis, for the substance of which Herodotus is nevertheless at some pains to specify his source.<sup>3</sup> Few if any of the remaining dialogues and conversations have an alleged authority; not seldom the circumstances and conditions in which the speeches are introduced, no less than their substance or contents, prohibit their acceptance. The situation is frequently private and confidential, the interlocutors Persians, and the conversation of course *ex hypothesi* conducted in Persian though reported in Greek. Improbabilities, inconsequences, even absurdities, occur in the conversations and

<sup>1</sup> There are about 120 λόγοι, παραί-  
νεσεις, γνῶμαι in these three Books  
which might come under this head  
the more considerable are individually

specified below

<sup>2</sup> 9 16. (Is the prominence of the  
Boiotian Bakis due to Thersander?)

<sup>3</sup> 8 65

speeches, which it is much more natural to ascribe to the reporter, or inventor, than to the hypothetical interlocutors. It will be hard for any one to gainsay the free creative action of the historian in regard to the deliberations of Xerxes and his councillors. The two speeches of Mardonios, the three speeches of Artabanos, the four speeches of Xerxes, which preface the final decision for war, can hardly be more authentic than the dreams and apparitions which the historian employs to overcome the king's reluctance to decide for war.<sup>1</sup> The dialogue of Xerxes and Artabanos at Abydos is but a vehicle for Greek sentiment and ethics concerning the life of man, for a criticism on the Persian conduct of the war, placed in the lips of these *dramatis personae* without any apparent historical justification.<sup>2</sup> Some readers may be tempted to ascribe a higher degree of probability to the three conversations reported between Xerxes and Demaratos, in view of this or that special source connected with the exiled Spartan king, and presumably accessible to Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> Such a source might help doubtless to explain the prominence of Demaratos in the historian's pages (where he succeeds Artabanos in the character of Choregos, or Sage), but the substance of the supposed conversations discredits their historical claim. The first and second interviews are transparent devices for expounding in dramatic form Hellenic, and especially Lakedaimonian, traits and qualities, the better to explain and to glorify the defence of Greece, the third is a no less transparent device for conveying a criticism upon the Persian strategy or plan of campaign. Here the Persian admiral, Achamenes, appears as tritagonist, in order to provide a spokesman for the alternative actually followed, and to explain why the Persians failed to adopt a course of action only too likely to have been successful. Probably differences of opinion existed in the king's suite upon the conduct of operations, courses recommended by Greek exiles, who knew their own countrymen, might, if adopted, have furthered the king's cause, but a good deal of the criticism, thus dramatically represented, may be the result of afterthought, on both sides, coming to the historian ready-made, and owing to him little more than its dramatic form and

<sup>1</sup> 7 5-18. Cp Appendix II § 2 (c)

<sup>2</sup> 7. 46-52 (βιοτῆς ἀνθρωπίνης περὶ c 46, περὶ τῆς στρατηλασίης cc 46-52).

<sup>3</sup> (1) At Doriskos, 7. 101-104, (11) at

Thermopylai, before the engagements, 7 209, (111) at Thermopylai, after the engagements, 7 234-7



hypostatization Even the prominence of Artemisia in the King's councils before and after the battle of Salamis cannot be construed into an authentication of the speeches, reported for these occasions<sup>1</sup>, and the remarks fathered on Xerxes at Tempe,<sup>2</sup> though doubtless illustrative of the despotic mind, are as fictitious in this connexion as his conversations with Pythios,<sup>3</sup> which subserve the same general purpose<sup>4</sup>

On the Greek side, where assuredly there was no lack of speechifying in real life, Herodotus to a great extent has avoided reporting set speeches, or contented himself with the *oblique oration* in reporting them Given cases make all the better impression for this abstinence, the feeling produced being that the historian reports the point and marrow of arguments which were used, must have been used, or might have been used, upon the occasion So with the speeches at Athens,<sup>5</sup> at the Isthmos,<sup>6</sup> before the war so with the *Paranesis* of Themistokles to the *Ephoratai* on the very morning of the battle of Salamis,<sup>7</sup> or the discussion with Eurybiades thereafter<sup>8</sup> Where Herodotus breaks into *direct oration* professing to give the *ipsissima verba* of his speakers, the reports become more and more incredible. The largest set piece of this kind on the Greek side is the interview between the Greek ambassadors and Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, where the speeches are no doubt the vehicles for a good deal of candid criticism, very much in place in the historian's pages, under one form or another, but not at all likely to have been uttered by the given speakers upon the given occasion.<sup>9</sup> The debates of the Greek Strategoi before Salamis are reported partly in 'oblique,' partly in 'direct oration', and it may safely be said that the former passages have more verisimilitude than the latter.<sup>10</sup> The principal set speech of Themistokles contains, indeed, an admirable argumentation, but the arguments must have been used much earlier than the point at which they occur in the historian's narrative<sup>11</sup>, while the interview and dialogue between Themistokles and Aristides is transparent

<sup>1</sup> Before, 8. 68, after, 8. 102

<sup>2</sup> 7. 130. <sup>3</sup> 7. 27-9, 38-9

<sup>4</sup> At Alos his 'Guides' are made to report to Xerxes the legend of Athamas, 7. 197.

<sup>5</sup> 7. 143-4.

<sup>6</sup> 7. 145, cp. 8. 3

<sup>7</sup> 8. 83, one of the most authentic-looking reports in Hdt.

<sup>8</sup> 8. 108.

<sup>9</sup> 7. 157-62.

<sup>10</sup> 8. 49, 56-62, 74, 78-81. For Artemision cp. 8. 19

<sup>11</sup> 8. 60

fiction.<sup>1</sup> The discussion in the council of war at Andros,<sup>2</sup> like the discussion in the council of war at Samos,<sup>3</sup> both reported in *oblique oration*, contain at least veritable points of dispute, doubtless at issue and debated on the occasion, but the larger set speeches, of Alexander, the Spartans, the Athenians, on the question of an Athenian union with the Persian, are quite unacceptable in their actual form<sup>4</sup> More plausible are the speeches, briefly reported, in Lakedaimon soon afterwards<sup>5</sup>, but the great orations of the Tegeatai and Athenians on the battle-field of Plataia, whatever the historical incident that lurks hid in the situation, are plainly out of place and time<sup>6</sup> To what category must the short oration of the Korkyraians before Xerxes be assigned which is reported *ipsissimis verbis* albeit *ex hypothesi* never delivered?<sup>7</sup> To the same category as the message of Themistokles to Xerxes, addressed by the lips of a messenger warranted to keep silence in regard to his trust even in the extremity of torture!<sup>8</sup> Many speeches, reported by Herodotus, are reducible to messages on the battle-field, or diplomatic *pour-parlers*, where the substance is plainly or plausibly historical, and the form is comparatively unimportant, others dwindle to the dimensions and purpose of *bons mots* (ἐπη εὖ εἰρημένα), with an immortal right to exist, whatever their unauthenticity!<sup>9</sup>

Doubtless for the contents of many of the speeches reproduced in his pages Herodotus had what he believed to be sufficient justification in the reports or traditions that had reached him orally, or in writing. In other cases, doubtless, he has more or less consciously followed the principle formulated by Thucydides, to 'put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments (and ideas) proper to the occasion' This principle is, however, one no longer consistent with the practice of the historical muse: it marks a method which even the most rhetorical historiography of our days will not adopt, despite the examples of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Livy and Tacitus. It is a method confined in our literature to the historical novelist, so called. In some of the cases above cited it is employed by Herodotus with a freedom which astonishes us even in the pages of an ancient author, and such action makes it very difficult for us to suppose

<sup>1</sup> 8 79, 80<sup>2</sup> 8 108.<sup>3</sup> 9 106<sup>4</sup> 8. 140-4<sup>5</sup> 9 7-11<sup>6</sup> 9 26-7.<sup>7</sup> 7 168<sup>8</sup> 8 110<sup>9</sup> Cp p lxix note 3 *supra*

that this liberty of creation, or of report, was confined to words, and debarred from events and conduct, or that where speeches are transparent fiction narrative is all hard fact

(ii.) One matter of fact, into which fiction has certainly made way, consists in the numbering of the forces of Xerxes. The full results are, indeed, presented by Herodotus, not as bare facts traditionally or authoritatively guaranteed, but in part at least as products of argument and computation: the data are themselves manifestly unsound, and the initial mistake naturally generates a self-multiplying aberration<sup>1</sup>. The final result is a miscalculation rather than a fable, and attains the author's judgement rather than the character of his Sources. Yet there was plainly that in his Sources to start him upon this road to ruin, and the instance shows at once the licence of his Greek authorities, and the inability of Herodotus to control or to amend it. One hundred and seventy myriads of fighting men is the total which Herodotus accepts at starting as the figure for the infantry of Xerxes massed and numbered at Doriskos, with eighty thousand added for the cavalry<sup>2</sup>. Such forces the Persian king might conceivably have levied from his vast empire, but such forces he could not have taken with him into Greece, nor supported had he taken them thither. The figure is, however, only an estimate, based upon an incredible anecdote, and not a total reached by a summation of various items for the various component parts of the army. Herodotus, indeed, is not content with the given figures; but, far from seeking to diminish them, he is shortly attempting to increase them, and succeeds, to his own satisfaction, in raising the total of the king's forces by land to upwards of two million fighting men. The numbers for the fleet are not perhaps so extravagant, though a total of upwards of half a million men at arms is a manifest exaggeration. Misjudgement and absurdity reach a climax in the proposal to double the figures throughout in order to make allowance for attendants and followers, raising the total of the men led by Xerxes as far as Thermopylai and the Thessalian shore to upwards of five millions and a quarter. This passage is of the utmost importance for a just estimate of Herodotus' competence as a military historian. His figures and his computation set conditions of time and space

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<sup>1</sup> 7 184-7, cp Appendix II § 5

<sup>2</sup> 7 60

at defiance. the initial device, by which the total for the infantry was obtained at Doriskos, is itself an absurdity. If other figures for fleets and forces on both sides are more moderate and sane, that cannot expunge the deliberate and express misjudgement to which Herodotus is committed in this instance. The total of the Persian fleet (raised by the European contingent to 1327 vessels) Herodotus reduces by storms and captures before Salamis to about 600 vessels; but he supposes these losses to have been fully compensated by the contingents of Karystos, Andros, Tenos, and other Nesiotes a manifest absurdity.<sup>1</sup> Such arithmetical irresponsibility, in the face of physical and historical conditions, is not to be condoned by the observation that the motives of exaggeration in both directions are transparent enough. The defect of science here is a defect of art likewise, and almost of common sense. *Ars est celare artem*. It may be questioned whether any one has ever taken these figures and computations for truth except Herodotus himself. The deliberate effort to make the most of the hosts of Xerxes has drawn attention to the physical conditions and the recorded facts of the case, which alike disprove the historian's reckoning. There are no two pages in the whole work of Herodotus more fatal to his claims as a sober historian than the pages devoted to these systematic and elaborate computations. Herodotus is dealing seriously from first to last in this business, it is not an exaggerated jest nor an ironical satire that is the worst of it! *Solvuntur rursu tabulae!* The thing is ridiculous, and neither 'the rivers that failed,'<sup>2</sup> nor the surpassing stature and beauty of Xerxes,<sup>3</sup> invented apparently *ad hoc*, can save Herodotus from bankruptcy on this account.

(iii) Naturally computation is not the only particular in which Herodotus breaks down as an historian of military affairs. Passing over here his description of the arms and accoutrements of the vast host, his account of its march with the king at its head leaves much to be desired, even on his own showing. Despite its colossal size, the host remained, if we are to credit Herodotus, a chaotic mob, until it reached Doriskos.<sup>4</sup> Again,

<sup>1</sup> 8. 66

<sup>2</sup> 7. 187 ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ βέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὧν Cp note to 7. 21

<sup>3</sup> *ibid* κάλλεός τε εἶνεκα καὶ μεγάλῃ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ ἔεργεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

<sup>4</sup> 7. 59.

though we may detect in his records evidence that the army was organized in three corps or columns, and advanced in that order, it is evidence of which he himself seems unconscious, and the arrangement is only predicated by him of one short stage on the route<sup>1</sup>. Again, although in one place he indicates that the Persian strategy treated, so long as possible, fleet and army as indissoluble,<sup>2</sup> he shows practically no consciousness of this clue in his own narrative of the two campaigns, but treats the movements of the fleets and armies, on both sides, as wholly independent, though accidentally synchronous, series of operations, and while he has incidentally enabled us to relate the battles of Thermopylai and Artemision to each other, he has left the relations of the movements of the Greek fleet in 479 B.C. to the operations on land, a matter of pure speculation. His accounts of individual battles break up for the most part into successions of disconnected episodes. His diary of the fighting in front of Plataia must be pronounced on the whole his *chef d'œuvre* in this kind, yet it is replete with obscurities and improbabilities, and indicates very little conception, on the writer's part, or that of his informants, of the strategic and tactical conditions involved. It may be that materials for an adequate and reasoned record of the Persian war hardly existed in the time of Herodotus, or that, for all his merits and goodwill, he was not just the right man to collect and to digest them, but neither plea alters the actual quality of the narrative in question. The best that can be said of his military essays is that they preserve an outline of events, which might otherwise have been wanting, and contain scattered hints showing the actual war to have been conducted on intelligible and intelligent principles. These hints justify the endless attempts on the part of Herodotus' followers and commentators to reconstruct with more or less success the probable plans of the two belligerents, and the actual contour of the various operations by sea and by land, in the course of the Persian war.

(iv) Conditions and limitations, which precluded success in the attempt to give a true history of the war, have not enabled Herodotus to present an adequate or accurate version of the policies of the states or statesmen whose acts and advices he had to record. Policy is a less technical concern than strategy and

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<sup>1</sup> 7 121

<sup>2</sup> 7 236.

tactics, yet states fare little better in the pages of Herodotus than fleets and armies. It is hardly to be reckoned a serious fault if he represents the policy of Persia as ultimately dependent on a despot's caprice, yet his own pages teem with proofs of the inevitable character of the Persian war<sup>1</sup>. Neither the action nor the inaction of Sparta is traced to any clear motives, or objects of policy, in these Books, and, as it happens, an important development of Spartan policy in relation to Athens and the Persian question is reported, in the sixth Book, in terms which reduce the account to a mere anecdote, yet among all Greek states the policy of Sparta is at all times the most easily explained<sup>2</sup>. The conduct of Athens is throughout represented in the heroic terms accepted from the Attic or philo-Athenian sources<sup>3</sup>; the material and political interests which Athens had at stake, and in especial the definite object to resist a tyrannic restoration under Persian auspices, is barely indicated, or but unconsciously suggested. The policy of the Medizing states is, perhaps, more successfully adumbrated than 'the policy of those who chose the better part'<sup>4</sup>, the divisions of Thessaly,<sup>5</sup> the feud of Phokis,<sup>6</sup> the anti-Atticism of Thebes,<sup>7</sup> the anti-Lakonism of Argos,<sup>8</sup> are *verae causae*, most clearly expressed in the cases of Phokis and of Argos. Over the political attitudes and sympathies of Makedon and of Delphi a glamour had been thrown, we cannot but suspect, in the light of later events and interests, which Herodotus has accepted somewhat too credulously at its own valuation. Yet on the whole the political motives of the various states named are historical problems not difficult of solution in and from his records, although the truth in regard to the political action of Delphi and of Makedon in particular may never be quite clearly recovered. It is in dealing with the behaviour and motives of individuals that his sympathies, or his sources, betray Herodotus into something like superficial injustice. The attitude and action of Alexander

<sup>1</sup> Cp Appendix II § 2

<sup>2</sup> Cp Appendix III § 3

<sup>3</sup> Cp especially 7 139, and Appendix III § 4

<sup>4</sup> οἱ τὰ ἀμείνω φρονέοντες, cp 7 145, 172, 9 19. Other titles are οἱ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ 7 148, οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι 7 132 (cp 8 82); οἱ ἐλευθεροῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα 7

157 (τὸ νηαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσθ'), οἱ Ἕλληνες 7 149, 157, 168, 173, etc., ἡ Ἑλλάς 7 161, οἱ σύμμαχοι 7 153, ἡ συμμαχία 7 148, τὸ συμμαχικόν 9 106 (This note should be read into Appendix III § 5)

<sup>5</sup> Cp Appendix IV §§ 6-8

<sup>6</sup> 8 27-9, 9 17

<sup>7</sup> 9 2, 40, 67

<sup>8</sup> 7 149, 9 12

of Makedon have been reported probably from sources deeply coloured by the political results of the Persian war. The record of Themistokles does little justice to the political objects and abilities, or even the patriotism, of that statesman, and Herodotus has failed—has not attempted—to get behind the traditions and anecdotes which dated from his fall, or were the outcome of the hostilities that helped to fell him. The political action of Gelon in relation to the Persian and national question has been obscured in the Herodotean record by the general Hellenic antipathy to ‘tyrants,’ though fortunately in this case later and local knowledge has led Herodotus to supplement the general tradition, current in Athens or Sparta, with a special variant, which proves at once good history and good politics, more than justifying the non-appearance of Gelon at Salamis, justifying also the doubt whether his co-operation was ever invited at all. The character of Xerxes, as a politician, has been reduced, in the conflicting tradition preserved by Herodotus, to that of a paradoxical puppet, partly swayed by supernatural interventions and agencies driving him on to his doom, partly led by evil councillors more astute and ambitious than himself, partly the creature of his own capricious and ungovernable passions. That there was no real precedent for such a portrait it would be rash to affirm, but it is safe to say that the particular motives assigned for many of the King’s undertakings and actions are unduly prejudiced, and that where good reasons were forthcoming, Herodotus did ill so often to prefer the worse reason for the conduct of Xerxes<sup>1</sup>

(v) It is, in short, not unfair to say that Herodotus was primarily neither a military nor a political historian, and does not always show to advantage beside a Thucydides, a Polybios, a Caesar, or even a Tacitus. Herodotus prefers the concrete to the abstract, the particular to the universal, the anecdote, the episode, the *bon mot*, the *gnome*, to the reasoned description of military movements, or the conscious rationale of political events. Even his record of the second Persian war, much the most closely connected and best sustained achievement in his logography, teems with sportive items<sup>2</sup>. Such things are not history, though they may be, if rightly authenticated, a part of the materials out of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 7 24, 54, 8 25, 103

118, 125, 137-8, 9 33-5, 37, 76, 78-

<sup>2</sup> 7 56, 120, 147, 194 (239), 8 26, 82, 93-4, 108-13, 122

which history is to be made, or at least to be made agreeable. In a sense, indeed, they are better than history, they are mostly too good to be true; but in general they are at once either too artful or too artless to rank as good historical evidences. In the one case they betray the moral, and in the other case the malignity, which has been at the making of them, or at best they drop out of serious account as pure sports of the humorist, or *iaconteur*.

(vi.) Again, the record of the Persian war as told by Herodotus suffers detriment, from the strictly historical point of view, by the too ready admission of the marvellous, the miraculous, the special intervention of 'the other world,' in one shape or another. To justify Herodotus from this charge, in a certain sense, is easy enough. Granted that Xerxes was not hounded on by divinely ordered dreams and apparitions to carry out the pre-ordained purpose of Heaven in the invasion of Greece<sup>1</sup> granted that the deliverance of Delphi was unaccompanied by special apparitions and miracles<sup>2</sup>: waiving the reported interventions, omens, portents, that cluster round Salamis and its story<sup>3</sup> rationalizing the telepathic *Phemè* at Mykale, and its reputed synchronism with the victory of Plataia<sup>4</sup>: yet still, it may be said, Herodotus had failed for all time to represent a notable and perfectly historical feature in the traditions of the war, aye, in the souls of the victors themselves, had he omitted to reproduce these irrational elements in the story as it reached him from the age of faith. These elements are features in the story, because such elements, the same in kind if not in amount and prominence, were factors in the life of Greece in the fifth century. Oracles, dreams, portents, with their interpretation, counted for something, not insignificant, in the actions of living men and women, and in the policy of states, in a pre-metaphysical age. And what fault could be found with Herodotus if he but reported the cases where the oracle was appealed, and helped to determine action, or failed to do so, as might be, if he but recorded marvels, or supposed marvels, or any other 'religious' excuse, as actual motives of action, and even of policy? The suspicion is unavoidable that, strong as was the belief in the direct intervention of

<sup>1</sup> 7 12, 14, 17, 19

<sup>2</sup> 8 35-9

<sup>3</sup> 7. 142; 8 41, 54, 55, 65, 77, 84, 94, 96, 9 10

<sup>4</sup> 9 90, 100-1



gods and heroes in human affairs, important as was the rôle played by oracles, divination, the interpretation of portents, dreams, and so forth, in real life, yet all these things nevertheless played less part in men's actions and fortune than the logography of Herodotus would lead us to suppose. The charge is rather that, owing to an idiosyncrasy, a personal penchant for such things, he has given them an undue prominence in his narrative to the exclusion of more genuinely historical elements, he has preferred a 'supranaturalistic' story, or version of a story, to a more natural one, he has transfused his whole conception and representation of the course of affairs so as to bring it into agreement with a somewhat thin and antiquated view of the action of the 'God in History', and, both in what he inserts and in what he omits, in the form he has given to his materials, or the forms he has accepted and preferred, the bold miracle has too often taken the place of the better reason.<sup>1</sup> It may be some compensation to us that by this very miscarriage and shortcoming Herodotus all the more fully represents the popular mind of his age and people, and so becomes, in a fresh application, historical in our eyes, but this consolation is tantamount to admitting that, in the first instance, he presents to us an imperfectly historical mind, and represents an imperfectly historical age, or rather the less instructed side of an age, which was already in all its leading minds essentially scientific

(vii.) Of the worst charge against the good faith of an historian Herodotus stands acquitted personal bias, personal ill-will, should never have been alleged against him. As formulated in the pages of Plutarch's tract *de Malignitate Herodoti* this charge, a monument of critical incompetence, collapses upon the Boiotian critic's own pate. A good deal of malignity is, indeed, preserved in the pages of Herodotus, but it is there as evidence, for the most part, of the surpassing candour and simplicity of the writer's own mind. Kretans were not the only liars in Greece. Greeks all told stories at each other's expense, Athens to the discredit of Sparta, of Korinth, of Thebes, each of which doubtless returned the compliment with interest. oligarch maligned democrat, and democrat maligned oligarch, and both united to blacken the tyrant's fame feuds of clan with clan,

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<sup>1</sup> See especially 7 133-137, 8. 13, 77, 9 65

and rivalries of man with man, gave constant vogue to the worse report and the worse interpretation of each other's actions. It was a part of the price paid by the Greeks for their enfranchisement<sup>1</sup> All this carnival of calumny is reflected in the pages of Herodotus, thanks to his direct reproduction of the local version, the partisan story, the rival's anecdote, the apologist's retort. But there is little or no malice in his own private judgements, nor is a malignant spirit consistent with the general tone of his work. That Herodotus betrays no political or personal preferences it would be too much to assert: such a miracle of impartiality would be more or less than man and than Herodotus, but he errs by excess rather than by defect of admiration. His two worst offences in this connexion are to have taken too easily the current Athenian transfiguration of Athens, and the current Athenian denigrations of Themistokles. For the rest, Herodotus preserves somewhat more than a benevolent neutrality. Who can say that he does less than justice to Lakedaemon, if he reproduces too faithfully one Athenian jibe at Sparta's honour?<sup>2</sup> Or to Korinth, if he reports the Athenian scandal, with the universally received *démenti* in immediate juxtaposition?<sup>3</sup> Or to Argos, for whose conduct he apologizes with, perhaps, half an eye to "the Attic question"?<sup>4</sup> Or to Thebes, whose medism was past whitewashing, even though the account of the Thebans at Thermopylai is one of the weakest spots in the historian's armour?<sup>5</sup> Yet there is little or nothing in all this, and in the lesser cases which might be cited, to convict Herodotus in his own person of ill-will to any man or state in Hellas.<sup>6</sup> That he does no injustice to the Barbarian has often enough been pointed out<sup>7</sup>: that not even Plutarch's captious tract alleged against him

(viii) Herodotus' own reflexions are seldom profound, and never ill-natured.<sup>8</sup> His very empiricism refutes the charge of

<sup>1</sup> 7. 237 πολίτης μὲν πολίτη εὖ πρήσσοντι φρονέει

<sup>2</sup> 9. 54 ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων

<sup>3</sup> 8. 94. <sup>4</sup> 7. 148-52 <sup>5</sup> 7. 233

<sup>6</sup> See especially 7. 152

<sup>7</sup> 9. 62 is notable, but Hdt.'s whole treatment of non-Hellenic peoples is to his credit

<sup>8</sup> There are about fifty expressions of personal opinion in these Bks (often signalized by δοκέειν, ὡς εἰλάσαι *et sim*). Among them may be specified (1), (2), importance of the services of Athens, 7. 139, 8. 63, (3) a candid remark on Medizers, 8. 73, (4) need for reticence in theology, 9. 65, (5) connexion of conduct and character, 7. 153, (6) his opinion of Themistokles, 8. 22, etc., (7)

ill-will.<sup>1</sup> His method of letting people tell their own story, instead of rationalizing or reducing all his conflicting materials to a self-consistent *précis*, enables his readers to compare one account with another for themselves, and to correct at times the version preferred by the historian in the light of one reported on principle. Not indeed that Herodotus quite fulfils his own formula. He has not been at sufficient pains always to collect information from every source legitimately concerned. It is certainly strange, and a little unfortunate, that the campaign of Plataea should be so largely drawn from Athenian tradition, and throughout Herodotus is too much at the mercy of his Athenian authorities. Yet even here the very transparency of the medium supplies its own corrective, and the absence of conscious or deliberate special pleading on the historian's part enables his readers to improve on his position. This observation holds good even of the stories of the nautical and military operations: we may venture to rationalize them just because the historian has done little or nothing himself in that direction. If, on the whole or in parts, we claim to understand the course of events better than our best authority, it is not so much that we correct and supplement his record largely from other sources, but rather that his record so largely supplies its own corrective, in the conflict of evidences reported, and the manifest animus of much reproduced bona fide by the reporter. Such reconstruction can be but hypothetical, and of course depends for its acceptance upon appeal to still verifiable facts in the physical conditions, and in the nature of man, but it is not thereby discredited as illegitimate, and its verisimilitude is due, in the last resort, to the simple good faith of the first report.

(ix) The naiveté of Herodotus must not, however, be exaggerated; the presence of a critical and a rationalistic tendency in his work cannot be denied. He has himself exercised to some extent a judgement, if not in the selection, at least in the evaluation of his sources, rejecting stories as untrue, or improbable, which he still thinks it his duty to report, entering his own opinion and verdict in some disputed cases formally for what it is worth, and incidentally or implicitly forcing on his audience

of Aristeides, 8 79 ; (8) of Aristodemos, 9. 71. But, after all, every page displays the mind of Hdt., cp. pp lxxxv f *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> 7 152 ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ

λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γὰρ μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγων

a certain reading of the facts, a certain rationale of the merely empirical order of phenomena, or the merely empirical roll of witnesses. In some cases this element of reflexion, when segregated and envisaged on its own merits, leaves very little to be desired. No one will claim for Herodotus the rank of a philosophic thinker, yet the rationale which he gives, in one way or another, sometimes speaking in his own person, sometimes by the lips of his *dramatis personae*, sometimes it may be in the mere way of narrative, of the Greek victory over the Persians, is all but complete. On the Persian side the unmanageable size and numbers of the hosts<sup>1</sup>; disregard of sound policy and errors in the actual plans of campaign<sup>2</sup>, division of interests, rivalry and quarrels among the leaders, and in the command<sup>3</sup>, division of interests and lack of coherence in the fighting forces<sup>4</sup>; positive inferiority in equipment, armour, skill, discipline, training<sup>5</sup>: what more could be required to explain the issue? On the Greek side the contrary and the complement of all these: the advantage in actual material and military equipment<sup>6</sup>, the advantage in skill, in discipline, in leadership, in intelligence, union<sup>7</sup>; the advantage in manhood and in *moral*<sup>8</sup>; the vast superiority of the cause.<sup>9</sup> Yet Herodotus does not escape a certain inconsequence between his clear perception of the secondary causes accountable for the Greek victory, and his strong desire to make the most of the danger, and to magnify the result, as a great and wonderful work, not to be explained by any merely human actions or considerations. In the end he is not content, short of the invocation of his highest categories for human experience. In his mind the victory is due, immediately and ultimately, to the direct interposition of the gods and heroes, the higher individual wills which rule the world, and to the supreme laws of all human life and fortune.<sup>10</sup> Religiously speaking the discomfiture of Xerxes, the salvation of Greece, are ascribed to the jealousy excited in the god, Zeus, by the pride and power of the man, Xerxes<sup>11</sup>; or

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 7. 49, 8. 16

<sup>2</sup> 7. 235; 9. 2

<sup>3</sup> 7. 11, 8. 109; 9. 108-113

<sup>4</sup> 7. 10, 8. 26, 69, 9. 41, 58, 66, 107

<sup>10</sup> 7. 139 οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ βασιλεῖα

<sup>5</sup> 8. 10, 19, 22, 68, 90

μετὰ γε θεοῦ ἀνωσάμενοι 8. 13 ἐποιεῖτό

<sup>6</sup> 7. 211, 8. 86, 9. 62-8

τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ

<sup>7</sup> 7. 211, 223; 8. 86; 9. 62.

Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν 8. 109 τὰδε γὰρ

<sup>8</sup> 8. 144, 9. 2.

οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ

<sup>9</sup> 7. 102, 104, 220, 8. 83, 9. 76, 78-9,

ἥρωες κτλ.

82.

<sup>11</sup> 7. 10, 8. 109.

ethically expressed, to the sure nemesis which lies in wait for the high and mighty things of this world, to the certain if slow corruption which is the lot of mortality, to the law that happiness is not for man, and human life at best a sorrowful thing<sup>1</sup> Doubtless this moral has led Herodotus to portray in Xerxes the character which deserves the judgement, to emphasize in the traditions those traits and anecdotes which accord with the foregone conclusion, but even here his method, careless of inconsistencies, has redeemed his work, showing that the historic Xerxes was not the mere despot, proud and capricious, cruel and cowardly, vicious and well-nigh insane, as too much of the record implies, but that his actions were guided at least in some degree by the intelligible motives of a politician, and the reasonable feelings of a man

Nor can it be said that Herodotus' empirical method of narrating stories, or his metempirical doctrines of Divine vengeance and of mortal doom, have much diminished his political sagacity and fairness, where there is a call for their application. His view of the service of Athens, and of the importance of that service to the cause of Greece, though insufficiently qualified by any clear statement of the great interests Athens had at stake, is nevertheless on its positive side a judgement in which the modern world must acquiesce. His perception of the separatist feelings underlying the action and policy of the Peloponnesian states is clear enough. His problematical interpretation of the conduct of Sparta at a critical moment is ambiguous only in form<sup>2</sup>; and his explanation of the final determination to co-operate loyally with Athens is none the less his own for being put into dramatic form<sup>3</sup> Throughout, Herodotus must have credit for reporting with understanding the political wisdom and sagacity of his heroes or *dramatis personae*, even where he is not actually fathering on them his own reflexions, and the application of this principle proves that, although his express judgements on political affairs appear at times strangely superficial, yet this current superficiality is consistent with a high degree of political shrewdness upon occasion. Even his anecdotes, though doubtless often apocryphal, may be regarded as the deliberately chosen vehicles for a good deal of sound sense, and political or ethical philosophy. Such

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<sup>1</sup> 7. 46, 9. 16.<sup>2</sup> 9. 8<sup>3</sup> 9. 9.

parables as the 'Crown of Virtue,'<sup>1</sup> the 'Dinner à la Perse,'<sup>2</sup> the 'Answer of Kyros,'<sup>3</sup> have each as clear a moral as the fable of 'Persuasion and Necessity'<sup>4</sup> put into the mouth of Themistokles to adorn a solemn historic occasion. The reflective element in Herodotus' work is far larger than appears at first sight, owing to the skilful means which he has adopted to render it more easily digestible. It is the very dotage of criticism to suppose that Herodotus is unconscious of his own devices, or incapable of the wit and wisdom which he has made his own, he himself must be credited with most of the reflexion which we find in his pages, whether it take the form of express judgements delivered *ex cathedra* by the historian himself, or be conveyed dramatically by speakers in the course of his narrative, or wear the still more lively and insidious guise of an anecdote *en passant*, or a *bon mot*, recorded for what it is worth. It is perhaps not too much to say of these elements in the last three Books that they bear more directly on the general theme, and cohere more closely with the proper texture of the story, than do similar elements in other sections of the work, and this observation also tends to the general credit of this volume of *Logoi*, whether regarded as a permanent contribution to history, in the strictest sense of the term, or merely as a literary achievement calculated to give pleasure to readers, or listeners, in moments of leisure.

(x) The geographical deposit is another element in which the last three Books of Herodotus approach more nearly to the standards of sound historiography than any other considerable section of the work. The comparative fulness and accuracy of the geography is partly incidental to the subject, like the advantage which the narrative of Thucydides gains from being concerned with relatively well-known landscapes, and scenes amenable to methods of simple inspection. Not that Herodotus even in these Books is a scientific geographer, or free from empirical errors; but, defects and errors notwithstanding, the contribution which he makes incidentally to the cartography of the Aigaian area, of ancient Greece, of parts of Asia, especially minor Asia, is not inconsiderable—a positive contribution, as matters stand for us, quite independent of the question, how far the geographical data in his work are the result of his own researches, and how

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<sup>1</sup> 8. 26.

<sup>2</sup> 9. 82.

<sup>3</sup> 9. 122.

<sup>4</sup> 8. 111.

far the geography has come to him ready-made by his predecessors, or involved in the narrative, as found in his Sources<sup>1</sup>

(xi) The chronology of the war deserves appreciation on similar lines: scientific, or even approximately systematic, it is not, yet nowhere in the work of Herodotus is the chronology so good as in the last three Books. Here too the advantage is inherent in the subject, the story of a short and recent war of invasion. but what of that? The admission but emphasizes the historical quality of the record. The exact period of the war, the succession of the seasons, the temporal sequence of events, some well-remembered intervals, some approximate synchronisms, even the *Ephemerides* or diaries of important sections of the story, are presented for all time in the pages of Herodotus. Many weighty and interesting problems of chronology are indeed left doubtful; some apparently precise indications prove, on closer scrutiny, ambiguous, but still the narrative as a whole emerges, relatively speaking, a chronological triumph for the Father of History. His great disciple, and rival, Thucydides, seems to have done little new in this matter except to systematize and apply to a more extensive and amenable subject the method evolved by Herodotus in the stories of the Persian war.<sup>2</sup>

(xii.) Finally, the last three Books of Herodotus are not lacking in materials for students of Comparative Jurisprudence, of Ancient Law and Early Institutions, of Folk-lore, even if the deposit under this head be less rich than in the Books of foreign travel and research, notably the second and the fourth. A careful analysis of the *Logoi* here in question will soon discover a very considerable contribution to the institutional history not merely of the Greeks,<sup>3</sup> in particular of Sparta<sup>4</sup> and of

<sup>1</sup> For the geography and topography see Appendices II. § 3, IV §§ 3-6, V § 1, VI § 2, VIII § 2, the Commentary *passim*, and Indices III and IV

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Appendix IX, and Index IV *sub vv* Chronology, Dates.

<sup>3</sup> Such institutions as the following are illustrated *ἀναθήματα*, 8. 121-2, etc., the *Aristeia*, 8. 11, 93, 123, 9. 71, 81, 105, Cults, 7. 33, 117, 134, 153, 197, 8. 41, 54, 64, 65, 98, 129; 9. 7, 34, 81, 93, 101, etc., Divination, 7. 219, 9. 19, 33, 36 f., 93, Festivals, 7. 206,

9. 33, etc., *ius fetiale* (προξενία 8. 136, σπονδαί 7. 149, συμμαχία 7. 145, etc. etc., *ἄδεια* 7. 133, 149, νεκρῶν ἀναλipsis 7. 238, 8. 114, κτλ.); Oracles, *passim*, Prayer, 7. 141, 8. 64, 9. 61; with many others, social and political.

<sup>4</sup> Spartan institutions are constantly shown in operation, e.g. Kings, 7. 204, 8. 131, etc., Regents, 8. 71, 9. 10, Ephors, 9. 7, 76, Navarch, 8. 42, 131, Polemarch, 7. 173; Lochagos, 9. 53, Citizens, 7. 134, 234, etc., Helots, 9. 10, 80, Herald, 7. 134, Cooks, 9. 82,

Athens,<sup>1</sup> but in a lesser degree of the Persians,<sup>2</sup> and even of the outer 'Barbarians'.<sup>3</sup> Primitive Culture parades in many guises through the Army and Navy Lists of the Empire, systems of military tactics and command are seen on both sides in operation, forms of government, monarchy, oligarchy, democracy, are put to the test; principles and practices of international custom are formulated, or illustrated, religious cults and ideas start from every page, ethical standards and sentiments abound in evidence, the condition of the arts and sciences is exhibited; the story of the war becomes a survey of mankind. All these items of anthropology are, indeed, no more immune to criticism than the express contributions of military and political history, but they gain in credit and in use by the very fact that their publication was not the main purpose of the argument. The incidental fact, which occurs so to speak in an alien stratum, is historically all the more acceptable for being unnecessary to the object immediately in view.

§ 12. In conclusion, there are two types, or tendencies, in the recent criticism of Herodotus and his work, which may here be expressly disavowed. They are alike inelastic and one-sided; perfunctory and wanting in historical imagination, critical, yet not half critical enough. While appearing to assign to the work of Herodotus a higher place than can be claimed for it by a more discriminative analysis, in reality they alike depreciate the combination of art and learning exhibited in the work. (a) On the one hand we see the revival of an apology for Herodotus, which finds little if anything to censure in his work from the historical point of view, and argues the case for the defence, as

Honours, 8 124, 9 71, ἀτιμία, 7 231 f., 9. 71, Burial, 9. 85, etc etc

<sup>1</sup> βουλή, 9. 5, δῆμος, 7. 142, 8 79, 144, 9 117, δῆμοι, 8 84, 9. 73, δστρακοφορία, 8 79, ἀρχων, 8 51, ταμίας, *ibid*, στρατηγοί, *passim*, τριηραρχία, 7. 182, 8 17 87, 93, τὸ βάραθρον, 7 133, etc etc

<sup>2</sup> The *παμβασίλεια* (Aristot. 1285 b, *Pol* 3 15 1) is constantly shown in operation; e.g. Succession, 7 2, Vicegerent, 7 52, Privy Council, 7 8, 53, 8. 101, προσκύνησις, 7 136, 8 118,

Royal gifts, 7 8, 105, 8 120, 9 109, King's Birthday feast, 9 110, Harem-life, and position of women, 7. 2 f., 8 105, 9 108 ff, etc, Benefactors, 8 85, Judges, 7 194, Scribes, 7 100, 8 90, Couriers, 8 98, Satraps, 7 33, 8 136, 9 116, etc. The Persians were just as 'religious' as the Greeks, e.g. 7. 8, 53, 113, 114, 180, 8 54, 9 16; the Magoi, 7 19, 38, 118, 191, Obseques, 7 117, 9 24, Chivalry, 9 48, *Apparatus*, 7. 119, 9. 70, etc etc.

<sup>3</sup> 7 117, 8 116, Army-list *passim* (9 32, Egyptian caste)



though under the circumstances, or under any circumstances, the work of 'the historian of the Medic wars' could have been done no better. This apology involves too great a self-sacrifice to be acceptable. We are to admit the numbering of the Persian host at Doriskos, and its results, as historical, we must exclude appeal to the permanent and verifiable conditions of strategy and tactics, and allow much for possible in antiquity which would be impossible to-day, we shall confess that fact is none the less fact though contaminated with fiction, and that a half-truth is as true as a whole. Such attempts to reduce to insignificance the exaggerations, the inconsistencies, the absurdities, the impossibilities in the Herodotean record, and to exalt the work as a whole into a world-history, or even a history of the Medic wars, can only depreciate its unconscious values as a mirror of the age and of the conditions under which it was produced, without procuring any credit to the actual story of the war, to the glimpses of policy, and the items of biography involved. To reconstruct, so far as possible, the true history of the Medic wars, it is not necessary to ignore the shortcomings of our chief authority, or to suppose that his reputation can be 'rescued' by displaying the inconsistencies, or vagaries, of modern criticism. The pathetic apotheosis of Herodotus, as an historical authority, avenges itself doubly, in the inadequacy of the historical result, in the inconsistency of the literary critique. (b) On the other hand the advice to abandon all attempts at separating fact and fiction in the work of Herodotus, to treat it all as pure literature, to sandwich it in our libraries between the Homeric poems and the Waverley novels, is a mere counsel of indolence, or of despair. Even the earlier Books of Herodotus, not excepting the portions of them which deal with non-Hellenic affairs, deserve more respect than is implied in such an advice; while the Books, or the *Logoi*, dealing with things Hellenic, acclaim an indefinitely higher though critically varying appreciation in the Forum of History. The last three Books in especial, despite the elements of poetry, rhetoric, anecdote, moralizing, error, and sheer ignorance which they contain, will reward a searching examination at the bar of historical criticism. Only, one may not hope to pass a single and simple verdict upon each and every constituent in the story; one must be at some trouble to distinguish *Logos* from *Logos* and line from line in every Book, one must be pre-

pared to find wares of widely different values side by side in the Herodotean bazaar. The contribution which Herodotus makes to the actual history of his own times, of the *Pentekontaeteris*, is not inconsiderable, and ranks with the best materials of a Thucydides, a Xenophon, a Polybios. the only pity is, there does not happen to be more of it. The records of the Medic war, in its two campaigns, its operations by sea and on land, its inception and antecedents, its character and course, are indeed inadequate and to some extent irrational nevertheless, there is undoubtedly presented by the story a correct sequence of the major events, a not wholly misleading account of the relations between states, a fair outline of their respective policies and conduct, and many hints towards an estimate of the services rendered by the principals on both sides. This volume too, like the others, is a treasury of information upon a host of topics not directly connected with the bare story of the war, and sheds side-lights, in floods, upon the Hellenic and non-Hellenic worlds of the day. Ignorance and prejudice have deeply marred and stained the traditions, and authorities, upon which Herodotus, the rather as not strictly contemporary with his proper subject, had to rely, and, though by no means helplessly at the mercy of the first comer, he had not the necessary degree of critical faculty to sift grain from chaff, and wheat from tares, in his harvest of hearsay; yet still, for all that, the story of the war stands for ever in his pages on its merits an indispensable chapter of Hellenic and of human history, to be the delight and vexation of men and critics from generation to generation. If there is still so little agreement, even in regard to the negative criticism of the records, it is perhaps due to the failure of our scholars at starting sufficiently to discriminate the various elements of the problem, sufficiently to analyse the component factors in the general result, so as to evolve the widely different values, which belong to different statements, occurring side by side in the historian's pages, and all by him presented *bona fide* as equally trustworthy

In fine, Herodotus was neither a mere story-telling prose-poet, nor a scientific historian, but a genial minister to both history and literature alike. The marvel is that, seeing how brilliant a raconteur he is, there should be so much history in his work; or that, where there is so much history, the work should

read so well. The final test of its utility is to consider the loss, not merely to literature but to learning, had the work of Herodotus perished, or never been written. Confining our attention here to the Persian war, what should we glean of it without him? An *aperçu* from Aischylos, some epigrams by Simonides, a few references in the later literature, the gross errors of Ktesias, the rhetorical and systematic fiction of Ephoros (*apud* Diodorum), itself the child of a crude exploitation of Herodotus, a handful of vignettes from Plutarch, a list of monuments in Pausanias. For the full and real story Herodotus holds the field. There is, indeed, no ancient historian, whether upon his own ground or on general grounds, with whom Herodotus need fear comparison. He was more comprehensive than Thucydides, he was more candid than Xenophon, he was more brilliant than Polybios. As a military, or even as a political historian, he must yield the palm to the rivals named; but, in the larger view of history, which embraces every experience of humanity, treats no aspect of human life as common or unclean, regards man, under all conditions, and in all times and places, his fortunes and misfortunes, his adventures and achievements, as the most interesting topic in the world, and the portrayal and literary perpetuation of all that as the work best worth doing under the sun, Herodotus keeps his rank as the premier historian of antiquity. Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίας πρῦτανις



## THE TEXT

THE Greek text in this edition has been printed, by permission, from the fifth issues of Heinrich Stein's annotated edition *Herodotos*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1893, with a few variations, duly noted *ad ll.* The *Apparatus Criticus* has been formed by the collation of Stein's various editions, with the editions of Alfred Holder (*Herodoti Historiae*, 2 vv., Lipsiae 1886-8), and Henricus van Herwerden (*Herodotus*, Trajecti ad Rhenum <1888>), supplemented by Gaisford's third edition (1840), Dietsch-Kallenberg (Teubner, Lipsiae 1885), Schweighauser, and others. Stein's own various readings are distinguished as Stein<sup>1</sup> (= ed. mai. 1871), Stein<sup>2</sup> (= ed. min. 1884), Stein<sup>3</sup> (= the fifth edition of the annotated text above described), Stein<sup>5</sup>, the annotations to the same, Stein *simpliciter* denotes a reading common to the three. The two main families of MSS are denoted by the symbols introduced by Holder, and now generally accepted, **α** representing the agreement between A and B, **β** representing the agreement between R and V and S. Of these two symbols **α** represents the older existing class, A being a Medicean MS of the tenth century, B a Roman (Passionean) of the eleventh, while R is a Roman (Vatican) of the fourteenth century, V a Viennese codex, and S the Sancroft MS, both of obviously inferior value, but belonging to the same family. An earlier Florentine MS. (C) agrees generally with the elder family. Other codd. to which express reference is occasionally made (chiefly after Stein<sup>1</sup>'s apparatus) are one or other of two Paris MSS, viz. 1633, cited as P (an early MS more akin to **β**), and Paris 1635 (= Stein's *g*, a later MS in the same line); also the Venetian codex cited as Marc. (Stein's **δ**, probably a late MS of the **α** kindred). The Aldine *editio princeps* is cited as *z*. Various emendations are certified by their authors' names. The Ionic of Herodotus remains a great difficulty in the way of constituting a definitive text: neither family of MSS. appears to offer a perfectly consistent dialectal norm, as variations noted in the *Apparatus* will show, fixed rules hardly obtain in regard to such matters as elision (δέ, δ'), *v* and *s* suffixed (οὔτω, οὔτως), *ι* postscript, aspirates, accents, not to speak of diaeresis, punctuation, etc. The order of words sometimes varies. The same words occur in varying forms (Stein<sup>2</sup> writes ὀρέων and ὀρώων in the same chapter, e.g. 9.53). θωῖμα (or even θώυμα) has disappeared, but Stein retains οὔνομα, and so forth. It is more than possible that the practice of Herodotus himself was far from uniform or precise in such matters. Papyrology

## HERODOTUS

has not yet thrown much light upon the state of the text in the early centuries of our aera. The Oxyrhynchus fragments exhibit no important variations, indeed, as it happens, no passage from Bks 7, 8, 9 has so far emerged (cp *Oxyrh. Pap.* i 18, 19, iv 695, also U. Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyriusforschung* i 471-3, *Amherst Pap.* ii 12 teste B. P. Grenfell). MSS. of the Roman period might be expected to show some dialectal freaks, and also, perhaps, *Atticizing* tendencies, but Herodotus himself, in cases where his materials were largely drawn from Attic sources, as in Bk. 9, may have led the way in that direction. The *Index Lectionum* contains references only to such passages in the text as are noticed in the Commentary.

The text is on the whole satisfactory to the mere historian. Cases in which any point of material or historical importance turns upon the reading, are comparatively few in number. In the last three Books, apart from many lacunae, glosses, and doubtful proper names, the following passages afford textual problems of special interest, from the realist point of view — Bk. 7 c. 11 (the Achaemenid pedigree), c. 23 (the Athos Canal), c. 36 (the Bridges), c. 86 8 (Κάσπιοι), c. 109 9 (ἰών), c. 114 7 (a Persian custom), c. 164 5 (παρά or μετά?), c. 191 6 (γόησι), c. 239 (Demaratos-anecdote), Bk. 8 c. 20 (spurious?), c. 25 5 (καὶ Θεσπιάας?), c. 35 5 (Ἀιολιδέων), c. 37 7 (Προναίης), c. 46 2 (no. of Aeginetan ships), c. 76 7 (Κέον), c. 85 2 (Ἐλευσινός), c. 104 (the bearded priestess), c. 115 15 (transposition), c. 120 (suspect), c. 131 (Eurypontid pedigree), c. 133 3 (Εὐρωπεία), c. 136 7 (Ἀλόβανδα), c. 137 10 (transposition), c. 142 8 (ἀρχῆθεν), Bk. 9 c. 4 5 (προέχων), c. 28 2 (Παλῆες), c. 31 3 (τὸν ταύτη βέοντα), c. 33 7 (γόνου), c. 35 10 (Ἰσθμῷ), c. 55 6 (Λακεδαιμονίων), c. 70 5 (Λακεδαιμονίων), c. 85 3 (ἱρέας), c. 93 4 (Χῶνα), c. 96 3 (Καλαμίσοισι), c. 97 2 (ποταμόν), c. 106 14 (ἐμπολαία), c. 107 16 (Κιλικίης).

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι 1  
γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν  
μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις  
ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε καὶ

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ Z AB ἡροδότου ἱστοριῶν ἐβδόμη d 1. 1 ἐπείτε  
δὲ L van H

1 1 ἐπεὶ δέ does not correspond with any antecedent μέν clause, as οἱ δέ (8 1) and Μαρδόνιος δέ (9 1). There is more of a break, or pause, between Bks 6 and 7 than between 7 and 8, or 8 and 9. The patronymic added to Δαρεῖον just below, and the absence of any reference to the previous description of events here enumerated, further emphasize the original or potential independence of the present opening. It may even be that originally this Book opened with a short poem, transferred (not without some modification perhaps) to the opening, or preface, of the whole work, where it now stands (1. 1). On the whole argument in regard to the genesis of the work see further, Introduction, §§ 7-10.

ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο, by the process described 8 98, cp note there

2 τὸν Ὑστάσπεος. The use of the patronymic may simply be for the sake of emphasis, or solemnity, cp 1 45 for a conspicuous example, but still it serves, with other items, to mark the new beginning, which may have been the old beginning, in the work of Hdt. See further, Introduction, § 7.

3 τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολήν. perhaps an historic phrase, and not one coined by Hdt. for the occasion. The Lydian satrapy, as Stein (on 8 120) points out, was known to the Persians as *Çparda*=Σάρδεις. cp. Thuc 1 115. 4. The story

is told by Hdt 5 89 ff, but there is no express reference here to that passage. Cp the mention of Egypt *infra*. The absence of such cross references in these Books supports the view that they are of earlier composition than Books 1-6. Cp Introduction, § 7.

4 τότε, so ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο, κτλ. δεινότερα ἐποίηε. There was really little left him to do, at least symbolically, to manifest his wrath, if the story of the Bow-shot, the Prayer, and the Mentor, connected in tradition with the news of the sack of Sardes in 498 B.C. (Hdt. 5 105), is to be believed. That story could not well have been connected with the news of Marathon for two reasons: (1) it treated the Athenians as an unknown quantity to Dareios, (2) Marathon was not, except in the eyes of the Athenians, so very great or significant an achievement (cp Appendix X. to my edition of Bks. IV-VI.: 1895). Still, the omission of any specific action to set forth the wrath of Dareios upon this occasion leaves the Herodotean phrase vague and unsatisfactory. This defect, however, does not justify the substitution of ἐποίηετο for the active form of the verb. It appears, however, plainly in the sequel that Dareios (according to Hdt.) intended to conduct the reinvansion of Hellas in person (cp. Hdt 4 1).

- 5 μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα  
 μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν  
 στρατιήν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον  
 [παρέχειν], καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σίτον καὶ πλοῖα.  
 τούτων δὲ περιαιγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα,  
 10 καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα [στρατενο-  
 μένων] καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι  
 ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα  
 δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.  
 2 Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν

6 πόλιν <τε καὶ ἔθνεα> Stein<sup>2</sup> 8 παρέχειν Stein. παρείχον  
 B (RSV): secl. van H. || τε om α (AB)C || καὶ σίτον καὶ πλοῖα om id.  
 9 ἐδονέετο πᾶσα γ 10 στρατενομένων secl. Stein στρατευσομένων R  
 11 ἔτει secl. van H.

6. ἐπηγγέλλετο The Herodotean uses of this word are observable, cp c 29 *infra*, 8. 25, also 4. 119, 4. 200, 6. 9, 5. 98, 6. 139 *et al* πέμπων ἀγγέλους is pleonastic (Stein) ἀγγέλος in Hdt. = πρεσβευτής (or πρέσβυς, an ἀπαξ λ in 3. 58).

κατὰ πόλιν without ἔθνεα betrays a too exclusively Hellenic preoccupation, cp. c 8 *infra*. The phrase in any case is double-edged, qualifying ἐτοιμάζειν (at least inferentially) as well as πέμπων ἀγγέλους

7. ἐκάστοισι each set of men, 'each nation' (hence the plural).

πρότερον If παρέχειν be retained the meaning may be (with Stein) that the demand to be made on this occasion was in excess of the normal or prescribed levy, the expression implying that there was a standard levy for the militia (of which nothing is said in 3. 89 ff). The reading is in doubt, perhaps it is best to omit παρέχειν altogether (with van H.). Even if we read παρέχειν (with Stein) we need not adopt Stein's interpretation, παρέχειν being exegetical merely. πρότερον may cover not only the Marathonian campaign, but all others, the Scythian included, for which the levy had been (*ex hypothesi*) 700,000 Cp 4. 87.

8 καὶ πλοῖα is not quite a sound reading, but it is by no means superfluous even after νέας, as the πλοῖα comprise the transports (cp ἱππαγωγὰ cc 21 and 97 *infra*; σιταγωγὰ cc. 186, 191 *infra*).

9. τούτων δὲ περιαιγγελλομένων does not form a strict antithesis to αὐτίκα μὲν

ἐπηγγέλλετο just above, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει just below rather demands ἐπὶ τρία μὲν ἔτεα The exact text is in some doubt (vide Apparatus above), but in any case the antitheses are not fully or correctly worked out τούτων is rather vague, περιαιγγ passive.

ἐδονέετο, though perhaps a poetic word, is used by Hdt 4. 2 in an absolutely prosaic connexion.

τρία ἔτεα τετάρτῳ δέ Strictly speaking, the three years should count from the despatch of the king's message. On the chronology cp c. 20 *infra*

10 τῶν ἀρίστων rather tends to qualify the maximum numbers, cp 8. 118 But is there some confusion underlying the term? Cp c 8 *infra*

ὡς, 'as it was against Hellas' (Blakesley)

12. ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ δ The omission of any reference to the story in 3. 1-38 is no difficulty, on the supposition that this passage was of earlier composition; cp Introduction, § 7

2 1. στελλομένου δὲ Δ The king was plainly going in person, a στάσις occurred before he started Stein favours the variant in Justin and Plutarch that the στάσις took place after the death of Darius, but the versions are not mutually exclusive Hdt, however, in the anecdote which follows has not perhaps very clearly distinguished two different cases—(a) the appointment of a vice-roy, for the king's absence; (b) the appointment of a successor, in case of the king's death In Hdt 1. 208 Kyros appoints Kambyses, his son, τῷ περ τὴν βασιλείην



παιδῶν αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς  
 δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω  
 στρατεῦσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι  
 γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύεω 5  
 θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι  
 τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν  
 δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. εὐντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατός τε εἶη  
 παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶη πρὸς πάντων 10  
 ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς  
 Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶη

2 5 Γοβρύεω δὲ? Stein γωβρύεω B, Holder Γωβρύω <δὲ> van H.  
 7 ἀρταβαζάνης B 9 ἐστασίασαν α

ἐδίδου, as viceroy before going against the Massagetai, Kambyases, before going to Egypt, appointed a Magos as τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνόν, 3 61, or ἐπίτροπον, 3 63 —but the Magos was not to succeed in the event of the king's death. No similar provision is recorded in the case of the Scythian expedition of Daireios himself (Bk 4), but Xerxes in 480 B.C. evidently appoints his uncle Artabanos as Major-domo and Viceroy, c. 52 *infra*. Artaxerxes Mnemon appointed a successor (Daireios) simply in view of his own age, and to avoid a στάσις (Plutarch, *Artax.* 26). Rawlinson compares the case of the succession of Kroisos, Hdt. 1 92, which would perhaps carry the custom (νόμος) beyond the Persian limit. It may fairly be doubted whether there was any specifically Persian rule in the matter, similar cases might arise in any monarchy. The Spartan rule that there should always be at least one king at home stood on a different footing, and was, if we may trust Hdt. 5 75, devised for the purpose of avoiding a kingly στάσις on the campaign, it was not, however, rigidly observed, cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5 3 10, but the Spartan suggestion in the context here is nevertheless noticeable.

2 μεγάλη may be taken as predicate (cp. Luke 22 24).

3 οὕτω, 'he should not start on an expedition until he had appointed a successor in accordance with the law of the Persians' Cp. 4 168 οὕτω πίπτει.

5 Γοβρύεω θυγατρός Stein wishes to read Γοβρύεω δὲ θυγατρός, 'as Gobryas has been mentioned before' But, in

truth, had Gobryas been mentioned before? This text confirms the view that Bk. 7 is earlier in composition than the text of Bk. 3. Strange to say, there is nothing about this marriage in Bk. 3, not even in c. 88, where Dareios' wives are enumerated: a striking illustration of the independence of various passages in the work of Hdt. even when dealing with the same subject. Here only two wives appear, (1) the daughter of Gobryas, and (2) Atossa, the daughter of Kyros. But Dareios had at least three other wives: (3) Atystone, daughter of Kyros, c. 69 *infra*, (4) Parmys, daughter of Bardiya, c. 78 *infra*, (5) Phaidyme, a daughter of Otanes, 3 69, 88.

6 βασιλεύσαντι, 'after coming to the throne' The birth of Xerxes can hardly have occurred before the year 520 or 519 B.C. He would have been rather less than forty years of age in 480 B.C., and barely thirty-five at the date of his accession.

7 ἐπρέσβευε, i.e. πρεσβύτατος ἦν.

9 κατότι = κατὰ τοῦτο ὅτι, propterea quod, κατ' ὅτι, quia propter, 6 3 (Stein).

10. πάντων ἀνθρώπων, not strictly true. The story of the στάσις apparently comes from a Spartan or quasi-Spartan source (cp. Introduction, § 10), and at Sparta the succession of the eldest was no doubt the rule, cp. Hdt. 5 39, 42.

12 Κύρου Rawlinson notices the importance of the Kyreian descent of Xerxes (cp. c. 11 *infra*), but can hardly be right in thinking that Dareios reigned in virtue of his marriage with Atossa, especially if Dareios only married Atossa after his accession.

3 ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένον κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τούτοις καὶ Δημάρχτος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σούσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ  
5 ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων. οὗτος ὦν ἡρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεισι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι [Δαρείῳ]. οὐκὼν οὔτε οἶκος εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον  
10 ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρχτος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, δὲ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδοξιν τῆς βασιλείης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ  
15 Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρχίου υποθήκῃ, γυνὸς ὁ Δαρείος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς υποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν  
4 κράτος. ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι [Ξέρξῃ] Δαρείος ὁρμᾶτο

3. 8 βασιλεύοντι <τε> Stein 9 Δαρείῳ del. Sitzler, van H., Stein<sup>3</sup>  
17 ἐβασίλευσεν B, Holder ἐβασίλευσε van H. 4. 1 Ξέρξῃ seclusi

3. 2 κατὰ τούτων τούτοις, of a synchronism, cp c 206 *infra*. How far the date is correct is another question, but Ktesias 23 is not to be followed as against Hdt. The flight of Demaratos fell apparently 491 B.C., some time after his deposition (here mentioned as equivalent). The absence of any reference to the story told in Bk. 6, and the use of the patronymic, are significant for the problem of composition: the latter indeed doubly significant, as Hdt. here specifies his paternity without a hint of suspicion. Otherwise the reference is not especially favourable to Demaratos, Hdt. gives it as his own opinion that the Spartan exile had not much in reality to say to the accession of Xerxes. On the possible source of the anecdote cp Introduction, § 10.

6. ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει Blakesley cps. 8. 94, 9. 84. The phrase is depreciatory, and points to the *vox vana*, cp. Introduction § 10.

7 πρὸς τοῖσι: *subaud.* τὰ (ἐλέγε).

10. πρὸ, 'before,' 'instead of'; cp Index Verb.

ἐν Σπάρτῃ . . οὕτω νομίζεσθαι

This νόμος goes far beyond the mere law of primogeniture above noticed, Hdt. seems to have some misgiving about it. The supposed law looks rather like an inference from the case of Euryanax, 9 10 *infra*. Leonidas succeeded his brother, Kleomenes, and was succeeded by his son Pleistarchos (in 480 B.C.), although there was a son of Doriaeus in Sparta at the time, the said Euryanax, who may have been excluded from the succession on the ground that Doriaeus, his father, and elder brother to Leonidas, had never actually been king at all. The accession of a cadet branch does not well accord with the supposed rule (cp case of Leotychidas, 6. 65). Maspero, in 655 (*E.T.*), seems to admit the law as genuine Persian—rather gratuitously.

14. ἐκδέξαι, apparently an ἀπαξ λ., although ἐκδέκεσθαι, 'to succeed,' whether in place (4 39) or in time (1. 185), is not rare.

4. 1. ὁρμᾶτο, Stein's reading here; ὁρμητο (*bis*), c 1 *supra*. The one is to be regarded as an imperfect, the other as a pluperfect form, though it is not obvious why Hdt. timed the word here

στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεκε αὐτὸν [Δαρείου], βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτια, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας [Αἰγυπτίους] 5 οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληὴ ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν 5 παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρην. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, 5 ὃς ἦν Ξέρην μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων "δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους

4 Δαρείου secl Stein<sup>2</sup> 5 Αἰγυπτίους seclusi! 5. 4 ἄγερσιν  
P: ἔγερσιν 6 Ξέρην ξέρξου B

and in the places above differently. The variation, however, may be made to give a neat difference.

3 τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει, after the revolt of Egypt and the designation of Xerxes as successor. As these events are not synchronous the ἔτος may be the official or calendarial year, presumably by Persian reckoning, though *ενιαυτός* might, perhaps, be the more technical term therefore. *συνήνεκε* = *συνέβη*, without any suggestion of foul play.

4 τὰ πάντα, 'in all,' perhaps to mark the fact that the *Interregnum*, or Usurpation of the Magos, is ignored. Ktesias gives Dareios only thirty-one years ("with his usual inexactness," Rawlinson) and makes his age seventy-two; Blakesley calculates Dareios' age as sixty-four on the Herodotean data. Stein tries to reconcile the figures thirty-six and thirty-one by remarking that Dareios was only established as king in 516 B.C. But (a) this date is too late (cp Bks. IV-VI, vol. II p. 37 n. 2), (b) neither Dareios nor the Persian records would have recognized any date for the establishment of Dareios but his 'accession'.

5 οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο Cp c. 8 *infra*, 5. 51. The absence of all reference to the vow (5. 105) is here remarkable: was Hdt. acquainted with that anecdote when he first wrote this passage? The doubt fortifies the argument for the prior composition of Bks. 7-9. Cp Introd. § 8.

6 τιμωρήσασθαι, with acc. of person, 'to avenge one's self upon' Cp. 3. 53, 6. 138.

5. 1 ἀνεχώρησε, of proper and normal succession. Cp. *ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληὴ* c. 205 *infra*, *περιήλθε (ἡ ἡγεμονία)*, of a transition into alien hands, 1. 7.

5 Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω, here introduced as for the first time, 6. 43 notwithstanding (further evidence of the independence and prior composition of Bk. 7, cp. Introduction, § 7). The connexion of Mardonios with the royal house is not quite fully expounded here. Dareios had married a daughter of Gobryas, i.e. a sister, or perhaps a half-sister to Mardonios (her son disputes the succession with Xerxes, c. 2 *supra*), and Mardonios had to wife a daughter of Dareios, perhaps a full sister to Xerxes; Mardonios was thus nephew, brother-in-law, and son-in-law to Dareios, and also cousin and brother-in-law to Xerxes, but considerably the king's senior. Mardonios now appears as the evil genius of the king (cp. Aeschyl. *Pers.* 753-8 on the evil counsellors). As Blakesley points out, Mardonios and Artaphrenes represented different plans: the policy of Artaphrenes had failed at Marathon, Mardonios and the Thracian or overland route come again to the front. There was also 'the previous question,' represented by Artabanos. Cp. further, Introduction, § 11, Appendix II § 2.

7 δέσποτα strikes the note of oriental servility in Greek ears; cp. c. 9 etc. Artabanos, the king's uncle, prefers *ὁ βασιλεὺς* c. 10 etc.

οὐκ οἰκός . . . μὴ οὐ δ. 8. 8 τῶν ἐπ. A genuine instance of the reduplicated

ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν  
 10 χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτου τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατη-  
 λάτεις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσεται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι." οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ  
 λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλῆς  
 15 εἴη χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε  
 6 ἄκρη, βασιλείᾳ τε μόνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι. ταῦτα ἔλεγε  
 οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἔων καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ  
 ἀνέπεισε ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα Ξέρξην· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα  
 5 οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα [ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξην]. τοῦτο μὲν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι  
 ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλεῖς·

9 ἀλλ' εἰ α ἄλλα 13 τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ α τούτου δὲ τοῦ β Holder :  
 τοῦ δὲ conl. Stein<sup>2</sup> 6 4 ξέρξεα idque ante ὥστε PRz μιν Kallen-  
 berg 5 ἐς τὸ π. Ξ secl. van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 8 οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς secl.  
 Blakesley

negative (cp. Madvig, *Gk. Syntax*, § 211), exactly paralleled in 8. 100 *ἡγῆα* (οὐδεμία ἐκδύσει μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον κτλ.)

9 ἀλλ' εἰ (cp. App. Crit.), the reading of the better class, is defended by Stein as a mild imperative, and Homeric. (Cp. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 311)

13. τιμωρός. *Hicce sermo ad ultionem* (s. *proenam*) *exigendam spectabat* Cp. σύμμαχος 5 65 (Baehr) The παρενθήκη (cp. 6 19), on the excellence of the European soil and products, in itself an economic or commercial motive, is also given a superb twist by reference to the king. To the praise of Europe here may be set off the praise of Asia on the lips of Aristagoras, 5. 49, surely more justifiable in itself.

15 παντοῖα covers more than the olive. ἀρετή, of the soil, cp. 4 198

16. ἄκρος, a eulogistic term, cp. c 111 *ἡγῆα*, 5 112, 124, 6. 122

6. 2 οἷα κτλ. The first motive ascribed to Mardonios (νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμία) might suit democratic leanings (cp. 6. 43) rather than military measures, the second is presumably inferential, his ambition to be governor of Hellas, a rôle which would bulk more largely in the eyes of a Greek (cp. case of

Pausanias, 5 32) than in the eyes of a Persian. ἔργων here is not substantially different from *πρηγμάτων*. So often (1) ἔργον = πράξις (e.g. ἐ ἀποδέξασθαι c. 139 *ἡγῆα*, cf. *passim*). The word is also used (ii) of material objects, or 'works' (1. 51 Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίον ἔργον εἰ αὐτ., cp. 1 36 τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν εἰ) (iii) In some passages we get almost the meaning 'use' or 'function', cp. 1 17 and 114

3 κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε. Perhaps 'he succeeded in persuading' (a hendiadys) rather than either (α) κατεργάσατο ἃ ἐβούλετο or (β) κατεργάσατο τὸν Ξέρξην καὶ ἀνέπεισε αὐτόν, though the use of the word in 9 108 (οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι sc. ἡ γυνή) supports interpretation (β) The Herodotean uses of this word are remarkable (cp. Index Verb.) In the next sentence ἄλλα is subject of συνέλαβε, and Ξέρξην of πείθεσθαι.

5 τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ, without specific reference to ἄλλα, 'in the first place, in the second.'

6 ἄγγελοι = πρέσβεις, cp. c 1, 1 6 *συρηα*.

8 οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι . . . βασιλεῖς. On the 'Aleuads' cp. cc 130, 172 *ἡγῆα*, and 9. 1, 58 Hdt. would hardly be right

τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς 10 τοῦτοις ἐτι πλεον προσωρέγοντό οἱ. ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοῦς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος 15 ἐμποικῶν ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, ὥς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης· διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν

13 προκαταλυσάμενοι B. προκαταλυσόμενοι ABCd 16 Λήμνῳ  
Krueger λήμνον 17 ἀφανιζοίατο ἀφανιοίατο Krueger: ἀφανιεοίατο  
Naber

in describing them here as 'kings', but I am half inclined to regard the phrase as a gloss (with Blakesley), cp 5. 63. If it stands, it will not favour the view that Hdt. himself had visited Thessaly (cp c 129 *infra*). Hdt appears to be unacquainted with the government of Thessaly, and even with the title of *ταγός*. The Aleuads were evidently party-leaders, cp c 172.

9 Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες. These anonymous 'Peisistratids' are rather a mystery. Dikaos, 8. 65, may have been one, cp also 8. 54. But what of Hippias, whom Hdt at least has not expressly slain at Marathon (cp Cicero, *ad Att* 9. 10. 3)? The omission to account for Hippias (after 6. 107), and the whole tone and character of this notice of the Peisistratids (after the place occupied by their story in Bks 5, 6), support the view that Bk 7 is of prior composition; cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8. Hdt. gives no date for the 'anabasis'.

10 λόγων ἐχόμενοι, as c 5 *supra*. Cp Index Verb *ἔχασθαι*.

11 προσωρέγοντό (τι ἐτι πλεον οἱ) an unusual word and expression, cp *ἐπορεύεσθαι* in 9. 34 (of something beyond *προτεινέσθαι*), rendered "plied him" (Blakesley), "worked upon him" (Rawlinson), "instabant regi eumque urgebant" (Baehr).

Ὀνομάκριτον . . Μουσαίου. The friendship of Hipparchos with the Athenian soothsayer and oracle-monger is characteristic and significant of the tyrannic family (cp 5. 93, etc.). Lasos of Hermione, or Hermion (cp 8. 73 *infra*), a 'Dryopian,' with a special

interest perhaps in Lemnos and the Lemnians (cp 8. 73), may have been a rival professor at the Athenian court. Pausan. 1. 22. 7 extends the forgeries of Onomakritos, and reduces the genuine remains of Musaios to one Hymn to Demeter for the Attic Lykomidai. Onomakritos may, perhaps, be connected with the spread of 'the Orphic religion', cp Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, i. (1902) 339. Lasos was "a lyric and dithyrambic poet of the highest repute" (R.), of whom Aristophanes makes jocular mention as rival of Simonides (*Wasps*, 1410 f.). A fragment of his Hymn to Demeter is preserved in Athenaeus, cp Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici*, iii<sup>4</sup> (1882), pp. 376 f.

15 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοῦς a technical (Athenian) expression, here not quite accurately used (He was not filching but forging. Still, forgery is a kind of theft!). Cp 6. 72 and 137.

17 ἀφανιζοίατο. Baehr disapproves of Naber's suggestion *ἀφανιεοίατο* (future), the pres. opt. having a future significance. Stein observes that *ἀφανίζονται* may have stood oracularly in the actual verse, cp cc 140, 220 *infra*. Why Onomakritos should have foretold destruction for the islands off Lemnos does not appear. Baehr observes that (1) the holy isle of Chryse is intended, (2) the region is volcanic. Perhaps the prophecy has some bearing on the Peisistratid policy in the Hellenistic region (cp Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 208), whether as warning or encouragement. Plutarch, *de Pythiae orac.* 11 (*Mor.* 399), preserves an oracle predicting the appearance of an island in the sea, and the victory of the inferior over the superior

ὁ Ἱππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ  
 συναναβάς ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόντων  
 20 τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν  
 χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν  
 μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὃ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε,  
 τὸν τε Ἑλλησποντον ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς  
 Πέρσεω τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοφδῶν  
 25 προσεφέρετό <οἱ> καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι  
 γνῶμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.  
 7 Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου  
 πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν  
 νυν καταστρεφάμενος καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην

21 <ἐς> σφάλμα Stein 24 τὴν τε <ἄλλην> Stein<sup>3</sup> 25  
 προσεφέρετο ABC. <οἱ> add. Stein<sup>3</sup> || καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι om ABC  
 7. 3 στρατηγὴν Wesseling · στρατιγὴν 4 πᾶσαν om. B. approb.  
 Holder

power a conjunction interpreted to refer to the rising of the islet between Thera and Therasia and the Roman victory over Philip of Macedon in 197 B.C.

κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. The accusative might have been expected, but cp c. 235 *ὑφ' ἡ*

ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἱππαρχος The expulsion must be dated before mid-summer 514 B.C., cp 5 55. Hipparchos might perhaps be said to have effected it, even without being himself actually 'tyrant', but cp my note *ad l c*

19. ὅκως, neither modal nor final, but simply temporal and iterative (opt.), a frequent use in Hdt (*v L & S sub v A I 7*) Cp note to 8 14 *ὑφ' ἡ*

21 εἰ μὲν . . τῶν μὲν . . ὃ δέ The sequence and antithesis are not quite strict, but the subject of the sentence is expressed and emphasized by the particle, in accordance with a common device of Hdt's, cp Index Verb *s v δέ ἐνέοι semel alius locus εἴη* (Baehi)

24. ἐξηγεόμενος, "expounding, in conformity with his oracles" (Stein); cp. for an illustration Mardonios' exegesis, 9 42 But the phrase is used in 3 4 without any oracular suggestion: Καμβύση . . ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἀνδρὸν διεκπερᾶ, ἐπελθὼν (ὁ Φάνης) φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν κτλ.

(Stein would read τὴν τε ἄλλην ἔλασιν in this place)

οὗτός τε. It is remarkable that Demaratos plays no part in this anecdote. was he not in Susa? Cp c. 3 *supra* προσεφέρετο does duty with the Peisistratids and Aleuads, as well as with Onomakritos The defective style of Hdt. in this anecdote has been the subject of remark (cp Kaibel, *Stil u Text d. II A p 29*) Such defects may at times arise from ill-digested sources—here, for example—but hardly in the other case cited by Kaibel (c 8 *ὑφ' ἡ*, q v.), and these stylistic failures would be most natural in the portion of Hdt's work earliest composed

7. 1 ἀνεγνώσθη. What good evidence can Hdt have had that, even before the reconquest of Egypt, Xerxes was resolved on the ultimate invasion of Hellas? Oī, conversely, that this resolution was subsequently abandoned? At any rate, the effect of the statement is to reduce the reconquest of Egypt to a mere episode, and to exalt the reinvansion of Hellas into the main object of Persian policy, and that rightly enough Dramatically, psychologically, and for the sake of the great historic argument, the decision ascribed to Xerxes is acceptable.

2 δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μ.τ.θ.τ.Δ. If the 'years' are calendar years, the invasion

ποιήσας ἡ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφεῷ μὲν 5  
 ἔωτοῦ Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεια μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα  
 Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου  
 ἀνὴρ Λίβυς. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς 8  
 χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον  
 ἐπικλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε  
 πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνε-  
 λέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ’ αὐτὸς 5

### 8. 2 τὸ poster 1 om ABCd

of Egypt might have taken place within twelve months of the death of Dareios, otherwise, of course, the anniversary of the death occurs before the invasion. Curiously little is here made of this rebellion in Egypt and its reduction. was it a trifling affair? It appears from Egyptian sources that Egypt enjoyed a native (or Libyan) king, Chabbasch by name, a votary of the Memphite god, Ptah. The death of an Apis is recorded for the *second* year of his reign. The temples in Buto were enriched by grants of land. Some measures were taken to protect the mouths and marshes of the Nile from the Asiatic fleet. (Cp Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* II 685, Noldeke, *Aufsätze*, 41.) But all this leaves no impression upon the traditions in Hdt., whether here or elsewhere (not even in Bk. 2). The middle verbs *ποιέεται*, *καταστρεφάμενος*, suggest that Xerxes did not in person visit Egypt.

5 Ἀχαιμένει. Achaemenes, the full brother of Xerxes (cp. c 2 *supra*), appears below in command of the Egyptian contingent, cp c 97 *infra*. He may have effected the overthrow of Chabbasch. His subsequent death, at the hands of Inaros the Libyan, has been previously related by Hdt. 3. 12—unless indeed this passage was the earlier composed, a view supported by the complete absence of any cross reference. The rebellion of Inaros is to be dated 460 B.C., cp Thuc. 1. 104. On this passage cp Introd. § 8.

8. 1 ἔμελλε. ‘Xerxes’ is generally taken as the subject, but might not τὸ στράτευμα be the subject, and ἄξεσθαι passive (τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι in l. 126 notwithstanding)? ἄξεσθαι in pass sense, Aeschyl. *Agam.* 1632, Plato *Rep.* 458 D, in both cases with personal subject, but Thucyd. 4. 115. 2 has *μηχανῆς μελλούσης προσάξεσθαι*.

2 τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. narrowing the objective of the undertaking, cp c 5 *supra*, and 6. 44. The article (τὰς) is notable.

σύλλογον ἐπικλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων an important Persian institution, and at least a potential check on the absolute monarchy. Cp 8. 101 ἐβουλευέτο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλητοῖσι, and 9. 42, where a similar council surrounds Mardonios. (In c. 208 *ὑψὲρ ἐπικλητοῖ* is merely predicative, as in 5. 75.) The same councillors are summoned again, c. 13 *infra*, but the king may have had considerable latitude in the choice of his council and the particular summons issued, cp c 27 *infra* (Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας), c. 53 (ἸΙ τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους), c. 119 (οἱ ὁμόσῃτοι), c. 147 (οἱ πάρεδροι). The Council of War before Salamis is naturally more general, 8. 67, but the ἐπικλητοὶ or σύμβουλοι Περσέων reappear in 8. 101, and may to some extent be covered by the anecdote in 8. 119 (Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους). On the celebrated ‘Dareios’ vase there are six counsellors, the figure behind the throne is plainly not one of the council, but a guard (cp Baumeister, *Denkmaler*, I 408 ff and Plate VI). The heads of the six great Houses may have formed an inner ring (cp. 3. 84, 118), but there was a wider Privy Council, as here implied, and the status and title of councillor was probably distinctly recognized (cp Book of Daniel, 3. 24 *et al.*), though the king might presumably summon whom he would, and on a campaign the councils of war would naturally be composed of military officers. For other parallel cases cp. 1. 206 (Kyros), 3. 65 (Kambyeses).

5. ἔλεξε. The λόγος Ξέρξεω which follows is cited by Dionys. Halicarn. *de adm. vi dicendi in Demosth.* 41 (not, as

κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπεῖτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τῇνδε παρὰ Μήδων, Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός  
 10 τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον  
 15 γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μὴδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι· φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κύδος ἡμῖν [τε]

8 ἡτρεμίσαμεν AB ἡτρεμήσαμεν 9 Αστυάγεα z ἀστυάγην  
 (-ειν B, -ηι d) 12 <τε> καὶ Naber 13 εὖ <ὕμιν> Stein<sup>3</sup> || οὐκ  
 del. Tournier an potius εὖ ὑμῖν ἂν legendum? 14 τοῦτον, R θρόνον,  
 τοῦτο ceteri θρόνον τοῦτον vel θρόνον, τούτου testim || λείψομαι P  
 λήψομαι d λείψομαι ceteri et Dionys 16 ἡμῖν B, Holder ἡμῖν τε  
 (τε ἡμῖν Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H) τε secl Stein<sup>3</sup>

Blakesley vaguely says, "in the treatise in which he compares the relative merits of Herodotus and Thucydides," viz presumably the *Ep ad Pomp* as an example of the mean between the 'austere' or dry and the elegant or 'sweet' styles, and converted into Attic (or κοινή). The speech itself—with those which follow—is "quite unhistorical" (Rawlinson), and "obviously of Hellenic manufacture" (Blakesley). In short, we have here examples of Hdt's own creation ('*Ἡρόδοτος Ξέρξη περιτιθεῖς τὸν λόγον*, Dionys *l c*) Kaibel (*Stil u. Text*, p 30 n) points out that Thuc 5 105 has imitated and improved upon the opening passage, Baelh, from the observed resemblance, had argued that Hdt. was putting Greek formulae into the mouth of a foreign speaker (as often)

6 νόμον τόνδε. Xerxes specifies his relation to the law before specifying what the law is—a procedure stylistically defective (Kaibel, *l c*). The 'law' in question is not, indeed, expressly specified at all, but may be inferred to be the law of 'expansive empire' or of 'imperial expansion' (οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν), under divine leading (θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει), with excellent results (συμφέρει τὸ ἄμεινον). It is a 'law,' in fact, rather in the indicative than in the imperative form, and previously exemplified by the Median empire *l* 185, and by Kyros *l*. 190 \*

8 ἡτρεμίσαμεν ἀτρεμίζειν 9 74 *et al* = ἀτρέμας ἔχειν 8 14, 16, 9 52, 53. Both verbs, ἀτρεμῶ and ἀτρεμίζω, are found, usually with negative (as here), but cp c 18 *infra*. Stein treats ἀτρεμίζειν as the Herodotean form (Neither word is good Attic)

9 Κύρου κ. Ἀστυάγεα Cp 1 127 ff. There could of course be no reference in this speech to that passage—even if the speech were of later composition.

10 πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι Cp πόλεμον ἐφ Σιμονίδ, *τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλάας* Archil. *δῶσα καὶ νομιμὰ* Aιστοφ *Thesmoph* 675 (L & S *sub v*) συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον, *in malis cadunt, prospere cadunt* (Baelh) Cp 4 15, 156, and c 88 *infra*

12 κατεργάσαντο = κατεστρέψαντο (Stein), cp c 6 *supra*

13 ἐγὼ δέ, not in strict apposition to τὰ μὲν above, cp c 6 *l* 21 *supra*

14 τὸν θρόνον The Tragedians use the plural also, cp σκῆπτρα c. 52 *infra*, and note *ad l*

ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι is correct (not λείψομαι, cp Heiligenstadt, *de finalium enuntiationum usu*, ii (1892), p 21)

16 ἅμα μὲν κτλ The text here is in trouble, from a superfluity of τε. May it not have run originally κύδος ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον (or γινόμενον) χώρην τῆς νῦν ἐκτίμεθα ἐτέρην οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ



προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτῆμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ  
 φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην δέ, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν  
 γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν  
 ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν· μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλάν 20  
 στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους  
 τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν  
 ἐμὸν ὠρᾶτε μὲν νυν καὶ [πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν] Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα  
 στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου 25  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι . . . πρὶν ἢ  
 ἔλω τε καὶ πυρώσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν  
 ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῖντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες,  
 ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι,  
 ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἶα 30  
 ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρτα-

17 χώρης ABC 18 δὲ *il*, Stein<sup>3</sup>· τε 23 πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν  
 om. R, Dionys. seclusi || Δαρεῖον secl. Cobet 26 lacunam indic.  
 Stein<sup>3</sup>, τιμωρεόμενος vel sim. suppl cens 27 ἐμέ τε καὶ Dionys.  
 28 ἐλθόντες παρὰ Dionys. 29 ἀπικόμενοι om Dionys. approb Holder,  
 sed cf. Baehr

φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε προσκτώ-  
 μενοι, ἅμα δὲ κτλ. ?

17. τῆς, by attraction.

οὐκ ἐλάσσονα. In Hdt.'s own  
 geography Europe was much larger than  
 Asia, cp 4 42 with note *ad l*

21 Ἀθηναίους. It is observable that  
 there is not a word against the Spartans  
 and their treatment of the Persian heralds,  
 as described c. 136 *infra* a curious  
 omission here, if Hdt had been ac-  
 quainted with that anecdote when he  
 first penned this passage.

22 τιμωρήσωμαι cp c 4 *supra*

23 ὠρᾶτε is, of course, imperf

ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι, 1 234, 3  
 39 ἰθύειν, a poetical word (Homeric),  
 with a purely physical significance in the  
*Iliad*, and a purely mental significance  
 in the *Odyssey* (thus shedding a ray  
 upon the respective dates and authorship  
 of these poems, cp Monro, *Od* xii-xxiv  
 App. II § 4) Hdt. has the word in  
 the older sense 4 122

25 οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ cp c 4 *supra*  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου. The vow  
 of Xerxes is an act of filial piety, upon  
 the motivation in this whole passage see  
 further 1 32 *infra*

27 τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἳ γε Ἀθῆναις,  
 whose sons . . . an obvious *constr. ad*

*sensum* Stein cps *Od.* ψ (21) 318, and  
*C I G* 71 c ἐν τῇσι πόλεσιν οἱ ἀν χρώνται  
 τῷ ἱερῷ

29 ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ Aristagoras,  
 according to 5 99, had not accompanied  
 the Athenians up to Sardes. There  
 could be little likelihood of such an  
 inconsequence, if Hdt had just written  
 the story of the Ionian revolt before  
 writing this passage. The better sup-  
 position is that the speech of Xerxes is  
 of older composition than the story of  
 the revolt, cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8

ἀπικόμενοι must be retained, vide  
 App Crit. *supra*

30 τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά. The  
 king's concern is in part for the gods,  
 for the motivation cp. next note but  
 two

31 ὅτε Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης  
 ἐστρατήγεον. The omission of Hippias  
 is observable, but not unnatural, in the  
 king's mouth, addressing an exclusively  
 Persian meeting, nor could any distinct  
 reference to the story of the Marathonian  
 campaign as told in Bk 6 be here ex-  
 pected, nevertheless the character of  
 this reference, with its air of ancient  
 history about it, best accords with the  
 supposition that Hdt had not composed  
 Bk. 6 when he wrote this speech

φρένης ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κὺν πάντες. τούτων μὲν  
 τοίνυν εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ  
 ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ  
 35 τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεφόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ  
 Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώραν, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ  
 Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμoureύσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλην χώραν γε οὐδεμίαν  
 κατόψεται ἥλιος ὅμouρον εὐόσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας  
 πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώραν θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν  
 40 τῆς Εὐρώπης. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν, οὔτε τινα πόλιν  
 ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ  
 ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα  
 ὑπεξαρημένων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσιν δούλιον  
 ζυγὸν οἱ τε ἀναίτιοι. ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε·

32 τὰ om. Dionys approb Holder et Stein<sup>1</sup> || μὲν τοίνυν Stein<sup>2</sup>:  
 μέντοι: 'immo μὲν δὴ' Bekker 34 εὐρίσκω ἀναλογιζόμενος z 37  
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώραν B approb Holder Stein<sup>1 2</sup> || οὐδεμίαν del van H.

32 τὰ strongly demonstrative (cp  
 τῶν c 6 *supra*) but omitted by Dionys H.  
 τούτων . εἵνεκα At least seven  
 good reasons have been stated for the  
 king's resolve (1) filial piety, (2)  
 religion, (3) revenge, (4) justice, (5)  
 profit, (6) honour, (7) ambition

33 ἀνάρτημαι, 'I am ready,' 'fully  
 prepared.' The later lexicographers  
 (Veitch, *Gk. Verbs*, followed by L &  
 S) have corrected the confusion in  
 Schweigh between ἀρτάω and ἀρτέομαι  
 (with its compounds, as here), both  
 words being frequently used by Hdt  
 (e.g. ἀρτάω, 1 125 (ἀρτέαται), 3. 19  
 (ἡρτητο), 5 31 (ἡρτημένοι), 6 109, 9 68,  
 ἀρτέομαι, 5 120 (ἀρτέοντο), 8 97 (ἀρτέετο),  
 c 143 *infra* (ἀρτέεσθαι), ἀρτέομαι does  
 not as a rule take the augment, but cp.  
 9 29 (παρήρτητο)

34 ἐν αὐτοῖσι, 'therein' Cp. Index  
 Verb. *sub v.*

35 Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς in the mouth  
 of Xerxes gives a further claim against  
 the Peloponnesians—which a notice of  
 the Spartan outrage on the heralds  
 would have strengthened, had Xerxes  
 (oi Hdt) but known it Cp. 1 21 above

36 γῆν τὴν Περσίδα. Certainly not  
 Persis, oi Persia proper, cp 3 97, but  
 the whole empire (primarily a land, not  
 a sea power) The earth is here (Stein  
 observes) conceived as a plane with the  
 heaven, a solid dome, above—Hdt's  
 own view doubtless (cp 4 38, 5 92),  
 but also appropriate in the king's mouth,

cp 1. 131, of the Persians τὸν κύκλον  
 πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες The  
 Persian Zeus would be Ahura-mazda  
 The sun may set on the Persian empire  
 (it could not but do so with that geo-  
 graphy), but it shall never, according to  
 Xerxes (Hdt), rise on any other (οὐ γὰρ  
 δὴ χώραν γε κτλ) Xerxes anticipates  
 Alexander, Arian, *Anab.* 5 26.

39 διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 like the Danube, 4. 49 (ρέων) Yet  
 the statement is not really consistent,  
 in either case, with Hdt's own concep-  
 tion of Europe, cp 4 42

40 πόλιν ἀνδρῶν . . ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων  
 marks exactly the Greek distinction be-  
 tween civilized and uncivilized humanity,  
 cp c. 1 *supra*

42 τῶν, by attraction.

43 ὑπεξαρημένων Not 'put out of  
 the land of the living' but 'put out  
 of the number of our enemies' (Stein)  
 L & S. reduce it to 'these being out of  
 the question' Is there any suggestion  
 of physical removal by transportation,  
 in accordance with Persian methods?  
 The force of the ὑπό is not very clear  
 ('by degrees'?), but the ὑπολείπεσθαι  
*supra* may have suggested its repeti-  
 tion.

Δούλιον ζυγόν appears to be an  
 Aeschylean reminiscence, *Pers.* 50, cp  
 Introduction, § 10

44 τάδε ποιέοντες i.e. εἰ ποιεῖτε  
 τάδε ('as follows'), a conditional parti-  
 ciple.

ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἤκειν δεῖ, προθύμως 45  
πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρῆναι. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἤκη  
παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα  
νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ  
οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρήγμα  
ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.” 50  
ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπαύετο.

Μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον 9  
εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων,  
ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπῖκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ  
Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγε-  
λάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρήγμα, 5  
εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπὰς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους  
ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν,  
ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεφάμενοι  
δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρη-  
σόμεθα· τί δείσαντες; κοῖνη πλήθεος συστροφὴν; κοῖνην δὲ 10

49 ἰδιοβουλεύειν B Holder. ἴδιον βουλεύειν Lobeck 9. 2  
<προ>γενομένων Stein<sup>2</sup> 3 καὶ <ὅτι> Ἴωνας id. 9 τιμωρη-  
σόμεθα Naber

45. τὸν χρόνον looks here almost like a point of time a very unusual meaning.

47. τὰ relative The actual items are set forth in Xen *Anab* 1. 2 27. Cp. c 19 *infra*.

48. ἐν ἡμετέρου looks anomalous, but is found 1 35 Stein cps ἐς ἡμετέρου in Hom *Hymn Herm* 370, while *Od* 2 55 has ἐς ἡμέτερον.

49. ἰδιοβουλεύειν an anomalous form for ἰδιοβουλέειν (*ιδιόβουλος*) or ἰδίῃ βουλεύειν (Stein), cp App Crit

50 ἐς μέσον cp. 6 129.

9 2 γενομένων, ‘that have ever been’ or ‘come into the world’ Stein’s emendation προγενομένων omits the living! εἰς, ‘inasmuch as thou’

3. ἐπῖκεο *rem acu tetigisti* (Schweigh), cp ἐπικέσθαι, c 35 *infra*

4 Ἴωνας τ ἐν τῇ Εὐρ κ. need not be restricted to the Athenians, but may be taken as equivalent to Ἕλληνας just below, the triple division, Ἴωνες τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριεῖς, a little lower, notwithstanding The Jews knew the Greeks at large as *Javan*, *Javanim* (עִבְרִי), Dareios denotes ‘the whole extent of his Greek dominions’ as *Yuna* (Babyl. *Yavanu*), e.g. Behistun Inscr. col. i. § 6. Aischyl *Pers*. 182

makes Atossa speak of Ἰαόνων γῆ = Hellas, Aristoph. *Acharn* 104 makes Pseudartabas address an Athenian Greek Ἰασσαῖ, and so forth Thus the phrase may here be regarded as ‘characteristically Oriental,’ and strictly appropriate.

5. ἀναξίους, sc. ἡμῖν καταγελάσαι, Schweigh. takes it abs., ‘men of naught’ (*καταγ ἡμῶν* the usual Attic)

δεινὸν ἂν εἴη . . εἰ . . οὐ τιμωρη-  
σόμεθα. Stein explains the οὐ on the ground that the εἰ = ὅτι (*siquidem*) and cps c 46 *infra* εἰ . . περίεσται, etc. In this case the construction may be facilitated by the coalescence of οὐ—τιμωρη-  
σόμεθα as a single idea (= ἐδάσομεν), and also by the precedence of οὐδέν Sittler suggests that Ἕλληνας δὲ may begin the flesh (interrogative) sentence. ἀλλὰ is rather anomalous. ἔχομεν is not a mere auxiliary (*vis*)

10 συστροφὴ the Herodotean use of the verb συστρέφειν (*conglobare*), 9. 18 *infra*, 1. 101, 6. 6, may explain the substantive. χρημάτων δύναμιν (as in Thuc 1. 25 4), rather spoilt by the occurrence of δύναμις on each side of it in the immediate context. Unless ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα is taken with τὴν μάχην as well

παντὶ μάλλον ἢ μάχησι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρώτατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες δια-  
 χρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον  
 ἐς τοῦτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὦ 30  
 βασιλεῦ ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγουντι καὶ πλήθος  
 τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω,  
 οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ  
 ἄρα ἐγωγε ψευσθείην γνώμη καὶ ἐκείνοι ἐπαερθέντες ἀβουλίῃ  
 ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὡς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι 35  
 τὰ πολέμια. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ  
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι."

Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξῳ γνώμην 10  
 ἐπέπαντο· σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολ-  
 μώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίη τῇ προκειμένη, Ἀρτάβανος  
 ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν  
 ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων 5  
 ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ  
 τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρᾶσθαι, λεχθισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν  
 τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκουμεν, ἐπεὶ αὖ

29 γῆς om B 34 ἐγὼ B ἐγὼ τε Bekker || ἐπαερθέντες Stein  
 παρπαρθέντες R ἐπαρθέντες ceteri 36 πολεμῆια B 10 2  
 ἐπαυέτο B 4 Ὑστάσπεω Thom M p 361 || ad f.v ἐὼν ἦν Krueger  
 6 ἐλέσθαι ἔχεσθαι Madvig ἐπέπεσθαι van H 7 χρᾶσθαι B  
 χρήσθαι (cp Weir Smyth § 167)

meie" (Baehi), "cohibere" (Stein), "to take up . . . and settle" (Macaulay), "to put an end to" (L & S), cp. 5 21

27 ἐκάτεροι . . the plural of groups, cp. c 1 l. 7 *συρία*

31. πλήθος . . ἀπάσας Stein points out that *ἀπαν* must be supplied with *πλήθος* and *ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας* with *νέας*.

35 ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι . . ἀνδρῶν would seem more natural, at least on the lips of a Greek

36 ἀπείρητον pass, 'untried,' 'un-attempted,' Mardonios concludes with a jejune Greek proverb, without much relation to his previous remarks Cp Theog 571, Theokr 15 62 The gnomic touch is quite Herodotean, cp. Introduction, § 11

10 1 τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τ. Ξ. γν. "when Mardonius had in this way (*sic*) softened the harsh speech of Xerxes" (Rawlinson), "after so far smoothing

down [the objections to] the opinion of Xerxes" (Blakesley), understanding the metaphor as of a carpenter planing down a rough piece of wood, "smoothed over" (Macaulay), "after adding so much in recommendation" (Stein), connecting the word with 'chewing' (Xen *Mem* 1. 4. 6), and so metaph. 'mundgerecht, annehmlich machen' Cp 8. 142 *infra*.

3 Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος His opposition to the Skythian expedition is described 4 83 very shortly, in a passage probably of later composition than the one here. Cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8

4 τῷ . . ἐὼν ἦν or εἴη ἂν? τῷ is relative Not merely is there an antecedent ἐὼν but three immediately to come! (λεχθισέων γνωμέων ἀντιέων).

6 αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, rather pleonastic

8 ἀκήρατος, prop. of liquids, but

δὲ παρατρέψωμεν ἄλλω χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκωμεν τὸν ἀμείνω.  
 10 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, [Δαρείῳ] ἡγόρευον  
 μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστν  
 νέμοντας· ὃ δὲ ἐλπίζων [Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας] καταστρέψεσθαι  
 ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο· στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς  
 τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ ὦ βασιλεῦ μέλλεις  
 15 ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ  
 θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ  
 αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινόν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. ζεύξας φῆς  
 τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐλάν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνικέ <σε> ἦτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ  
 20 κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ  
 ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι,  
 εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένει ἐλθοῦσαν  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκων

10 Δαρείῳ seclusi || ἀπηγόρευον Cobet 12 Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας  
 secl. Stein<sup>2</sup> || καταστρέψεσθαι B κατεστρέψεσθαι B. καταστρέψασθαι A  
 19 σε suppl. Stein 22 <τε> καὶ Naber

cp Plato, *Rep.* 503 A τὸν δὲ πανταχοῦ  
 ἀκῆρατον ἐκβαλόντα ὥσπερ χρυσὸν ἐν  
 πυρὶ βασανιζόμενον κτλ., a more poetical  
 word, perhaps, than ἀκράτος, albeit Hdt  
 4 152 uses it of an ἐμπόριον.

9 παρατρέψωμεν, sc *eis básanon* L  
 & S., and not 'on another gold,' an  
 interpretation which led Wesseling to  
 suspect the text. Stein gives several  
 instances of the metaphor Theog. 417  
 ἐς básanon δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρέβομαι ὥστε  
 μολίβδῳ χρυσός, etc Pindar, *Pyth* 10.  
 67 πειρώντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ  
 πρέπει καὶ νόος ὁρθός. Bakchyl *Frags*  
 51 (Kenyon) Αὐδία μὲν γὰρ λίθος μανύει  
 χρυσόν, ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετὰν σοφίαν τε παγ-  
 κρατὴς ἐλέγχει ἀλάθεια, and others On  
 the touchstone, *Heiactylus* or *Lydius*  
*lapis*, cp. Pliny, *Hist Nat* 33. 43.  
 Theophrastus [*περὶ λίθων*] had said it  
 was only found in the *ivvei* Tmolus,  
 in Pliny's day it was to be found *passim*  
 "His cotculus periti, quum e vena ut  
 lima rapuerint experimentum, protinus  
 dicunt quantum auri sit in ea, quantum  
 argenti vel aeris, scipulari differentia,  
 mirabili ratione, non fallente."

15. πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας: a  
 welcome testimonial to Greek ears, for  
 which, however, from the military point  
 of view, there was not much evidence

Aitabanos (i.e. Hdt) forgets that  
 'Skyths' are to be enumerated in the  
 king's forces, cp c 64 *infra* Here  
 they are spoken of merely as foes.

οἱ refers to ἄνδρας. αὐτοῖσι is  
 vague, 'herein', cp c 8 l. 34 *supra*

19. καὶ δὴ καί: concessive.

συνήνικε a rhetorical indicative  
 ἦτοι . . ἢ . . ἢ. The alternatives  
 are placed in an ascending scale of im-  
 probability, the greater the irony of the  
 historian

22 τοσαύτην, 'immense.'

23. μῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν this  
 is Attic exaggeration (cp 9 27), ignoring  
 the Plataians (as Artabanos very well  
 might do) and annihilating Datis and  
 Artaphrenes (as he could hardly have  
 done) Hippias is of no account, cp.  
 c. 6 *supra*

οὐκων ἀμφοτέρῃ σφί ἐχώρησε—  
 "still, success did not attend them in  
 both arms" (Blakesley), "but grant,  
 they are not successful on both elements"  
 (Rawlinson). τῆσι νηυσὶ may be instu-  
 mental or objective dative. Blakesley  
 seems to make Aitabanos mean "Maia-  
 thon was only a land-victory." It is  
 more natural to take the phrase as  
 exactly parallel to the one above

ἀμφοτέρῃ σφί ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ  
νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα 25  
λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δὲ βασιλεὺ γίνεται δεινόν. ἐγὼ  
δὲ οὐδεμὴ σοφίῃ οἰκίῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶον  
κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς  
ζεῦξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηίκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρου  
διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι 30  
Ἰώνων λύσαι τὸν πόρον, [τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν  
γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου]. καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου  
τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ  
ἡναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ  
λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος 35  
πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα  
τοιούτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμῆς ἀνάγκης εἰσόδου, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθευ.  
νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον, αὐτὶς δέ, ὅταν τοι  
δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει  
εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω 40

24 ἐμβάλωσι συμβάλλωσι Cobet συμβάλωσι Stein<sup>2</sup> 28  
<ὁ> σὸς Bekker 29 ζεύξας <μὲν> Stein<sup>2</sup> 31 τῶν γεφυρέων  
del. Naber τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου seiunx Stein<sup>3</sup>. τοῦ Ἰστρου tantum  
delerem nisi τοῖσι . τοῦ Ἰστρου ut glossema interclusissem ἐπιτέτραπτο α  
32, 33 γε om. R. εἰ ante Ἰστιαῖος ABC 34 ἡναντιώθη RPz, Holder  
et alii 'discrimine vix ullo' Wesseling cf 9 18 supra 36 γενέσθαι  
RPz || βούλευ P βούλευε R βουλεύεο α 37 πείθεο BP 38  
δέ AB τε B, Stein<sup>1</sup>

26. τὴν γέφυραν here dramatically correct, and without prejudice to a plurality of bridges hereafter, but the passage conveys too good a criticism and prophecy. It indicates what the Greeks might have done, ought to have done, and were urged to do, cp 8 108.

30 παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο . . δεόμενοι . . , cp 3 124 παντοίῃ ἐγένετο μὴ κτλ. (perhaps a later use, stylistically?)

31 τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρου Stein deletes the words on the ground that the bridge over the Danube always occurs in the singular, Naber had previously deleted τῶν γεφ. But two bridges have been mentioned above (ζεῦξας Βόσπορον . . γεφυρώσας Ἰστρου), and perhaps only τοῦ Ἰστρου should go, or perhaps the whole phrase τοῖσι Ἰστρου

32 Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος. another Histiaios is mentioned c. 98 *infra*, a third in 8 85. The description of this one here is without prejudice to

the problem of Hdt's composition, but the fact that his patronym is given in 5 30, not in 4. 138, supports the hypothesis of the original independence, if not priority, of 'the Ionian Revolt' to the 'Skythian Logi' (i.e. of Bk. 5 to Bk. 4. 1-144).

33 τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων. The special service of Miltiades, as narrated 4 137, is here ignored—without any apparent dramatic advantage. Was Hdt acquainted with that anecdote when he composed this passage? Cp. Introduction, §§ 7-8.

35 ἐπ' with dat = *peneq*, cp 8. 29 *infra*; τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κεῖται Pindar, *Pyth* 8 107, 'one man, however good' (ἀνδρὶ), not as opposed to a god, but as compared with 'the king's interests'.

38 σύλλογον cp. c 8 *supra*.

39 ἐπὶ, with gen, cp. ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι 5 73. The phrase here seems hardly courteous.

έόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι ἐθέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν  
 ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευ-  
 σάμενος αἰσχροῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὖρηκε, ἦσσαν  
 δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὥς  
 45 κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν  
 κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὥς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα· φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερ-  
 ἔχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ  
 ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας  
 50 φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ ἢ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. ἐπειχθῆναι  
 μὲν νυν πᾶν πρήγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαί  
 φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ  
 παραντίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. σοὶ  
 55 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὦ βασιλεῦ συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὦ παῖ Γοβρύεω  
 [Μαρδόνιε], παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ  
 ἑόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων  
 ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεῦσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα  
 δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μὴ νυν οὕτω γένηται·

44 δὲ τε Bekker || ζῶα RPdz  
 βέλεα om. R, Stob. flor 42 16  
 Siesby ap Madvig Adv. I. III.  
 Stein del. Naber

46 κνίζειν B 47 τὰ ante  
 51 ὁ θεὸς del. van H. || ἐπειχθέν  
 54 εὖροι B 56 Μαρδόνιε

41 ἐναντιωθῆναι, with middle force, from a deponent verb, cp ἡναντιώθη *supra*, and ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου c 49 *infra*, and with θέλει here, εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξωον καταστήναι *ibid.* βεβούλευται may be neuter, but is found as a middle 3 134 (ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι κτλ) The sentiment is 'gnomic,' popular or commonplace philosophy, but not perhaps *de trop*, as addressed to a young monarch The theology, however, which immediately follows, involving the doctrine of the divine φθόνος in its characteristically Hellenic and Herodotean form (see Introduction, § 11) is hardly appropriate

43 εὖρημα εὖρηκε: cp 8 107 (*Themistocle loquente*) Strictly speaking, perhaps, a εὖρημα ought not to be a matter of τύχη cp c 155 *infra*

45 φαντάζεσθαι, c 15 *infra* of the apparition in a dream, 4. 124 of the (mysterious) disappearance of the Skyths (οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι), here seems to

be used with something more of a moral suggestion.

τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίζει it is just the little ones which prick us! Anthropomorphic as the Herodotean deity is, he has his advantages over man.

50 δι' ὧν ἐφθάρησαν. NB (a) the tmesis, (b) the 'gnomic' aorist (Sitzler).

51 ἐπειχθῆναι πᾶν πρήγμα, anathrous subject of τίκτει The emendation ἐπειχθέν is unnecessary Below the contrasted infinitive (ἐπισχεῖν) has the article

53 φιλέουσι with 'real' subject, cp 2 27 so too l. 47 above, with the personal subject (ὁ θεός), but with little or no suggestion of subjective passion or affection The grammatical sequence εἰ μὴ δοκέοντα εἶναι ἀλλ' . . . ἐξεύροι τις ἄν is not quite accurate the transition is perhaps mediated by the words ἀνὰ χρόνον, which are practically equivalent to a protasis (εἰ τις χρόνον ἐπίσχοι).

58 αὐτόν, in person, cp. 4 1.

59 μὴ . . . γένηται, prohibitive

διαβολή γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικέοντες, 60  
εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὃ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλον ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρῶντι  
κατηγορέων, ὃ δὲ ἀδικεῖ ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ·  
ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικεῖται, δια-  
βληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου  
κακὸς εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας 65  
τούτους στρατεῦσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι  
Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ  
τέκνα, στρατηλάτῃ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς  
ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλῃαι. καὶ ἦν  
μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνει βασιλεῖ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων 70  
οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἦν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προ-  
λέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἦν  
ἀπουροστήσης. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθέλῃσεις, σὺ  
δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι  
τινὰ φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι 75  
κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων δια-

62 ὁ δὲ . . εἶναι P longe aliter ὁ δὲ διαβαλλόμενος αἷ διπλῶς  
ἀδικεῖται· διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ ἅμα νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ  
ἑτέρου ἀκούσαντος καὶ πεισθέντος εἶναι κακός || ἀδικεῖ del. van H.  
70 ἀναβαίνει α ἀναβαίνειν R ἀναβαίνει C (Stein), S (Gaisf), V (Holder):  
ἀποβαίνει Cobet 74 ἀν ἔξεις R 76 ἐξεργασάμενον B ἐξεργα-  
σμένον ABC, Stein<sup>1</sup>

60. διαβολή γάρ κτλ This passage on slander shows clear traces of the sophistic methods of the time, for although Persian, Jew, and Christian have all agreed to condemn slander, the forensic argument of this passage is characteristically Greek: the slandered man is doubly wronged, by the speaker and the hearer of the lie! (Stein quotes Vendidad 13 5, Baehr, Lucian, *de calumniis non tem* or 6) Is this passage authentic? Was Hdt young when he wrote it? It has the air of a juvenile scholasticism, and there is a free paraphrase in P of the last sentence, ὁ δὲ . . κακὸς εἶναι Cp App Crit.

70 ἀναβαίνει. ἀποβαίνει more usual; cp c. 205 *infra*. [Xen] *Atth. Rep.* 2 17 ἀν μὲν τι κακὸν ἀναβαίνει ἀφ' ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλευσεν, αἰτιάται ὁ δῆμος ὡς ὄλγιοι ἄνθρωποι αὐτῷ ἀντιπράττοντες διέφθειραν ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθόν, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατιθέας (a sentence which might almost have been modelled on this one)

73 εἰ . . οὐκ ἐθέλῃσεις οὐκ coalesces with ἐθέλ to form one idea, cp. Madvig, *Syntax* § 202, R

σὺ δέ δέ with the iterated or emphasized subject

75 τινὰ might stand for any one, the speaker included, e g for the Chorus in the *Persae*

αὐτοῦ τῇδε, 'here, on the spot'; cp c. 11 *infra*, αὐτοῦ ἀμὰ τῇσι γυναιξί.

76 ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων δ. this circumstance would not be, to a Persian, any aggravation of death, it seems here calculated for a Greek audience (1 140 notwithstanding—that not having been yet set down by Hdt, cp Introduction, § 8) Hdt is too good an artist to allow Aitabanos to predict exactly the

66 φέρε the wager (παραβαλλομένων, 'risking' or 'depositing') which follows would no doubt strike Hdt's hearers as characteristically oriental The bet is not taken

ἡθεσι τ. II. the same expression is found in 1. 157. Cp. cc. 75, 125 *infra*, et al.



φορεύμενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἷους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα."

- 11 Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοισίδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, πατὴρ εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδὲνα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καὶ τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῶ καὶ ἀθύμφ, μήτε  
5 συστρατεύεσθαι ἔμοιγε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἄμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος

## 11. 4 προτίθημι ABC

## 7 Ἀρσάμεος ἀράμεος B

place of Mardonios' death (although τῇ Ἀθηναίων may be taken to cover the Platans, cp Plut *Arist* 11), but the forebodings of Artabanos are nevertheless obviously written in the light of the event. This dramatic prophecy suggests a stage device, perhaps a stage precedent, and might be compounded of the Messenger and the Ghost in the *Persian* (249 ff, cp 805 ff)

77. σέ γε an emphatic repetition of the subject, as in Homer (δ γε I 409, β 826, cp Hdt 2 173). Cp. Timokreon *Fr.* 1 (Bergk in 4 p 537) ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν γε Πανσανίαν ἢ καὶ τὴν γε Ξάνθιππον ἀνέεις | ἢ τὴν γε Δευτυχίδα, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδα ἐπαυέω κτλ. The emphasis on the probable doom of Mardonios by no means precludes a hint of danger to the king.

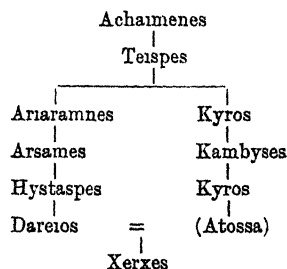
78. ἄρα the less probable alternative, which could only take place if the Greeks should attempt to keep the Persians from setting foot in the land γνόντα, 'after you have learnt'. The position of βασιλέα is emphatic

11. 1. θυμωθεὶς Xerxes is represented by Hdt as a man of violent passions, easily stirred, cp Introduction, § 11

3 ῥύσεται μηδὲνα. ῥύσασθαι here has the force of a preventive, prohibitive, hence μὴ, Madvig, *Gr Syntax*, § 210.

7. μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ . . γεγονώς, 'I would I were not (son) of'. The genealogy which follows is remarkable. Since the discovery of the Behistun inscription (cp. *Records of the Past*, 1 107 ff) it has been obvious that the list here corresponds with the genealogy of Darius as there given (Achaemenes, Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, cp. 1. 209), but is contaminated with two or three names (Kyros, Kambyzes, Teispes), two of which could not belong to direct progenitors of Xerxes, except in so far as

he was the son of Atossa, the daughter of Kyros the Great, here apparently described as 'Kyros son of Kambyzes', as in 1. 111, where Kyros appears as the son of Kambyzes, and grandson of another Kyros. Nowhere in Hdt (except 7 11) does Teispes appear in the Kyreian pedigree, but in 3. 75 the line is referred to Achaemenes (ἀρχάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεὶ λόγῳ τὴν πατρίην τὴν Κύρου). Since the discovery of the Babylonian cylinder of Kyros now in the British Museum (cp O. E. Hagen, *Keilschriftuntersuchen zur Gesch d Königs Cyrus*, 1891), it has become evident that Hdt. has, all places taken together, the official pedigree of Kyros as son of Kambyzes, son of Kyros, son of Teispes, son of Achaemenes (though oddly enough this last name is omitted on the Babylonian record). The interpretation of the present passage has now become obvious, the words τοῦ Κύρου have probably dropped out after Καμβύσῃ, and καὶ after the first Τέσπεος, and Xerxes is represented as enumerating his Achaemenid descent, on both sides—though apparently with omission of his mother's name. The accompanying table will make the point plain.



τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τείσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ  
Τείσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους,  
εὖ ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι, 10  
ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσα-  
σθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἱ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν  
καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκὼν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροις  
δυνατῶς ἔχει ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν ἢ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἀγών, ἵνα ἢ  
τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήσι ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται. 15  
τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἑχθρῆς ἐστὶ. καλὸν δὲν προπεπονθότας  
ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι  
τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἀνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ  
ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω

8 Ἀριαράμνεω· ἄρμνεω ABC || Τείσπεος τίσπεος B post quod  
excidisse τοῦ Καμβύσεω susp Stein<sup>1</sup>: immo καὶ ante τοῦ Κύρου et τοῦ  
Κύρου ante τοῦ Τείσπεος (om. B) secundo loco excidisse recte iudicaveris  
13 οὐδετέροις ἱκανῶς ἔχειν B 14 παθεῖν codd· πάσχειν van H || προ-  
κείται ABR 18 μάθω πάθω vult Naber 19 ἐὼν ἐμῶν πατέρων B

11. μάλα "one of the commonest of Greek words" (L & S), but not, for that reason, the easiest to render, whether with verb (as here, cp 9 40), adjective, or even adverb (c 103 *infra*). Cp c 186 *infra*. The formula τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι σταθμώσασθαι is noticeable, and 'gnomic'. The absence of the augment in ὑπαργ is an 'Ionism'.

14 πρόκειται ἀγών ἵνα κτλ. The clear alternative, and especially the possibility of a Greek conquest of Asia, can scarcely be historical, as put into the king's mouth, or ascribed to this date, they belong to a period subsequent to the Greek successes against Xerxes, cp 5 49 (with note *ad l.*), and could hardly have been formulated before the victories of the Eurymedon. This is a much more serious anachronism in the king's mouth than the *hysteron proteron* just above (Σάρδις τε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην). Cp Introduction, § 11.

16 τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἑχθρῆς ἐστὶ (1) Without the words τῆς ἑχθρῆς this sentence would have given a good sense 'between the two alternatives, just specified, there is no mean', i.e. there is no third alternative. Perhaps this meaning might be substantially retained by taking τῆς ἑχθρῆς as (a) causal, (b) predicative ('that there is no alternative is due to the intensity of our quarrel'). (2) Sitzler apparently takes τὸ μέσον τῆς ἑχθρῆς together to signify "means of agreement,

reconciliation" (does not exist), and so Stein renders "between our hostile tempers (*Gesinnungen*) there exists no mediation (*Vermittlung*).". In these renderings οὐδὲν (or οὐδὲν ἐστὶ) is, of course, the predicate. (3) The simplest grammatical construction of the sentence would make τὸ μέσον subject and οὐδὲν τῆς ἑχθρῆς ἐστὶ predicate. The μέσον might be understood of what lies between τάδε πάντα and ἐκείνα πάντα, and the meaning would be that 'the intervening parts have nothing to say to our quarrel'—which is absurd, and the very opposite of what Hdt. would have been likely to make the king say. But the phrase is at best a confused one, even Hdt. is not always quite lucid; cp c 152 *infra*, Introduction, § 11.

17 τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι ironical (in Hdt.), sarcastic (in Xerxes, with reference to c 10 *supra*) τὸ, relative

19 πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν Xerxes is rhetorically antedating the supremacy of his fathers (Stein takes it as a precise reference to the pedigree of Peises c. 190 *infra*, Kepheus being son of Belos (1 7) the Persian power might be regarded as in hereditary succession to the Assyrian). The Persian claim, or principle, formulated in 9 116 τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν τοῦ αἰὲ βασιλεύοντος might in itself justify or explain the anachronism. On Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ vide c 8 1 35 *supra*.

20 ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὄνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφάμενου καλέονται.”

- 12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγένετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δὲ οἱ αὖτις τούτων κατύπνωσε, 5 καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν “μετὰ δὴ βουλευέαι ὦ Πέρσα στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἀλίξεν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποίεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός 10 τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαιο ποιεῖν, ταύτην 13 ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμφάσης ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, δὲ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεξέ σφι τάδε. “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι

20 ὥς ὥστε van H. 12. 6 ὁ Ξέρξης secl. van H ° 8  
Πέρσῃσι R, Holder. ‘fortasse neutrum addidit H’ van H 13 1  
εἴπαντα R 4 ἔλεξέ ἔλεγε R, Holder, van H. et al

12. 1. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο, ‘no further’. 5 50.

εὐφρόνη, a poetical word for ‘night,’ but whether as the period of kindly sleep (εὐφρων) or *e contrario* (cp εὐμενίδες, εὐξείνος) is not quite clear. Hdt uses it frequently in these three books (cc 56, 188 *infra*, 8 6, 12, 14, 9 37, 39), but not (so far as I have observed) elsewhere, i.e. afterwards, cp Introduction, § 8 τε . . . καὶ a *parataxis* not uncommon in Hdt.

2 ἔκνιζε c 10 l 45 *supra*, perhaps an unconscious reminiscence

3 πρῆγμα, as in 1 79, ‘worth while,’ ‘advisable,’ ‘advantageous’ Contr. cc. 130, 150 *infra*

4 δεδογμένων a rather strong form to express the king’s change of mind. It marks, perhaps, the autocratic power, not the constancy, of the king, cp c. 13 l. 11 and δεδοκῆται c 16 *infra* κατύπνωσε, ‘fell fast asleep’. the verb is repeated cc. 14, 15, 16, 17, *infra*

5. ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων with the preceding κου seems to disclaim responsibility for the story which follows, yet the vision is ‘Homeric’ (Stein), and the formula for its appearance Herodotean (cp. 6. 117) The analogy with the

dream of Agamemnon, *Il* 2 *ad int.*, has been often pointed out, Stein cites the figure of Αἴαθ on the Dareios vase (cp. c. 8 *supra*) as a parallel. It would have been a dangerous device to have identified the figure with Dareios, for example, as the shade of Dareios had already done duty otherwise in the *Persai* (cp. c 11 *supra*), but the dream of Xerxes lacks concrete personality (contr dream of Kyros, l 209) For the story, if authentic, only a Persian ‘provenience’ was possible, but Hdt’s formula may be no more than a literary device, and the dream his own invention.

9 οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα the argument seems to demand rather οὔτε ὁ παρεὼν συγγνώσεται τοι, a sense which may be got out of the words by taking πάρα = πάρεμι (with Stein) rather than = πάρεστι (*neque adest qui consilium quod nunc iuvisti sit probaturus*, Schweigh)

13 l ἀποπτάσθαι no mere metaphor, the figure had wings, by no means an exclusively oriental note, cp. *Il*. 2. 70.

3 δ δέ, resumed subject; cp c 10, *supra ad f.*

συναλίσας ἀλίξεν just above; the reference is to c 8 *supra*, but is made to the act, not to the record

ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλευόμε· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ 5  
ἔμεωντοῦ πρῶτα οὐκῶ ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορέεμενοι ἐκεῖνα  
ποιεῖν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι  
τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραυτικά μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, ὥστε  
ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρίψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον [ἢ χρεόν].  
νῦν μέντοι συγγινοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ. ὥς ὦν 10  
μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοι  
ἔστε.”

Πέρσαι μὲν ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνουν. 14  
νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὶς τῶντὸ δνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνω-  
μένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν  
Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα  
ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὥς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ 5  
νυν τὸδ’ ἴσθι· ἦν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέης, τάδε τοι  
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχῆσει· ὥς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν  
ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι.”  
Ξέρξης μὲν περιδεὴς γεγόμενος τῇ ὄψι ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ 15  
τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἀγγελὸν ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον [καλέοντα].  
ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. “Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ  
παραυτικά μὲν οὐκ ἐφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστής

7 μέντοι μὲν δὴ Bekker, van H 9 ἡ χρεόν del Naber  
11 μεταδεδογμένον Pcorr, R· μεταδεδογμένων ceteri: μεταδεδογμένῳ z  
14 3 ἔλεγε post δνειρον B, Holder, van H 5 ποιούμενος B || ἀκούσας,  
Stein ἀκούσας 15 2 καλέοντα secl Valckenaer, Stein<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ  
om R 4 ἐφρόνεον ABC, Stein<sup>3</sup> (‘recte si εὖ addideris’ van H.).  
ἔσωφρόνεον B, Stein<sup>1,2</sup>, Holder, van H || ἐς om ABC

5. ἀγχίστροφα cp. Thuc. 2 53 1  
ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες  
φρενῶν τε γὰρ . . οὐκῶ ἀνήκω  
a sudden access of modesty on the king’s  
part! τὰ ἔμεωντοῦ πρῶτα, ‘the best of  
which I am capable.’

6. παρηγορέεσθαι, 5 104, 9 54  
(perhaps active in sense)

8 ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, ‘my youthful  
spirit boiled up’, in 9. 12 νεότης concrete  
(juventus). On the actual age of Xerxes  
vide c 5 supra ἐπιζέειν, effervesce.

14 1. προσεκύνουν For the προσκύ-  
νησις cp c 136 infra

4. ἀπειπάμενος In a different sense,  
5 56, here ‘reject,’ ‘abandon’, cp 1  
59, 6. 100, ‘refuse’, 4 120, 125, c. 205  
infra, 9. 7.

5. ὥς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας οὐδεὶς,

a nobody, ‘one of naught’; so c. 20  
infra, 9 58 The aorists ἀπειπ. ἀκούσας  
contrast with ποιούμενος.

7. ἐξ αὐτῶν cp ἐν αὐτοῖσι c. 8 supra  
μέγας καὶ πολλός. Stein sees a  
reference to this passage in Aristoph  
Birds 488, adding four other references  
to Hdt from the same play, 552, 1127,  
1130, 1145, on which, as evidence of  
composition and publication, cp Intro-  
duction, § 9.

15 1 ἀνά τε ἔδραμε tmesis; cp. 1.  
66, where ἀνέδραμον has a somewhat  
different meaning If καλέοντα (fut.)  
stands, it is of course to be taken as  
epexegetical

4. ἐσωφρόνεον is not the reading of  
the better class, but gives the better  
sense (not but that σωφροσύνη and

- 5 εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων,  
 ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἔοντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκ ὄν  
 δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ  
 δὴ καὶ μετεγνώκοτι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς  
 10 συνέπαινον ἔδν ποιεῖν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλήσαν  
 οἴχεται. εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν  
 ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπι-  
 πτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῷ τούτῳ ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 ἐντελλόμενον. εὕρισκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις  
 τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τούτῳ ἴζοιο ἐς  
 15 τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειαι.”  
 16 Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτῳ  
 κελεύματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἀξιούμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆον  
 θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἡναγκάζετο εἴπας τάδε ἐποίησε τὸ  
 κελεύμενον. “Ἰσον ἐκείνῳ ὦ βασιλεῦ παρ’ ἐμοὶ κέκριται,  
 5 φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι·  
 τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὀμίλῃαι  
 σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι  
 θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν

5 συμβουλῆς R, Holder, van H.

6 ἔγνων δὲ del Mehler approb

van H. || οὐδ’ ὦν Krueger

7 ποιεῖν βουλόμενος B

8 δὴ om.

ABC || ἐπιφοιτῶν α: ἐπίφοιτον B

ἐπιφοιτέον Stein<sup>12</sup>, van H

9

συνέπαινον ἔδν B, Holder, van H.

συνεπαινέον ABC, Stein<sup>123</sup> || δὴ

ἀπειλήσαν B, Holder, van H.

11 στρατηλατεῖν ABC

13

ἀναγινόμενα B

16 2 κελεύματι ABC, van H

οὐ τῷ πρῶτῳ οἱ

κελεύματι B || πιθόμενος van H.

8 φασὶ del Naber || περιορᾶ Naber

φρόνησις might be interchangeable with Hdt.), nor does φρονέειν εἶ, c 16 *infra*, govern the reading here. Cp App Crit.

6 τὰ relative

7 βουλόμενος adversative, ‘though I wish,’ ‘much as I wish’

8 φαντάζεται cp c 10 l 45 *supra*

10 εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι κτλ The test, or canon, seems valid, and more convincing than the one set up by Artabanos (that the repeated visitation of the king would establish the divinity of the vision) c 16 *infra* The divine divining of Xerxes is established accordingly in the sequel, somewhat to the detriment, perhaps, of the human motivation Cp. Introduction, § 11.

14 μετὰ τούτῳ is pleonastic

16 1 πρῶτῳ κελεύματι has almost a technical, or proverbial, sound, like our ‘first bid,’ ‘first time of asking,’ etc; cp. 4 141 (where the article occurs),

also Thuc. 2. 92 1, where the ἐν must have been the πρῶτον κέλευσμα

2 οἷα οὐκ ἀξιούμενος κτλ To sit on the king’s throne was treason, and punishable with death, Q Curtius 8 4. 17 and ref. ap Rawlinson The anecdote of the man who sat upon Alexander’s throne is told by Arrian, *Anab* 7 24 3 τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἀναστήσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσικόν περιρρηξαμένους δὲ τύπτεσθαι τά τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ

3 εἴπας . . τὸ κελεύμενον, ‘before obeying the order speak as follows’

6 ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὀμίλῃαι cp Plato, *Rep* 8 550, 1 Cor 15 33 φθέρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὴ ὀμίλῃαι κακάι (an iambic trimeter, quoted from Menander’s *Thais* Fr 211, ed Meineke). Gnomistic wisdom

8 φασὶ Whose theory was this, that if only the wicked winds would

φύσι τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς  
οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων 10  
Πέρσησι, τῆς μὲν ὕβριω αὐξανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπανούσης  
καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι  
δίξησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιούτων προκειμενέων  
γνωμέων ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι  
ἀναιρέο. νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς 15  
τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' "Ελληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ  
τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐὼντά σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
ταῦτα ἐστὶ ὦ παῖ θεῖα. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους  
πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ  
πολλοῖσι προσβύτερος ἐὼν· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα 20  
ἐώθασιν αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει.  
ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτης τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ  
τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χειρας. εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτο  
τοιούτου οἶον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ  
πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοί, ὡς 25

11 αὐξούσης B 13 τουτέων B 15 αἰρέο Cobet, van H  
17 ἐὼν Cobet· An ἐὼντος cum Aldo? van H 20 αὐταὶ Reiske: αὐταὶ  
<περὶ> τὰ Reiske 24 θείου Schweighaeuser θεοῦ 25 αὐτὸ  
α. αὐτὸς B, van H

leave the good sea to itself, it would be man's best friend? Stein understands Gobryas to be speaking as a landsman, unacquainted with the sea (and the winds?), but the passage is hardly so dramatic as that: rather is it quite undramatic and Herodotean. The theory is eminently Greek (not *par exemple* Phoenician!) and is found—as Stein points out—in Solon *Fr* 12

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται ἢν δὲ  
τις αὐτὴν

μὴ κινή, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη,

a proof, in Plutarch's eyes (*Solon*, 3), that Solon was, in natural philosophy, ἀπλοῦς λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος. Cp further parallels (quoted Bergk, *P. L.* II 4 p 41), esp Polyb 9 29, Dionys 17. 12, of the analogy between the People and the quiet steady sea, the Demagogues and the Wind (perhaps this was Solon's original point, cp *Psalms* 65 7)

12 ὡς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν· δίξησθαι  
· ἔχειν Another 'gnome,' rather clumsily expressed. The three consecutive infinitives may be paralleled 5 12 ἐπιθυμήσαι· ἐντέλλασθαι ποιήσαι

17 ἐὼντα. Though Hdt uses both

ὄνειρος and ὄνειρον, the abrupt change of gender here is very harsh. Cp App Crit *supra*

18. ὦ παῖ Aitabanos grows a trifle familiar; he had begun ὦ βασιλεῦ, cp 1 4 *supra*. The rationale of dreams here given is refuted by the sequel, which proves the supernatural character of the visitation, at least in this instance: how far there is conscious purpose in all this on the historian's part can scarcely be determined; perhaps Hdt's own view on the question was indeterminate. τὰ, the relative, can hardly refer strictly to ὀνειράτων (heteroclite pl from ὄνειρον) but more vaguely 'regarding things which.' Valckenaeer appropriately cites the poet Attius *apud* Ciceron *De divin* 1 22 res, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant curant vident, | quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt, | minus mirum est, sed di iem tantum haud temere improvviso offerunt

23 τὸ κάρτα, *vel maxime*. 1 71, 3 104, 4 181

εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἐστὶ shows the normal syntax, cp εἰ οὐ below. ἄρα marks the less probable alternative, cp 8 109

καὶ σοί, διακελευόμενον. φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι  
 ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν, οὐδέ τι  
 μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ,  
 εἴ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό  
 30 γε εὐηθείης ἀνήκει τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ κοτε ἐστί, τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενον  
 τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι  
 τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ  
 ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν  
 τὴν σὴν, οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἔσται. εἰ  
 35 γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον  
 εἶναι. εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε  
 αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυ-  
 πνώσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί.  
 17 μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρῆσομαι." τοσαῦτα  
 εἵπας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν,  
 ἐποίεε τὸ κελεύόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ  
 ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον  
 5 ἐποίεετο, ἡλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῷ τὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ  
 Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστάν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου εἶπε ἄρα "σὺ

27 οὐ καὶ Schaefer. οὐκ AB: οὐκ C: οὐχὶ B 35 ἐπιφοιτήσει z.  
 ἐπεφοίτησε? van H. 36 δέδοκται Pz 37 ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ Schaefer:  
 ἤδη ἢ ἐμὲ ABC ἤδη ἤμι (ἡμι Stein<sup>2</sup>) B ἢ δεῖ ἐμὲ Bekker εἰ δὴ δεῖ ἐμὲ  
 Eltz. 17 6 εἶπε ἄρα Stein<sup>3</sup>. εἶπε ἄρα ABC εἶπε τάδε ἄρα R,  
 Stein<sup>1</sup> (sc τάδε B. ἄρα aR om. VS)

26 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον . . ἢ οὐ (bis).  
 a superfluous but idiomatic negative,  
 cp 4 118, 5 94. Artabanos is sound  
 on the clothes-philosophy 'eucullus  
 non facit monachum'

29 ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθείης ἀνήκει,  
 'has reached such a pitch of simplicity',  
 innocence. For εὐήθεια cp 1. 60, 3  
 140, Thuc 3 45 7, Plato, *Rep* 348 c  
 (in the mouth of Thrasymachos *δικαιο-  
 σύνην* = *γενναίαν εὐήθειαν*) For ἀνήκειν  
 cp. cc 9, 10 *supra*, 134, 237 *infra*, and  
 in a literal or material sense c 80 *infra*  
 32 εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ, after μαθητέον ἔσται  
 'whether it will hold me of no account',  
 naturally followed by οὐ but just  
 below, εἰ . . οὐκ οἶά τε, as οὐκ οἶά τε  
 coalesce to form a single idea (*ἀδύνατα*),  
 cp c 10 l 73 *supra*

36. δέδοκται. The form occurs in  
 Pindar, Aristophanes, Euripides, and is  
 of course more regular (as from *δοκέω*)  
 than the commoner *δέδογμα*, c. 12  
*supra*, *δοκήσει* 4. 74, but cp. App Crit

17. 1 τοσαῦτα εἵπας . . ἐποίεε τὸ κ,  
 'without further speech did what was  
 ordered', cp c 16 *ad init.*

3 ἐνδὺς . . ἡλθέ οἱ there is an in-  
 consequence of construction, or *Anacoluthon*, for refl cp Index.

6 ὑπερστάν the dream is a sub-  
 stantial reality, though only visible in  
 sleep, it stands 'over' Artabanos, it had  
 stood 'over against' Xerxes (*ἐπιστάν*),  
 of its identity (τῷ τὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ  
 Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα) there is no doubt

εἶπε ἄρα. Stein's emendation is  
 convincing, for several reasons. (a), the  
 best class omit *τάδε*, (b) ἄρα σὺ δὴ is  
 superfluously strong and over-excited for  
 the supernatural vision σὺ δὴ is simpler  
 and grander, (c) the parallels (4, 134 *εἶπε*  
*ἄρα*, 9 9 *εἶλεγε ἄρα*, 1 141 *εἰπεῖν ἄρα*)  
 clinch it, (d) moreover, the form ἄρα is  
 questionable for Hdt. Would it not be  
 ἦ ῥα? Smyth § 716 p. 612, however,  
 allows it here.

δὴ κείνος εἰς ὃ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νῦν καταπροῖξαι ἀποτράπων τὸ χρεὼν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ <sup>10</sup> ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται." ταῦτά τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον **18** ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ὃς ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρόσκει, καὶ παρ-  
 ιζόμενος Ξέρξην, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξήλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρα οἱ λέγει τάδε. "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, <sup>5</sup> οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἥσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἶη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς

9 νῦν del Cobet || ἀποτράπων Stein, Holder, van H Sed cf Smyth § 128 p. 133. ἀποτρέπων 10 παθεῖν B παθέειν α 18. 1 τε B. δὴ α· τε cum δὴ superscripto P: τε δὴ z, Gaisford, van H. || τὸ α. τὸν B 2 σιδηρίοισι α 9 μιμησκόμενος α

9 (οὐ) καταπροῖξαι ἀποτράπων, 'thou shalt not with impunity attempt to divert' καταπροῖξασθαι (the pies καταπροῖξασθαι only found in Byzant. Gk is somewhat anomalous, cp προῖξ, προῖκα) is used absolutely in 3 36, 'to get off scot free,' but not there, nor anywhere in Hdt., without a negative, usually with a participle also, as here. Cp 5 105, 3. 156.

τὸ χρεὼν γενέσθαι No wonder the attempt was bound to fail, cp 9. 16 8 τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων

10 ἀνηκουστέοντα 6 14 (with dat.) and 1 115 (absolutely, as here)

18 2 σιδηρίοισι σιδήριον, a tool of iron, cp 9 37 *μητέρα*, 3 29, Thuc 4 4 2 The order of words is very effective (θ σ ἐ. αὐτ. μ τ. δ). On putting out the eyes as an Oriental punishment vide Rawlinson iv<sup>3</sup> 20, and especially Xen. *Anab* 1 9 13 Grote iv 110 regards the story here as a product of "delicious imagination" Thirlwall ii 279 suspects "the influence and arts of the Magian priesthood", Rawlinson endorses the latter suspicion, and suggests "a skilfully devised fraud on the part of the friends of Mardonios," by which "a pretended spectre" subdued "the weak mind of Xerxes," and "threats" the stronger mind of Artabanos This exegesis is but misplaced ingenuity Arta-

banos would, in such circumstances, have been shrewd enough to discover the plot. Dreams, apparitions, and the supernatural are a part of Hdt's stock in trade One might almost as well suspect the Ghost in *Hamlet* as a contrivance of Bernardo and Marcellus The real motivation of the expedition does not require either the human or the superhuman device, cp. Introduction, § 11

3 παριζόμενος Ξέρξην the king must be conceived as passing the night in the chamber with Artabanos

4 ὡς . δευτέρα, 'first he gave him a full account of the dream, and then . . ' speaks to him just in the sense of Hdt., cp 1 5 τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μέγαλα ἦν κτλ. Artabanos, however, has no occasion to specify the rise of the lesser powers, though he ascribes the fall of the greater to their agency.

7. τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν cp νεότης c 13 *συμπε*, and 3 36 μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπύτρεπε in 5. 19 εἴκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ (age) Blakesley's censure on Baehr's comment here is overdone, the actual meaning of ἡλικίῃ varies with the context, or circumstances Cp for a difference 5 71.

9 Μασσαγέτας Αἰθίοπας . Σκύθας the stock examples of disaster on a large scale. The first story is related 1. 201-216, the second 3 17-25, the third 4. 1-144, more or less, and the problem of the order of composition presents



- 10 ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευσάμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἴκε, φθορὴ τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ  
 15 μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅπως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν." τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπ-  
 20 αερθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μόνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.  
 19 Ὀρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατίειν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν

11 συστρατευσάμενος Stein<sup>3</sup> συστρατευόμενος 12 ὃν ταῦτα α, Wesseling, Bekker, van H 19 ἐνδεήσει β recte cp Buisian *Jahrb.* 86 57 ἐνδεήσῃ || ἐπαερθέντες Stein<sup>1</sup>. ἐπαρθέντες

itself There is nothing in the text here to show whether Hdt. had or had not already written his accounts of these three expeditions. The phrase puts the presence of Artabanos in the 'Skythian' campaign more clearly than c 10 *supra*, or 4. 83, 143. Cp Introduction, § 7 συστρατευσάμενος. συστρατευόμενος: the imperfect describes (*schildert*), the aorist narrates (*erzählt*), Sitzler

12 ἀτρεμίζοντά σε in opposition to the 'law of empuie,' c 8 *supra*, the participle here equals a conditional

πρός, 'in the eyes of .', a proximity still closer might be expressed by the dative (= *coram*). The element of opinion is also conveyed by the predicative μακαριστός (as distinct from μάκαρ, μακάριος)

13 δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή the ὁρμή might be that experienced by Xerxes (cp c 19 *infra ad init.*), or might be more general and objective 'the powers above are on the move', in either case the δαιμόνιον is not here precisely contrasted with the θεῖον. Thrice at least Artabanos is made to confess the divine (δαιμονίη ὁρμή φθορὴ θεήλατος. τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα), yea, a fourth time recognises the god's lead (τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος). All this is doubtless the

author's device to emphasize his own point

18. ποίεε ὅπως. ἐνδεήσει μηδέν. cp. c 8 *supra* ἐφρόντιζον ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι

19 ἐπαερθέντες an ominous or sinister word, cp. c 9 *supra* ἐπ' ἀβουλῇ, 9 49 ψυχρὴ νίκη

21. ὑπερετίθεσθαι, 'to lay before' for the purpose of consultation, cp 1 107, 5 24 *et al.*

19 1 ὀρμημένῳ cp ὀρμητο στρατεύεσθαι c 1 *supra*, 'put himself in motion,' the motion being mental. Cp *Il.* 21. 571-2 ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ ἀλκιμον ὠρμάτο πτολεμίζειν ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι. The unaugmented form is admitted in Hdt

τρίτῃ the first in c 12 *supra*, the second in c 14, the apparition to Artabanos in c 17 is not counted

2. τὴν relative

οἱ Μάγοι are here, and elsewhere in the Bk (cc 37, 43, 113, 191 *infra*), taken for granted, as though their position and functions were notorious. The ref. to the Magi in Bk 1 are more intelligible and explicative, but even there it cannot be said that any systematic account of them is given. They figure also largely in Bk 3. These observations are not *prima facie* favourable to the hypothesis of the prior composition

τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ 5 δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω 10 ἐπάγερσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπείρου. ἀπὸ 20 γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῃ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων

19 6 περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον del Sitzler 7 ταῦτα ταύτῃ β,  
Holder, van H. 20 2 τέσσερα RS τέσσαρα αV 4 στόλῳ α

of Bks 7, 8, 9, but it must be admitted that Hdt nowhere gives a distinct description of the Magi and their functions. They were 'Medes,' not 'Persians,' 1 101, a statement fully accepted by James Darmesteter, and made the basis of the best account of the origin of the Avesta and Zoroastrianism (cp. *Sacred Books of the East*, iv, Introduction, §14). The account of the Persian Religion in Bk 1. 131-40 certainly appears later than these Bks (cp c 10 *supra ad f*), and it is easy to understand the ref. to the Magi in these Bks as independent and of earlier composition than Bk 1. The absence of any reference back is indeed significant. Cp. Introduction, § 7. Blakesley infers an Athenian origin for the anecdote, from the mention of the olive, and even Rawlinson regards the olive-crown as proving a Greek origin for the story. The olive might be taken as symbolizing Athens, or Hellas, or even Europe generally. What is the exact interpretation (ἀρινάντων) given by the Magi, Hdt does not state, the disappearance of the crown Greeks could easily interpret of a nemesis on Xerxes after his destruction of Athens (cp 8. 54 *infra*).

8 ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν· the Council then had been composed of satraps, governors, etc. Cp c 8 *supra*.

10 τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα· c. 8 *supra*. Rawlinson has a good note with ref. Xen. *Anab.* 1. 2 29, 1. 8. 29, *Kyrop.* 7. 2. 8, Ktesias 22. Also Esther 6. 9, 1 Esdr. 3. 6, Plutarch *Artax.* 15,

Procop. *de bell. Pers.* 1. 17. The gifts enumerated by Xenophon (perhaps the best authority) comprised a horse with a golden bridle, a golden sword, a gold chain, golden armlets, and a robe.

11 ἐπάγερσιν: cp ἄγερσιν c 5 *supra*. τῆς ἡπείρου. sc Ἀσίης, cp c. 11 *supra*.

20 2 τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα seem to be not calendar years, but full years (of 360 days?) measured from the event specified (Αἰγύπτου ἀλωσις), cp c 1 *supra*. The event itself, however, is not accurately dated, the duration of the revolt not having been specified, c. 7 *supra*. On the chronology cp Introduction, § 11, Appendix II. § 3.

3 πέμπτῃ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ Blakesley remarks that ἀνομένῳ has been rendered both 'ending' and 'commencing' to square with particular theories of the chronology, but it simply means 'advancing,' i.e. 'in the course of the fifth year', so *ἡμερο τὸ ἔργον* 8. 71 *infra*, cp. 1 189.

4 χειρὶ cp c. 157 *infra*, 4. 155.

στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν . . μέγιστος a mere formula for a heightened superlative, cp Bks IV.-VI, Introduction, § 22. Four great expeditions are mentioned, none of which could compare in magnitude with the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, in chronological sequence reversed they are — 1 τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας (this is at least the third time the subject of the 'Skythian Logi' has been mentioned in this Bk, cp c 10 (*dis*), but even here there is nothing to

5 γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῶ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε  
μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαί-  
νεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες  
ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς  
Ἀσίας καταστρεφάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος  
10 ἐτιμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρεϊδέων ἐς Ἴλιον,  
μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενό-

6 μηδένα μηδὲν z, van H  
approb van H, Holder

10 κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα del Krueger

suggest that Bk 4 was in existence when this passage was first composed, in spite of the τῶν εἵνεκεν κτλ.)

ii τὸν Σκυθικόν the repeated invasion of Media and Upper Asia by the Skyths in pursuit of the Kimmerians. The Kimmerian invasion of Asia Minor is undoubtedly historical, cp 1 6, 15, 103, 4 11-13. Historical also is the invasion, probably the repeated invasions, of Upper Asia by 'Skyths,' nomads from the Oxus and Jaxartes region. But the pursuit of the Kimmerians by the (European) Skyths via Caucasus is perhaps only a theory, a combination, due to the ingenuity of Hdt or of his authorities, cp Bks. IV-VI, notes to 1 c. Hdt. speaking here *propria persona* might well have referred back to the Lydian or Skythian *Logoi*, had they been originally composed prior to this passage.

iii τὸν Ἀτρεϊδέων ἐς Ἴλιον The Trojan expedition does duty in another connexion 1 3-4, there too as a *στόλος μέγας*, and indeed the first from Europe to Asia κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα, referred by Stein definitely to the Homeric Catalogue, may surely be taken with a more general reference, but in any case connotes written sources, not mere oral tradition, and seems to suggest a doubt as to their trustworthiness, Hdt. (like Thuc 1 9 etc.) suspects Homer (cp 2 116).

iv τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν . . Hdt. is our oldest authority for this supposed movement, other or later authorities differ considerably from his presentation of the matter (and to some extent from each other). Six points in the Herodotean account call for observation. (1) Mysians and Teukrians are combined in the movement, which (ii) passes from Asia into Europe (iii) via the Bosphoros, and (iv) reaches the Adriatic and the Peneios (v) in a

more or less organized conquest (vi) dated before the Trojan war. It is difficult to determine on what evidence this theory was based: a clear and independent tradition for it can hardly have existed, but there were evidences, still recoverable, of real connexions between Asia Minor and Thrace, of which this theory is one possible solution, and the Homeric poems played their part, easily understood, in the argument. Stein *ad l* (following Abel, apparently) adduces five proofs in support of the Herodotean theory, which he accepts; they suggest the evidence, or a part of the evidence, upon which the theory may have been founded, but are not all indisputably matters of fact, and so far as true are equally or even more compatible with the theory (found in later writers, e.g. Strabo, but not therefore of necessity based upon later or inferior evidences) which represented the Mysian (or Mysio-Teukrian) movement, if such it was, as an invasion of Asia from European Thrace. Those proofs are — (1) The Trojan or 'Teukrian' origin of the Paionians on the Strymon, Hdt 5 13 (highly disputable, see *infra*). (2) The presence of Paionian and kindred (Thracian) stocks over the whole district from the Adriatic to the Propontis (a fact pointing to the European side as their original or earlier habitat). (3) The expulsion of the Bithynians from the Strymon into Asia by Teukrians and Mysians, c 75 *infra* (almost an absurdity if Teukrians and Mysians are coming from Asia!). (4) The existence of a number of identical names (race- and place-names) on both sides the Hellespont Strabo, p 590 (quite compatible with the European origin of the names). (5) The fact that Priam *ap* Homerum heads a confederation, which includes the tribes of Thrace as far as the Axios

μενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε

(no proof of a Teukrian 'conquest,' much less immigration in Thrace) Stein's (Abel's) proofs for Hdt.'s theory are unconvincing, a closer examination of Hdt.'s six points will further discredit the argument (1) Hdt. plainly regards the Teukrians as primitive Trojans (cp 2 118, 5. 13, 122), and the Mysians, their allies, as primitive or early inhabitants of the Troad, or of historic Mysia. But Teukrians are absolutely unknown to Homer, and the only Mysians known to the *Iliad* are at home in Europe (N 5, etc., except in the Catalogue, B 858—of course late, cp Thraemer, *op. cit. infra* p 337). Kallinos of Ephesos is our oldest authority for 'Teukrians,' and he regarded them as immigrants, *l.c. infra*. Blakesley, from the silence of Homer, rashly infers that "the name was certainly more recent than the *Iliad*", Krietschmer (*op. cit. infra* p. 191), more judiciously, that the *Epos* says nothing of Teukrians in the Troad, because its design is to represent an heroic period, prior to their immigration. If immigrants, whence did they come? Kallinos apparently brought them from Krete (Strabo, p 604), others brought them from Attica (*ibid.*). Each alternative may be accounted for (though not shortly enough for this note) and neither is convincing. The latest modern tendency is to connect the Teukrians of the Troad with Kypros, either in virtue of a common wide-spread stratum in the Anatolian populations from the Hellespont to Kypros, or it may be in virtue of actual immigration from Kypros into 'Mysia'. Archaeological evidence, especially the pottery, points to a connexion, and that older than the *Epos*, between the Troad and Kypros, and *Teúkos*, the *Teukρίδαι*, and the *Γεργύιοι* (=Γεργύθες) are found in Kypros and the neighbourhood (Kilikia), cp further c 43 *infra*. *Teúkos* the Eponym appears in the *Iliad* among the Achaian heroes fighting against Troy, a mighty Bowman, bastard of Telamon, Θ 284, and brother of Aias, of Salamis. Pindar has the easily understood legend of his colonizing Kypros, *Nem.* 4 46. There is also the possibility that the 'Teukrians' of Mysia were from Thrace—if the Mysians were. In some ways this theory is attractive, as it recognizes the supposed Teukro-Mysian invasion of Europe (from which the whole discussion starts), only invert-

ing it into a Teukro-Mysian invasion of the Troad. In this case the 'Teukrii' might have passed from the Troad to Kypros, etc. But it is on the whole more probable (*me vultice*) that the 'Teukrians,' coming from Kypros, first met and became associated with the Mysians, coming from Thrace, in the Troad, and have thus been made to share the Mysian adventure. The European and Thracian character of the Mysians may be taken as proved by the Homeric ethnography even if the express assertions of the later writers cannot be cited as independent evidence (being perhaps inference from the Homeric facts), nor need we hesitate (if Krietschmer *op. cit.* p 211 etc. is to be trusted) to see in the Moesi of the Roman empire the same name and tribe in their original habitat. Hdt. obviously treats the 'Mysians' as indigenous to Asia. Their real or supposed affinity with the Lydians and Karians (the strongest proof of which is to be found in Hdt. I 171) is in favour of this view, but if this affinity is anything more than inferential and factitious, it would point not to the indigenous origin of the Mysians, but to an external origin for Karians and Lydians. Hdt. himself indeed brings the Karians to Asia from outside (wrongly in my opinion), and some of the moderns would recognize a Thracian origin, or element, in the 'Lydians' (cp Radet, *La Lydie*, pp 53, 57, Foibiger, *ap. Pauly, Real-Encycl.* iv 1279). The doctrine of the autochthonous character of the Lydians was, of course, a 'Lydian' dogma, found in Hdt. and in Xanthos Lydos, cp c 74 *infra*, Xanth. *Frag.* 1. The remaining five points in Hdt.'s theory quickly arrange themselves, once the Teukrians and the Mysians have been accounted for. (ii) The Mysian movement must be corrected into a migration from Thrace into NW Asia, not conceived as an invasion of Thrace by Asians. It falls into place with the series of such movements, the greatest of which flooded Asia with 'Phrygians', cp c 73 *infra*. (iii) The tradition that the point of crossing was the 'Bosporos' squares very ill with Hdt.'s own conception of the source and direction of the invasion, but agrees extremely well with (a) the Asiatic position of the Mysians in the Homeric Catalogue (*l.c. supra*), also with (b) the

Θρήικας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον  
κατέβησαν μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης  
21 ἤλασαν. αὐταὶ αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι πρὸς ταύτησι γενό-  
μεναι στρατηλασίαι μῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε  
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ  
πινόμενον μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν;

14 τὸ Bekker τοῦ 21. 1 αἱ οὐ β, van H || γεινόμεναι β.  
προσγεγόμεναι α, Stein<sup>1</sup> προγεγόμεναι<sup>2</sup> Stein<sup>2</sup> 2 οὐκ del. Cobet,  
van H, Holder 4 μιν om ABC, van H, Holder

historic position of the Moesians on the Danube, and (c) is confirmed by the entirely acceptable tradition that the Bosphoros was named of old 'the Mysian Bosphoros' (Strabo, p. 566), and further (d) by Hdt's own record that the Mysian movement drove the Bithynians from the European side into historic Bithynia (iv.) The extension of the Mysio-Teukrian occupation in Hdt. to the shore of the Adriatic and (the outlet of) the Peneios might be explained by reference to the homogeneity of the populations in the northern Balkans (cp. Stein's second proof *supra*), but is rendered more easily intelligible by reference to the tradition preserved in Hellanikos, *Frag.* 46, that once on a time the 'Makedones' dwelt among the Mysians, i.e. the Mysians occupied what was afterwards known as Makedonia, and also to Hdt's own record connecting the Phrygians with Mt. Bermios, cp. 8.138 *infra*. (v.) That Hdt. makes the movement an organized invasion and conquest may be dismissed as obviously a 'pragmatic' notion, demanded by the occasion and comparison, neither he nor any one else furnishes a story for the action, and if the previous argument is correct, any such story could only have been fabulous. (vi.) Last, and not least curious, Hdt. dates the event πρὸ τῶν Τροικῶν. The rival view represented by Strabo and his authorities, and adopted above, that the Mysian migration was from Europe into Asia, naturally dated the movement after the Trojan war, as Mysians (and Teukrians) are unknown in the Troad of Homer. Hdt. is led to the earlier date by a need to account for (a) the presence of Mysians in Homeric Thrace, and (b) the absence of Mysians and 'Teukrians' in Homeric Troy. But thereby his own theory breaks down as not affording any explanation for the presence of Mysians

and Teukrians in historic Mysia. Ed. Thiaemer's *Pergamos* (1888), ch. II, contains an admirable discussion of the 'Mysian' problem, and P. Kretschmer's *Einführung in die Geschichte d. gr. Sprache* (1896) corrects and supplements the same, and deals admirably with the question of the Teukrians. Without these works, which entirely supersede the lucubrations of Abel, Gieseke, Stein, Rawlinson, etc., on these points, the above note could not have been composed.

13 τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον the Adriatic, cp. 6.127, 9.92 *infra*.

It is curious to find the Peneios (Tempe?), not Olympos, apparently as the Macedonian frontier, cp. c. 128 *infra*.

21. 1. οὐδ' instead of καὶ owing to the impending negation (οὐκ ἄξιαί) of the main proposition (cp. 4.28 ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ βνοὶ οὐκ ἀνέχονται), Stein εἰ, sc. εἰσὶ.

2. τί . . . κοῖον. The two questions are extremely rhetorical, and to some extent 'give Hdt. away'. The first betrays the reason for the subsequent List, or Catalogue of the Forces (cc. 61-99). The point of the second is rather blunted by the addition of the words πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν, but it is possible to compile from the ensuing narrative (1) a list of the rivers that failed, or are expressly recorded to have failed (Skamandrios c. 43, Melos, Lisos c. 108, Cheidorois c. 127, Onochonos c. 196). On the other hand, between the Hebros, c. 59, and the Spercheios, c. 198 inclusive, fifteen rivers are named, not one of which is recorded to have failed (Hebros c. 59, Travyus c. 109, Kompasantos ἰδ., Nestos ἰδ., Angites c. 118, Strymon ἰδ., Axios c. 128, Lydias c. 127, Haliakmon ἰδ., Peneios, Apidanos, Enipeos, Pamisos c. 196, Epidanos ἰδ., Spercheios c. 198).

οὐ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οὐ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς πταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων 22 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κού μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὄρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι ὠρυsson ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων· ὠρυsson δὲ καὶ οἱ 5

6 ἅμα om. ABC, uncis intercl. Holder: τοῖσι pro ἅμα conl. Madvig: ἅμα καὶ νέας ut depravata obelis notat van H. 22 1 προσπταισάντων PRS, Stein<sup>2</sup>. προπταισάντων V: πταισάντων ABC(α), Stein<sup>13</sup> || πρώτων. πρότερον Mehler: προτέρων Naber, van H. 2 ἐκ: πρὸ β 3 τὰ suppl. Schweighauser 5 ἐφοίτεον Stein<sup>12</sup> (c. libros)

6. ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα: if the cavalry all crossed by the Hellespontine bridges, where was the need of horse-transports? for conveyance of re-mounts? or for service during the campaign? or was any portion of the forces conveyed in the first instance by sea? Cp c 59 *infra*

ἅμα στρατευομένοισι appears to mean not that their πλοῖα were commandeered for service on the expedition, but that the πλοῖα did not excuse them from personal service (a precedent for Athens!) But cp App Crit

8 νέας seems a little puzzling after νέας παρείχοντο, or even μακρὰς νέας just above. A third distinct service is perhaps here specified, 'convoy' vessels (to protect the σῖτα), though it does not appear why those who supplied σῖτα should be in a position to furnish νέας for convoy-service, nor why, if νέας merely means that 'food-supply' did not exempt from 'ship-service,' the land-service is not mentioned too.

22 1 τοῦτο μὲν, without a δέ to correspond strictly the phrase is resumed c 25 *ad vult*, and then proceeds grammatically, *παρασκευάζετο δέ κτλ.*, but scarcely logically

πταισάντων κτλ. Even if we read *προσπταισάντων* (cp App. Crit.), *περὶ τὸν Ἄθων* may more elegantly be taken with it. There is allusion to the expedition of Mardonios in 492 B.C. which might very well have been accompanied by an express reference to the story of the disaster (6. 43-45), the rather on account of the *suppresso veri* and *suggestio falsa*,

from Hdt.'s point of view, in the speech of Mardonios above, had that story already formed part of his work when Hdt first indited this passage, cp Introduction, § 7

περιπλεόντων, imperfect they did not succeed.

2 ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κού μάλιστα: the chronological indication is not quite precise, for (a) the exact term is not stated (is it the king's departure from Susa, or from Sardes, or is it the actual use of the canal by the fleet on its arrival?), (b) κού μάλιστα further generalizes the reference, even if ἐκ should be taken of a precise point of departure. Above, c. 20, it is in the course of the fifth year from the beginning of the preparations that the actual start takes place, but there again it is not quite clear whether the 'start' is from Susa or from Sardes. Cp c. 20 *supra*.

3. Ἐλαιούντι, cp. 6 140, the nearest point on a straight line between Athos and the Hellespont. The exact connexion of the moorings at Elaiús with the work proceeding at Sane is not very clearly put by Hdt, but Elaiús appears to have been the chief naval station for the time being, and droves of workers were conveyed thence, by sea, to Sane, while other gangs were requisitioned from the immediate neighbourhood. The *convée* was, perhaps, in operation. *Convée* and the lash were horrors from which the Hellenes had been delivered, or saved, by Salamis and Plataea! On the use of the *γὰμβόκ*, knout, or *μάστιξ*, cp. cc. 56, 103, 223 *infra*; Xen. *Anab.* 3.

περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ Ἀρταχαΐης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου.

Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκεύμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἰοῦ ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης

7 ἀρταχαίου B || ἐπέστασαν. ἐπεστάτεον B, van H, Holder 9  
οἰκημένον Stein<sup>1</sup> 2, vulg || ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων del. van H Nonne suppleveris  
βαρβάρων vel διγλώσσων? vid. Thuc. 4 109

4 25. Blakesley has a rather cheap (or perhaps scholastic) remark on flogging at the expense of Larcher as a 'closet critic.' So Hdt censures the *eúthēia* of the Athenians (1 60)

7. ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου 'were overseers of the work' The dative would be more usual, cp. τῶν ἐπεστωτέρων τῇ ζεύξει c 35 *infra*. On Bubares and his father Megabazos cp 5 21, which supplies, in the marriage of Bubares with a Makedonian princess, Gygaia, one reason, perhaps, for his present appointment. The omission of the fact here, and of any reference to the former passage, indicates the independence of the *Sources*, and supports the priority of this Cp Introduction, § 7, on Artachaios, son of Artaios, c 117 *infra*. Why were there two *Epistatai*? Did the one specially superintend the relays from Elaiús, and the other the local press-gangs? Or did they relieve each other in the local work?

8 ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ κτλ The topography of Athos which follows challenges comparison with Thuc 4 109, and does not emerge altogether with credit (1) Hdt gives no general name for the peninsula (except Athos?), Thuc supplies the name Akte. Haack's idea that ὁ Ἄθως is the mountain and ἡ Ἄθως the peninsula need not be maintained in view of the emended text of Thuc 5 35 (cp Stuart Jones's edition); but Thuc 5 82 1 seems to use Ἄθως of the peninsula, cp the *φόρος* inscrip. (*Δίς ἐκ τοῦ Ἄθου*). (2) Hdt distinguishes on the peninsula the mountain Athos rising out of the sea, and the low-lying isthmus, correctly, he also gives the breadth of the isthmus (which Thucydides has no occasion to do) sufficiently correctly at twelve stades, but the seas on either side are described as the Akanthian sea, and the sea 'opposite Toione'· this

latter designation is a very strange one, considering the site of Toione, especially in relation to the 'isthmus,' and raises a doubt whether Hdt. had visited these parts before writing his description of them. Thuc also has a sea (*πέλαγος*) on either side of the *mountain*, and names the one the 'Aegean,' and the other the 'Euboean,' more correctly (3) Hdt and Thuc each name six and the same six cities, or townships, on the peninsula, but in somewhat different order. Thuc appears to enumerate the six starting from Sane, and going round in order from W to E side. Hdt has enumerated the six in the reverse order, but has apparently transposed the positions of Thyssos and Kleonai. (If this observation is correct Dion ought, upon the maps, to be placed SE of Sane.) With the exception of Akrothoon all the names appear upon the Attic tribute-lists, but the list of neither historian is taken direct from the tribute-lists, on which the order is not geographical. (4) Thuc's ethnology of the region is much fuller and more precise than Hdt's. Hdt indeed calls Sane a πόλις Ἑλλάς, which may be taken to imply the presence of non-Hellenic elements in the neighbourhood. Thuc goes further, Sane he describes as a colony from Andros, and the rest he peoples with *συμμεικτοὺς ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων* Chalkidic, Pelasgo-Tyrsenian, Bisaltian, Kiestonaeon, Edonian'. The comparison suggests the conclusion that in his own description of Akte Thuc had this passage of Hdt. in view. Strabo 331 (*Frags* 35) gives the five 'Pelasgian' townships as Kleonai, Olophyxos, Akrothooi, Dion, Thyssos. Hdt's οἰκημ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων is almost impossible ('not by wild beasts, as you might expect from my description,' to say nothing of the sea there being *θηριοδεστέρα* 6 44), cp App Crit.

τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, εἰς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκηται, αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάνης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἴκημένοι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτίδων ὄρμητο ποιέειν· 15 εἰσὶ δὲ αἶδε, Δίον Ὀλόφυξος Ἀκρόθρον Θύσσος Κλεωναί. πόλιες μὲν αὗται αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται, ὥρυσσον δὲ ὧδε 23 δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα· κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε ἐγίνετο βαθέα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὥρυσσον, ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ 5 βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοιτο εἰς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ

14 ἐκτὸς R, Stein, *extra* Valla· ἐντὸς 16 δὲ om z *approb.* van H. || δίον ABP || ἀκρόθρων AB, Cobet: ἀκρόθων B, Stein<sup>1</sup> || θύσσος B. θύσσον α 23 1 ὧδε. δασάμενοι *corr.* Stein 3 πόλιν *secl* van H. || ἐπεῖτε Stein<sup>1</sup>· ἐπειδὴ Reiz· ἐπεὶ δὲ || ἐγίνετο αV: ἐγένετο RS 4 κατώτατω Cobet *approb.* van H. 6 ἀπίκοιτο Stein<sup>8</sup>. ἀπικνέοντο? Stein<sup>2</sup> *approb* van H., Holder· ἀπίκοντο

13 εἰς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως As Hdt says 'Athos ends in the isthmus,' he is plainly looking as it were northwards, or from the sea this observation favours the reading ἐντός (cp. App Crit), 'this side of' ἔσω, 'on the land side of' Athos

14 αἱ δὲ reading this Stein supplies εἰσι τὰς will then be demonstrative

15 νησιώτιδας ἀντ' ἡπειρωτίδων ποιέειν a somewhat impious proceeding, cp 1. 87, and Introduction, § 11

23 1 ὥρυσσον κατὰ ἔθνεα The labour of digging was divided on a double system (a) διάδοχοι ἐφοίτων c 22 *supra*, e.g. the same Phoenicians were not there all the while, (b) δασάμενοι κατὰ ἔθνεα, the Phoenicians had to do one section, other 'nations' other sections, perhaps apportioned by lot (ἀπολαχόντες *infra* need not, however, be pressed so far). οἱ βάρβαροι may include οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀἶον κατοικημένοι c 22 *supra*, cp App Crit But did the men of Sane take no part in the work? Perhaps they 'drew the line' at Sane in more senses than one σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι (cp σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας 1 189, and still more concretely σχοινοτενέες διέξοδοι 1 199).

6 ἀπίκοντο· so ὁ χοῦς ὁ αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενος.

8 πλὴν Φοινίκων: there are apparently no Greek engineers or navvies at work, but, even so, it is hardly credible that any of the canal-diggers were so utterly devoid of intelligence as to proceed in the way attributed to them all 'except the Phoenicians'; or that, had they done so, they would have been allowed to proceed very far by the overseers of the work The anecdote, based perhaps upon some hearsay evidence, not fully understood, turns rather to the historian's discredit. But the root of the evil may go somewhat deeper. The engineering works on the Canal are not here fully described, an important addition is made in c 37 *infra*, viz οἱ χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, moles, dams, breakwaters, which were (Hdt says) intended to prevent τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος from filling up under the action of the ῥήγιη Why are these χυτοὶ not mentioned here? Was the need for them only discovered after αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ had been nearly, or partially, made? Were they no part of the original plan? What then of Phoenician science and art (σοφία)? And of what material were the dams or breakwaters (χυτοὶ) made? Was not the χοῦς utilized in the construction of the dams? Has Hdt. been guilty here of some confusion?



δρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρείχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω  
 10 στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ  
 σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπο-  
 λαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὥρυσσον τὸ μὲν  
 15 αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου  
 συνήγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι  
 τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο  
 καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐς τῆς Ἀσίας  
 24 ἄληλεσμένος. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλο-

10 στόματος secl Stein<sup>23</sup> approb. van H., Holder 14 στόμα  
 secl. Stein<sup>23</sup>, ἄνω van H., neutrum Holder || ὅσων corr van H. · ὅσον codd.  
 Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder 16 ἐξίσωτο Naber appr. van H. 17 ἐνθαῦτα  
 δὲ B, Holder || λιμὴν Jacobitz 19 ἄληλεσμένος: ἄληλεμένος Cobet  
 appr van H.

Has he not confounded some statement about the *στόματα* of the canal, in the sense of the upper edge, or edges of the trench, with some statement about the *στόματα* of the canal in the sense of the outlet and the inlet? The skill of the Phoenicians was (we may suspect) chiefly displayed in the construction of the dams, designed to prevent the *στόματα* τοῦ δρύγματος from being choked up by the action of tide or waves, as in c. 37 *ἡγήρα*, where nothing is said of Phoenician or other *σοφίη*, while here *σοφίη* is asserted to have been shown by the Phoenicians in digging their part of the Canal in the only way in which any sane men could attempt to dig it. (No wonder Stein, not observing the bearing of c 37 on the point, wishes to get rid of *στόματα* here!) This Herodotean praise of Phoenician science might well be an earlier and more innocent point of view with the historian before he was acquainted with the great feats of Greek engineers, cp. 3. 60, 4. 88.

16. *συνήγον* sc. αὐτὸν ὁ τὴν διώρυχα, 'drew together,' 'narrowed', cp *πρώρην συνάγοντες*, 1 194

κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον The construction is a *παλαιαίως* (cp Index s.v) τοῖσι ἄλλοισι is a brachylogy for τῶ τῶν ἄλλων, cp. 2 133, where Mykionos leaves behind him a pyramid πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς

18. σῖτος . ἄληλεσμένος, 'flour.'

*φοιτᾶν*, ἀγορή, πρητήριον as 'economic' terms are observable, and likewise the forethought and skill of the Commissariat department

24. 1. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ . *μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν*, cp c 136 *ἡγήρα* Hdt moralizes upon the aim and object of the Canal It was to serve (according to him) merely as an exhibition of power and as a memorial, otherwise, he thinks, the Persian fleet might have been dragged across the isthmus. His reasoning is not very profound

On his own showing the Persian fleet consisted of 1207 ships of war, not to speak of transports, etc. (3000), the time and labour of moving such a fleet from sea to sea on rollers, or a *διολκος*, would have been immense (*μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας*!) Greek ships in small numbers were from time to time transported in this way over rather smaller distances (cp. Thuc. 3 81, 4 8), but the application of such methods to the king's fleet, even if practicable, would have involved a great loss of time (Those who study to reduce the fleet of Xerxes to the smallest dimensions are entitled to cite this passage in support of their contention for what it is worth; the alternative must be to see in it an illustration of superficiality and inconsequence in Hdt's philosophy—no new thing) Hdt. and the popular traditions he here follows made too much of the Canal as a wonder-work. It was really a simple

φροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ εὖρος ὥς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεομένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοις, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίει, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα 25

24. 6 ἐλαστρεομένας C: ἐλαστρευμένας Eustath. II. p. 1161  
25. 1 παρεσκευάζοντο ABC

bit of engineering ("it might without much labour be renewed," Leake, *North. Greece*, III. 145), not as difficult of execution, in the soft soil of the isthmus, as the projected canal at Knidos (1 174), or the canal recently cut through the rocky isthmus of Korinth (and often projected in antiquity, from the days of Ptolemy, Diog. L. 1. 99, to those of Nero, cp B. W. Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, 1903, p. 386), or the canals in Egypt (especially that carried by Darius from the Nile into the Red Sea (2 158, 4. 39)—to say nothing of modern instances. The Greeks who controlled but small supplies of labour viewed such works with exaggerated astonishment, and saw a hint of impiety (*ὕβρις*) in them. Cp. c. 22 *supra*.

It is not necessary to rush to the other extreme and see in the Athos, or Akte-Canal, an evidence of a far-seeing commercial policy, determined to improve the trade-routes of the empire. The simpler, indeed, and easier the work, the more adequate is the immediate strategic purpose, suggested in the narrative of Hdt. beside his own theory and motivation. In that case the Canal served its purpose, and afterwards fell into disuse with the retirement of the Persian from Europe, there was no adequate motive, either strategic or commercial, for maintaining it, and no doubt it would have required constant dredging and repairs. The existence of the Canal need never have been doubted (as by Juvenal, 10 174), not only is its reality guaranteed by Thuc. 4 109 as well as by Hdt., but actual traces of the course of the Canal are still visible *in loco*; cp Leake, *North Greece*, III. 144. Whether the Canal, however, was actually used by

the fleet of Xerxes has been doubted. Demetrios of Skepsis, *ap. Strabon.* 6. 331, *Fr.* 35, asserted that though the Canal was begun it was never finished, as a ledge of rock existed a stade wide apparently near the sea at the S (SW) end, "which it would be impossible to quarry right across to the sea, or at any rate to cut into deep enough to render it navigable." Stein regards this as the testimony of an eyewitness, and accepts it as final (like Juvenal), but it was not for the eyewitness to say what was possible or impossible, but to depose to the facts: was there a cutting through the rocky ledge (if it exists) or not? Unfortunately the political condition of the locality at present renders archaeological or topographical inquiries a matter of great difficulty, but Leake does not notice any such obstacle, and treats the Canal as a simple feat of engineering.

5 εὖρος κτλ.: apparently the normal width of such works, cp. 2. 158. Demetrios of Skepsis (*Strabo, l.c.*) gave the actual width as a *plethron* (100 Greek feet), which would not be wide enough for two triremes to row abreast (Stein). But perhaps the two triremes might be lashed together on their inner sides; or perhaps Demetrios under-estimated the width.

7 τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν . . γεφυρῶσαι . . that the same men should have had this work to execute suggests that they had time to spare. Was there no bridge already on the Strymon? c. 114 *infra* without this passage would leave it an open question.

25. 1 παρεσκευάζετο . . ὄπλα, 'he caused ropes to be prepared.' The bridges (τὰς γεφύρας) would presumably include the one over the Strymon, men-

ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοῖνιξί  
τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα  
μὴ λιμῆναι ἢ στρατιὴ μὴδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ  
5 Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε  
ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἄλλα ἄλλη ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ  
πορθμηίοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν σῖτον

3 σιτία σῖτον Cobet 6 ἄλλον RSV(B) appr Cobet 7 ἐκ  
secl. van H || σῖτον Stein<sup>3</sup> (fortasse τὸν δὴ ὦν πλείστον σῖτον Stein<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
δὴ ὦν σῖτον οἱ μὲν ἐς? Stein<sup>2</sup>). πλείστον codd Holder τὸν δὲ ὦν  
πλείστον σῖτον van H

tioned just above, though there were to be two bridges over the Hellespont. But probably the other larger rivers in Thrace were bridged too (Hebros and Nestos, and probably the Axios in Macedonia), so that at least half a dozen large bridges are here in question, and they may all have been 'pontoon' rather than such bridges as Caesar threw across the Rhine (cp *B G.* 4 17) As to the materials of which the ropes were composed, it would be natural to assign the papyrus (βύβλινά) to the Egyptian and the hemp (λευκόλινον) to the Phoenician, as is in fact done c 34 *infra*, but G Wilkinson (ap Rawlinson *ad l.*) asserts the Egyptians to have used both materials for cables. Perhaps that depends upon the exact material denoted by λευκόλινον, which Stein (following Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*,<sup>2</sup> p. 144) takes to be identical with the λευκία of Spain, employed by Hiero II for the ropes of his ship of state (Athenaeus, 206), and that again with the Esparto-grass, *stipa tenacissima*, long known to the Phoenicians of Xerxes' days. And was not palm-fibre invariably used in Egypt for ropes? Cp F. Ll Griffith, 'The Egypt of Herodotus' in *Nat Home-Reading Union Mag* xv. (1904) 257

6. ἵνα, 'where,' as c 23 *supra*, though just before used with its telic force ἃν is optative, not because of the conjunction but because of the indirect oration, or dependence of the phrase

ὀλκάδες would be used at sea, πορθμήια in rivers, or sheltered places.

7 σῖτον must in any case be supplied for the MS reading πλείστον, but the distinction drawn, by Stein, between σῖτος here and σιτία above (grain provisions) is perhaps overdone, cp 5 34 σῖτα καὶ ποτά Cobet would read σῖτον above also, cp App. Crit.

The list of the depôts, or magazines, comprises or implies five chief depôts on the European side, but may not be quite complete 1 Δευκὴ ἀκτὴ, situated, as appears from Skylax, 67, on the Propontis, just beyond the limit of the Chersonese μετὰ δὲ τὴν Χερρόνησόν ἐστι Θράκια τελεχὴ τὰδε πρῶτον Δευκὴ Ἀκτὴ, Τειρίστασις κτλ Forbiger (*Alle Geographie*, iii 1081) would identify it with point 'St George' Stein identifies it (for reasons not given) with Alkibiades' castle in this district. 2 Τυρόδιζα, placed by Stephanos B near Serrhion (cp c 59 *infra*), i.e. near the mouth of the Hebros (cp Forbiger, *Alle Geogr.* iii. 1074), a position which (a) comes too near Doriskos, the next depôt mentioned, and (b) lies too far from Perinthos for the qualification τὴν Περιθίων. Α Τυρόδιζα appears in the Hellespontine region, among the tributaries of Athens, on the *Quota-Lists* (five times), paying from 1000 to 500 Dr. The order of names within the region not being geographical, we cannot fix precisely the site of Tyrodiza from these lists, but it cannot have been within the 'Thracian' region Kiepert's map places it close to Perinthos, perhaps on the strength of this passage. Stein proposes to identify it with Τειρίστασις (*leg* Τυρόστασις), which brings it close to Leuke Akte, and connects the name with 'Tyrie' (Phoenician) and Thracian *τύρο=στάσις* (The Phoenician reference is rather far-fetched) Perhaps the depôt at Leuke Akte was the same under another name (cp. the confusion in the text here, App. Crit.). In any case these depôts on the Propontis, especially if there was one as far east as Perinthos, suggest the Pontos as the source of the corn supply (cp. the absurd anecdote c. 147 *infra*). 3 Δορίσκος, fully identified and located, c 59 *infra*.

<οὐ μὲν> ἐς Λευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηίκης ἀγίνεον,  
οὐ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περιουθίων, οὐ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον, οὐ δὲ ἐς  
Ἱλιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οὐ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι. 10

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ 26  
ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις,  
ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ  
εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα  
αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. δς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων 5  
στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ  
Βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς

8 οὐ μὲν Stein<sup>3</sup> || Θρηίκης θρηίκης α θρήκης β 26. 1  
πόνον . πόρον RSV(β) prob Cobet, Holder 3 γὰρ om. ABC

4 Ἱλιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι cp. 8 118, Thuc. 1 98 1, in distinction from Ἱλιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Θράκης Μενδαίων ἀποικίαν Thuc. 4 7. 1, and several other places of the same name, the Strymonian Eion here mentioned being the only one, perhaps, the position of which can be exactly fixed (cp Arnold's note to Thuc 4 7)  
5 ἐς Μακεδονίην is curiously vague, the subsequent narrative suggests Therme (c 127 *infra*) as the precise spot Leuke Akte, or Tyrodiza, Doriskos, Eion and Therme do in fact mark four important stations on the subsequent advance of the Persians, but it is possible that the list here given is by no means exhaustive even for the European side (e.g. were no stores accumulated at Sestos?), though the chapter is important as confirming the scale upon which the king's operations were undertaken, cp. further, Appendix II. § 4.

26 3 ἐκ Κριτάλλων . . τῶν ἐκ Καππαδοκίῃ The identification of Kritalla is still a problem in Anatolian geography. It is generally assumed (e.g. by Baehr, Rawlinson, Stein) that (1) Xerxes advanced by the Royal Road (5 52 f., cp Hdt IV-VI Appendix XIII) and (2) that the Royal Road did not pass through the Kilikian Gates. On these principles Rennel's proposed identification of Kritalla with Archelaïs (*Ereklis*) falls to the ground, but cp. Appendix II § 3. Blakesley suggested that the name contains the *cert-* or *crai-* (seen in Tigrano *certa*) = castra and Halys (-alla), note to 5. 52, but supposed that the Halys in question is not the well-known Halys, but another river of the same name. Kritalla must represent some

important station and junction ('Knotenpunkt') between the Euphrates and the Halys, but it is possible that Hdt. is mistaken in thinking that the king actually crossed the Halys on his march westwards Cp. Appendix II § 3

4 πάντα τὸν κ ή μ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξ π στ Hdt has said just before that ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας (including presumably ἡ ἵππος) was under march with the king. It is only much later (c 121 *infra*) that Hdt. distinguishes a column of the army especially attached to the king. The words, however, above cited involve an important (though perhaps not fully designed) limitation, and confine the muster at Kritalla (as indeed common sense requires) to the eastern contingents from beyond Euphrates, or to a part of them Cp. Appendix II § 5. The Anatolian levies presumably mustered at Sardes, or at Abydos, and only in the next spring

5. ὑπάρχων· lieutenant-governors, or satraps (cp c 19 *supra*), though here commanders, lieutenant-generals seem rather required by the sense. The two offices were not identical in Persian organization; cp c 135 *infra*.

6 τὰ . δῶρα cc. 8, 19 *supra*

7 οὐδὲ . οἶδα. This admission tends to discredit the record above of the king's promise and speech. It would, indeed, have been no easy matter to adjudicate such a prize among competitors of such various and motley array, nor can we well imagine its having been given save to some governor or leader of the 'home provinces' (Persia, Kissa, Media), or to Hydarnes for his Immortals (cc. 40, 83 *infra*). If gifts,

κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα. οὐ δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάντες  
τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι  
10 ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελαινάς, ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ

8 περιελθόντος B περιελθόντας Pz 10 ἀπίκοντο α παρεγένοντο  
B, van H, Holder

rewards, and so forth, were given on this occasion, were they not more widely distributed?

8 διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν. Hdt. apparently conceived the Halys as flowing, in a straight line N, across Asia Minor, cp 1 72, on that plan you could hardly come westward at all without crossing it. If the king really crossed the Halys (here as elsewhere plainly the boundary between 'Phrygia' and 'Kappadokia') it would no doubt have been by the bridge on the Royal Road near Pteria (cp. Hdt. IV.-VI. Appendix XIII); but as we next find the king far to the south at Kelainai it is permissible to doubt whether his route lay across the true Halys at all. ὠμίλησαν, c. 214 οὐ δέ just before shows δέ with the resumed subject, though the subject, strictly speaking, is in this case a fresh one.

10 Κελαινάς. Of the practical identity of Kelainai with Apameia (*Dineir*) there is no doubt (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, 1 498 ff., Hirschfeld, *Abh. d. Akad. Berl.* 1875, Hogarth in *JHS* 1x (1888) pp. 343 ff.), Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor* (1895), p. 106, Ramsay, *Asia Mi* (1890), p. 41.

The position has been (and might perhaps again be) one of great commercial and strategic importance, "commanding the great road from the Lycus valley to the interior." The natural features of the landscape have also made the spot a centre of romance and history. Xerxes built a palace there on his return journey, if we may trust Xen. *Anab* 1 2 9.

Kyros the younger also had a palace and a paradise there, Xen 1 2. 7. Alexander visited and reduced the stronghold in 334-3, Arrian, *Anab* 1 29. 1. It was also an important centre in Roman times. "The most striking feature of Dineir is the group of springs that form the headwaters of the Maeander." A famous coin of Apameia shows the local goddess surrounded by four river-gods with the legend ΜΑΙ·ΜΑΡ:ΘΕΡ.ΟΡ: that is, *Μαίανδρος, Μαρσύας, Θέρμα, Όργάς*. The

third can only mean the modern Ildja, the single hot spring of Dineir (wrongly identified by Hirschfeld with the Maisyas), Hogarth, *l c* p. 348, identifying it with "the lost Obrimas of Pliny" (*Nat. Hist* 5 29), who does not mention a Therma. The Orgas is found in the Sheikh Arab Chai (Murray, *op c* p. 106), which rises in the S and winds round a hill to join the 'Maeander' or the 'Marsyas,' according to the identification of those names with the two remaining streams of the locality. On this point Hogarth is at issue with Hirschfeld, a difference arising from the fact that Hirschfeld has followed Strabo 885 in the identification of the Maeander with "the central and most striking source," the Hudaverdy, while Hogarth shows that Xenophon identified that stream with the Marsyas, and gives some reason to think that the name of the Maeander might have shifted from the one source to the other between the time of Xenophon and Strabo. This hypothesis seems preferable to the alternative supposition, that there have been violent natural convulsions in the landscape, in order to explain the failure of any other stream but the Hudaverdy, or Maeander, of Strabo and Hirschfeld, to correspond with the ancient descriptions of the Marsyas. Mr Hogarth's solution of the whole difficulty is that "the Maeander had no distinct source but was simply the united river formed by the junction of the Marsyas, Obrimas (or Therma), and Orgas."

Hdt.'s description of the place makes it pretty certain that he is not writing from autopsy. He mentions only two streams, and, though he refers to the legend of Marsyas, he names the second stream, "as big as the Maiandros," the *καταρρήκτης*—rather a descriptive epithet than a proper name, nor did the stream rise in the market-place (probably) though the Agora may have been just under the Akropolis, from a cave on which the Marsyas apparently flowed (Xenophon *l c*). Moreover Hdt. makes no mention of the palace built by Xerxes.

καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὐνομα τυγχάνει  
ἐν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνα-  
τέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδίδοι· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ  
Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς [ἐν τῇ πόλει] ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν  
λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. ἐν 27  
ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτυος ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς  
ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ

11 ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ? van H || ἢ Μαιάνδρου del van H. 12  
καταρρήκτης ABC 13 σιληνοῦ B σιληνοῦ 'confirmatur titulus'  
van H. 14 ἐν τῇ πόλει del. Valckenaer 27. 2 ὑποκατήμενος  
ABR 3 τήν <τε>? Stein<sup>12</sup> approb van H

(Blakesley's idea that the palace, though ascribed to Xerxes, was post-Herodotean is the more violent hypothesis)

13. ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.2.8) also tells the story. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἀντρώῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαὶ διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας Diodori 3.58 and Apollodoros 1.4.2 give the myth in more elaborate forms, but perhaps Solon was already acquainted therewith (ἀσκὸς δεδάρθαι *Frag.* 33.7; Bergk, u<sup>4</sup> p. 54, apparently as a proverbial expression). The *motif* was frequently used for the plot of satyr-dramas (Jessen in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 2440). That the actual story is of 'Phrygian' origin (as Hdt. asserts) appears very improbable, it is thoroughly Greek in tendency, and signifies the victory of the Hellenic god and his instrument or his art over the barbarian and his blow-pipes. The formula ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει shows, indeed, how little weight can be attached to such 'Quellen-citate', cp Introduction, § 10. The 'flaying' may be 'Phrygian' (a 'barbarous' punishment, cp Hastings, *Dict. of Bible*, 1 (1898) 525), as the figure of Marsyas himself, 'the spring-demon and piper,' is originally. But perhaps the ἀσκός in the first instance was only the bellows of the bag-pipes? Stein sees in it a symbol of the Source. The native name of the river at Kelainai was Masnes or Masses (*F H G* iv 629) when the Masses was converted into the Marsyas (cp Hdt. 5.118) the symbol was converted into the piper's own skin. But this exegesis presupposes the myth. It is more natural to think of the ἀσκός as a wine-skin and to connect it with the

'Silenos'. In regard to 'Silenos' Stein notes that others made him a 'Satyr'; Rawlinson shows that 'Silenos' was originally the chief Satyr. Marsyas, in opposition to Apollo and Athene, is associated with Dionysos (Silenos) and with Kybele (flute-music). The contest was a favourite subject in Greek literature and art, of which one classic example is to be seen on the celebrated Mantineian frieze (now in Athens), another on one of the Sidonian sarcophagi (now in Constantinople), see further on the myth and its representations Jessen in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *sub v.*

27. 2 Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτυος ἀνὴρ Λυδός. Ulrichs (*Rh. Mus.* N. F. x. 26) first suggested that this man was a son of Atys, son of Kroisos, cp. 1.34. The anecdote that follows is a tale often repeated, with additions or variants. Plutarch *l. c. infra* gives the name as Πυθίης (cp Steph. Byz. *sub v.* Πυθίοις), a scholiast on Aristod. Πυθίης Phny (33.10) made the man a 'Bithynian'; Basil Mag. calls him a 'Mysian' (cp. Baehi's note *ad l.*); Grote, by an obvious slip, a 'Phrygian'—perhaps as he awaited the king at Kelainai. (ὑποκατήμενος, not "lived in," Rawlinson, cp 8.40 *infra* of a hostile position, at a distance from home.) The name is suggestive of the Delphic relations of the Mermnad house (and doubly suggestive in the city of Marsyas!) Stein regards Plutarch, *Mor.* 263 f., as only "a moralizing novelette," but the representation of Pythios as (1) governor of a city, and (2) owner of gold mines, should not be dismissed as unhistorical (cp. Geltzer, "Zeitalter d. Gyges," 2 *Rh. Mus.* xxxv. (1880), Radet, *Lydie* (1893), p. 82).

αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν  
 5 πόλεμον παρέχειν. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἵρετο  
 Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρόντας τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος  
 καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ  
 εἶπαν “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον  
 10 νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν μετὰ σέ.”  
 28 θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸν δεύτερα  
 εἵρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα. ὃ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ

4 βουλόμενος παρέχειν secl. van H. dubitans tamen utrum verba  
 ἐς τὸν πόλεμον servanda fuerint 5 [χρήματα Πυθίου]<sup>2</sup> van H.  
 8 Δαρεῖον secl. van H. 9 τῇ <τε> πλατανίστῳ<sup>2</sup> Stein<sup>12</sup> approb.  
 van H. 28. 1 αὐτὸν Tournier αὐτὸς codd Stein<sup>12</sup>. αἰτίς Krueger  
 3 τὸ μὴ <οὐκ> εἰδέναι van H.

4. ἐπαγγέλλετο (mid), ‘offered,’ ‘promised’ Cp. c. 1 *supra*

6 Περσέων τ π., his immediate suite Blakesley’s note on Xerxes’ question (the king knowing nothing of the donor’s name, but familiar with his gifts), “beautifully characteristic of courtly selfishness,” hardly requires refutation; apart from all other arguments, is the question really authentic? is it more than a literary device or formula? (cp. 5 105).

9. τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ: the gifts had been presented, perhaps, on the occasion of Dareios’ visit to Sardes in 512 B.C. (cp. Hdt. IV-VI. App. IV. § 8). These objects must have been famous to pass into anecdote in this fashion, though but few Greeks in the time of Hdt. can have seen them. Ulrichs (*loc. supra*) supposes them to have been among the treasures of Kroisos; they were works of one or other Samian Theodoros, or at least the golden vine apparently was (ἀμπελος Ἀργαξέρξη (sic) χρυσῇ, Θεοδώρου Σαμίου ποίημα, ἀχρηστον ἔργον τρυφῶντος Μήδου κατὰ τῆς φύσεως, Photius, *Biblioth.* 612 n. after Himerios). Athenaeus 12 514 f. ἦν δ’ ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι καὶ λιθοκόλλητος ἀμπελος χρυσῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς κλίνης (so far Chares of Mitylene). τὴν δὲ ἀμπelon ταύτην Ἀμύντας φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς καὶ βότρυας ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ψήφων συντεθειμένους (not far off was a golden *krater*, a work of Theodoros the Samian). The vine was apparently a large object if it overshadowed the couch on which (Phylarchos

said) the kings held audience (εἰρηματίον which Rawlinson humorously (?) translates ‘slept,’ Athenaeus, 12 539). The bunches of grapes were represented by emeralds and earbunches (*ibid.*) The plane-tree, on the other hand, was small (so Antiochos of Arcadia speaking sarcastically *apud* Xenoph. *Hell.* 7 1 38 τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσὴν πλατάνον οὐχ ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἔφη τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν). The vine is last heard of authentically in possession of Antigonos in 316 B.C. (αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐν Σούσοις ἄκραν κατέλαβεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν τε χρυσὴν ἀναδενδράδα καὶ πλήθος ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων Diodori 19 48). Perhaps it went into the melting-pot then, with the plane-tree to boot.

10 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν mere conventionalism, whether uttered by Hdt. himself, or, as here, by the mouth of one of his *dramatis personae*; cp. c. 20

28. 1 δεύτερα, ‘in the second place’ The king’s previous question had not been addressed to Pythios himself (αὐτόν), or τὸ δεύτερον might have stood here, cp. 5 28

3 οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω sc. τὴν οὐσίην (cp. 1 92, 6 86, etc.), the primary sense of οὐσία, ‘substance’ = ‘property’

οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι: the negative is here quite regular and inevitable, but would no doubt equally have stood idiomatically after ἀποκρύψω (ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τινά τι is the more usual idiom, here perhaps avoided on account of the coming σκήψομαι.)

οὐσίην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ  
τάχιστα σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν 5  
Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα  
ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας  
εἰσάσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσοῦ δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων  
Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεούσας ἐπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τοῦτοισί σε ἐγὼ  
δωρέομαι· αὐτῷ δέ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων 10  
ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος." ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ξέρξης δὲ ἤσθεις 29  
τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι εἶπε "ξεῖνε Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπεῖτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν  
Περσίδα χώρην, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἠθέλησε  
ξεῖνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν  
καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμ- 5  
βαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μέγας  
στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν

5 ἐπυθόμην τάχιστα σε B approb Holder, van H 7 ἐξεμάνθανον  
Stein<sup>2</sup>. ἐξέμαθον 8 χρυσοῦ ABC χρυσίου B, Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder,  
van H. 9 χιλιάδων B, Eustath II 339, 366. χιλιάδων α || σε Δ  
γε BB 10 γεωπέδων PS (=B γεοπέδων R) γεωπεδίων ABC  
γεωπόδων z 11 ἀρκέων om z 29 6 μέγας· μεγαλωστί?  
van H. 7 μεγάλα om. ABC

4 ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω· an 'Homeric reminiscence,' cp c. 159 *μητρα*, hardly appropriate in the mouth of Pythios addressing Xeïxēs, nor would the courtier have denominated the sea between Asia and Europe *θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνίδα* in addressing the king. Cp the use of *βάρβαρος μητρα*.

7 λογιζόμενος this Lydian Rothschild was not apparently in the habit of striking a balance periodically! His wealth consisted in silver, gold, slaves and 'realty' (if his land included mines he might soon renew his specie) The silver and gold he offers (not on loan) to the king Assuming that the computation was made in Babylonian talents (Babyl Euboic · 7 6, Hdt 3. 89), the silver (2000 T) would amount to £584,325 of our money (taking B talent = £292 3 3) 2000 Euboic = £500,841: 13 4, 2000 Attic = £500,000 (*circa*), while the 3,993,000 gold Danics (taking the Dario = £1 1 10½) may be expressed roughly as so many guineas Rawlinson defends the derivation of the name Dario from Dareios (cp *louis* and *napoleon*), but the later evidence referred to by Head, *Historia Numorum*

(1887) p. 698, seems to show that *Dariku* is an old Babylonian measure or weight, possibly connected with the Assyrian *dariag manni*, 'degree (i.e. ἔτος) of the mina,' an expression with which the Greek *δραχμή* has been connected That the Greeks should find native or less remote derivations for these words was inevitable (e.g. *δράσσομαι* for *δραχμή*), but does any extant Greek authority derive the 'Dareik' from Dareios? Harpokration says *σὺν τῇ ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοὶ οὐχ ὥς οἱ πλείστοι νομίζουσιν ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἐτέρου βασιλέως*. This negation is of some value in support of the Babylonian origin of the term, especially since the old Persian *darā* = king has been given up The term *δαρεικός* is properly adjectival, as here, and in Thuc. 8 28. 4

29 2 τὴν Περσίδα χώρην of Persia proper as in 3. 97, not like γῆν τὴν Περσίδα c 8 γ *supra*, with the accus. after *ἐξέρχεται* cp. 5 103, 104

5 αὐτεπάγγελτος a strong term (*ultra offerens*), passive in form, active in force, rather weakened by the recurrence of *ἐπαγγέλλεαι* just below (Cp. αὐτὸς ἀγγελος 1. 79)



ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεινὸν τέ σε ποιεύμαι  
ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀπο-  
10 πλήσω παρ' ἐμευτοῦ δούς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μή τοι  
ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακοσίαι μυριάδες [ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων], ἀλλὰ  
ἧ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς  
τά περ αὐτὸς ἔκτῃσας, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ  
γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον  
15 μεταμελήσει."

30 Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω  
αἰεὶ. Ἄνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος  
καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης γίνονται, ἀπύκετο ἐς Κολοσσὰς πόλιν  
μεγάλην Φρυγίης· ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς

11 ἐπιδεέες αRS ἐπιδευέες V ἐπιδέες Holder post Merzdorf. ἐπιδέες ὡς  
Bekker Anecd. p. 416. ἐπιδευέες ὡς Suidas l.c. (ἐπιδεέες ed Bernhardt  
corr. ἐπιδέες) || glossema del. van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 12 ἔκτησό corr. Stein<sup>1</sup>.  
κέκτησό 13 αὐτὸς om B || ἐκτῇσας possides Valla (= ἔκτησαι)  
14 τοιαῦτα B 30. 1 δὲ τε Kallenberg 2 παραμειψάμενος  
van H. 4 μεγάλην om B

8. ἀντὶ αὐτῶν, 'in return for your offer', with this vague αὐτῶν op. c. 8 l. 34 *supra*

ποιεύμαι: middle, as in ποιείσθαι τινὰ υἱὸν (θυγατέρα 4 180), ἄλοχον, ἑταῖρον, and so forth.

11 ἐπιδεέες: a specially interesting reading, as the families are divided upon it; cp App Crit In 4 130 we have ἐπιδευέες Suidas l.c. *infra* has ἐπιδέες

12. ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ἀπηρτισμένους καὶ πλήρης ἀριθμὸς καὶ λόγος, Suidas sub ὁ Ἀπαρτίαν. Cf. Bekker, Anecd. 416, Oramer, Anecd. in 490 4 (οὕτως Λυσίας καὶ Ἡρόδοτος Did Lysias get the word from his fellow-Thurian?).

14. ἐς χρόνον, 'in time to come,' cp 9. 89 *infra* Hdt is of course preparing a tragic 'peripety' The first relations of Xerxes and Pythios are a pleasing contrast to the normal relations between kings and capitalists, but a terrible scene is in store cc 38, 39 *infra*

30. 1 ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας=(ἐργῶ) ἐπιτελέσας, i.e. no doubt caused the money to be paid over to Pythios So ἐπιτελέειν is used of the fulfilment of oracles, the performance of vows, *et sim.*, cp 1 13, 90, 115, etc Thuc. 1. 70. 2 ἐπινοήσας ὁξείας καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἐργῶ & ἂν γνῶσιν

2 Ἄνανα (predicate το καλεομένην) from this passage evidently (1) in Phrygia, (2) S of Maiandros, (3) on N bank of

a salt-lake, identified by W. M Ramsay with Sarios (Sari-kavak), *American Journal*, 4 275. Kiepert's map of 1894, *Asia Provincia (Formae Orb Ant.* ix), distinguishes clearly the salt-lake Anava from Askania (wrongly identified by Abicht, Arrian, *Anab* 1 29 1)

3 ἄλλες γίνονται, 'salt is produced'; for the plural cp 4 53, 6 119; the singular in 4 181 ff

Κολοσσάς, 'a great city of Phrygia,' with something of a history, πόλιν οἰκουμένην εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην (Xen. *Anab* 1 2 6), was declining in the days of Strabo (a mere πόλις compared with Apameia and Laodikeia, 576), but still making a living from a dye-stuff (ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμωνύμου χρώματος, sc τῆς κοραξίης χροῖας, 578), usually identified with Khonás (anc Χῶναι), but located by Hamilton 3 miles away. (Cp. Murray's *Asia Minor*, p 104f) The existence of a *Pauline Epistle* addressed to the Colossian Church has given the name a vogue in Christendom

4. ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς κτλ Hamilton and others had questioned the accuracy of Hdt's assertion in regard to the temporary disappearance of the Lykos, and reduced the 'chasm' to a natural bridge, or vaulting, caused by the deposit of lime from the water G. Weber, *M D A. I* xvi (1891), pp 194 ff.

ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα 5  
 κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδόι καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ  
 Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ  
 Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα,  
 σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς  
 οὖρους. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, 31  
 σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης  
 φεροῦσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ  
 διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ  
 ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοεργοὶ μέλι 5

5 ἐμβαλὼν B 7 τῶν λυδῶν καὶ φρυγῶν B. <τε> καὶ? Stein<sup>2</sup>  
 approb. van H 31 4 ποταμὸν secl van H. 5 Καλλά-  
 τηβον α. καλλάτιβον R, Steph B. appr. van H: καλλάτιον SV

argues, from observations rendered possible by the railway work between Sarakoi and Dineir, that Hdt., though not quite accurate, is not guilty of serious error, this defence may supersede W. M. Ramsay's idea that Hdt. confused the narrow gorge, at the head of which Colossae was situate, with the connexion between the Lykos and Lake Anava (cp. Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 105).

8 **Κύδραρα**: variously identified (i) with Hierapolis (cp. Steph. Byz.), (ii) with Laodikeia, which, according to Pliny 17.38.2, Xerxes visited (Laodiceae, Xerxis adventu, platano in oleam mutata) the town necessarily bore some other name in 481. Baehr follows Schoell in accepting this alternative, (iii) with Karura of Strabo, 578 (Leake), which Blakesley denies, on the ground that Strabo makes it the frontier of Phrygia and *Karia*, but the three regions (Phrygia, Lydia, Karia) came to a point here, and (iv) G. Radet (*Lydie*, pp. 32, 34 f.) identifies Kydrara with Karura, and both with Sara-Keui, a small town at the junction of two great roads (a) up and down the Maeander valley, between the sea and the plateau, (b) through valleys of Kogamos and Lykos to the gulf of Adalia. "The road to Sardes undoubtedly passed through the opening in Mount Messogis where Tripolis stands (*see*), and then struck into the valley of the Cogamus" (Rawlinson), i.e. 'stood,' for "most of the buildings have disappeared" (Murray, *Asia Minor*, p. 107). Tripolis was a Pergamene foundation "to counterbalance the Seleucid proclivities of Laodicea"

(2b). Perhaps Karura was only a small place even in antiquity (κώμη . . . πανδοχεῖα ἔχουσα, Strabo), but nevertheless important as a frontier station (where custom-dues were collected, Blakesley). If Kydrara was a frontier station in the time of Kroisos, it follows that (1) Lydia did not extend to the Halys, or at least to the Halys-meridian throughout, (2) there was a great trade-route already running E (SE) from Sardes other than the Royal Road. In other words, the *κοινὴ* described by Strabo is as ancient as the days of Kroisos at least. It was this route which the younger Kyros took in 401 why not Xerxes in 481 B.C.? Cp. Appendix II. § 8.

**στήλη . Κροίσου**. This terminus or boundary stone was standing in Hdt.'s time, but there is no proof that he had seen it. The inscription (perhaps simply 'Phrygia' one side, 'Lydia' the other) was not in Greek anyway.

31. 2. **σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ κτλ** the particularity and precision of this description might suggest the historian's autopsy, but the Halikarnassian must have conversed with many travellers by these roads, and more probably their autopsy shines through his language, which indeed immediately becomes a little involved, as though he were reporting (τῇ καὶ—ποιεῖσι).

4. **διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον π** There was probably a bridge, though Hdt. does not say so.

5. **Καλλάτηβον πόλιν** Rawlinson would place on the site of the subsequent Philadelphia (Alashehr), no doubt

ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεύσι, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὔρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ 32 ἡμέρῃ ἀπρίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτή-  
 σοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δέλπνα βασιλείῃ  
 παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα  
 5 ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα  
 [τὸ δεύτερον] ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον  
 οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε

8 μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ. ἀνδρὶ ante μελεδωνῷ? Stein<sup>1</sup> ἀθανάτῳ  
 secl Stein<sup>2</sup> ἀνδρὶ secl Cobet appr van H., Holder. 32. 6 τὸ  
 δεύτερον Stein om β approb van H.

an important position, but Radet (*l c supra*) confirms Hamilton's identification of Kallataboi (epigraphic) with Aineh-  
 (Heul, higher up the Kogamos valley than Philadelphia

μέλι. ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ, that is, in combination, cp 4 194, 1 193. Stein and Abicht take this μέλι for a kind of syrup was it not rather a sweetmeat, like the *Rahat Lakum*? Could not the women and children be trusted to make it, that it was manufactured by men, *ἄνδρες δημοεργοί*? Athenaeus 4 172 states that pastry-cooks were called of γοιε δημιουργοί

7. πλατάνιστον Plane-trees and tamarisk are still characteristic of the Kogamos-valley (Hamilton) The anecdote of Xerxes gives a curious illustration of *Baum-cultus* Rawlinson and Blakesley understand the custos (μελεδωνός, cp c 38 *infra*) to have been one of the 'Immortals'; Abicht explains the term by the analogy there was always a man to be in charge of this plane-tree That seems to be Schweighauser's idea, which Baehr condemned as far-fetched why? Stein brackets ἀθανάτῳ, regarding it as inserted from c 83 *infra*, and so cuts the knot Cobet's emendation gives Abicht's interpretation.

#### XERXES IN SARDES

32 2 πρῶτα μὲν answered by μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, c 33 W M Ramsay (*St Paul the Traveller and the R Citizen*, p 27) maintains that πρῶτος is a strict superlative, and implies three degrees πρῶτιστος (Homeric) is not necessarily fatal to that, but it helps to explain

the fact that πρῶτα is practically a positive, or at most a comparative ('prior,' not 'prime') in Hdt, and has ceased to imply more than duality

κήρυκας (not ἀγγέλους) (The first mission, by Dareios, in 491 B C, 6 48) The mission of these heralds at this point to demand 'earth and water' is a little puzzling, and seems the more confused by the secondary purpose of commandeering dinners for the king The motivation for this second mission (Xerxes wished to find out exactly how little resistance he had to expect) is quaintly, not to say awkwardly put a symptom of some unsoundness in the passage That these heralds were sent everywhere (τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πάντῃ) in Hellas but to Athens and Lakedaimon is vague, to say the least of it, a list of cities or tribes here would have been more convincing Finally, the absence of any reason for the exceptions here is doubly remarkable, in view of cc 133-137 *infra* As the king wished to punish Athens for Marathon (c 81 30 *supra*) there is no need to explain why Athens was not included in the scope of the heralds' instructions, but the omission of Sparta is not so easy to account for if Hdt was acquainted with the story, cc 133 ff *infra*, when he first wrote this passage. Perhaps this text belongs to the earliest draft of the seventh book, and the chief problem is to explain the insertion of that story below rather than in this place; cp notes *ad l*, and Introduction, § 9 The return of these 'heralds' is recorded c 131 *infra*.

<δὴ> δείσαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀτρεκέως ἔπεμπε.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον. οὐδὲ 33  
δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς  
τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ,  
Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ παχέα ἐς  
θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, 5  
χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος  
στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν λαβόντες

8 δὴ suppl. Stein<sup>3</sup>. γε Naber appr van H 9 ἀτρεκέως  
van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> ἀκριβέως Stein<sup>12</sup>: ἀκριβῶς α om β approb Holder  
33. 1 ταῦτα secl van H. 4 μαδύτου α ἀβύδου β || παχέα α  
τραχέα R· τε τραχέα VS: τηρχέα Abicht appr. Holder, van H  
An πλατῆα? Stein 5 Ἀβύδου Krueger 7 Ἀθηναῖοι Stein:  
ἀθηναίων

33 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα answers πρῶτα μέν in c 32. One could hardly discover from this passage that Xerxes spent the whole winter 481-80 B.C. in Sardes, much less restore the various transactions of the time, cp Appendix II § 3

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ sc χρόνῳ (cp εν ᾧ c 26), taking us back to c 25 and the preparation of the cables for the bridges, covers presumably the whole time from the muster at Kritalla (or earlier) down to Xerxes' arrival at Sardes (or a little later) οἱ δὲ may refer to Φοίνιξι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι c 25, οἱ anticipates τοῖσι προσέκειτο c 34, from which, perhaps, it was not originally separated

2 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον here used in the narrower sense, as distinguished from Propontis and Bosporos, cp 4 85, 5 122, Aeschyl *Peis* 875, W Sieglin, *Festschrift für H Kiepert*, 1898, pp 323 ff

3 ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου. Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον Sestos was as nearly as possible due north of Abydos, across the straits, the Asiatic coast at this point forming a salient right angle (pointing NW.), and the European a re-entrant angle very nearly on parallel lines Madytos (now *Manto*) is on the European side about due W of Abydos, and consequently SW of Sestos. (Madytos appears on the Athenian Lists as paying 500 D1 tribute previous to 438 B.C., thereafter, 2000) The distance between Sestos and Madytos may be

about 5 R miles. The mention of Madytos here at all favours the view that the heads of the bridges did not debouch immediately upon Sestos, and this again favours Stein's emendation πλατῆα Cp Appendix II § 4

4 ἀκτὴ, as Grote iv 121 n remarks, means here not 'promontory' but stretch of coast, cp Verg *Aen* 5 613

5 Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον the genitive would be more in accordance with usage, but cp 2 34

μετὰ ταῦτα is decidedly vague. The incident referred to took place in the winter 479-8 B.C. (χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ) and is recounted 9 116-20, in a doublette of this passage, without cross reference, which makes this passage read like a gloss, or an oversight. But see below

6 ἐπὶ with genitive, 'in the time of,' common, but here perhaps 'in the command of,' or, under the command of Xanthippos Ἀθηναῖοι, Stein's emendation, which supplies, what is otherwise to seek, a subject for the verb, refers not to the 'state' (πόλις) but merely to the men serving on the spot

7 Ἀρταύκτην his patronymic is supplied c 78 *infra*, and these three separate and unconnected references to one notorious Persian are significant of Hdt's method of composition and relation to his sources; cp Introduction, § 10

Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν, ὃς καὶ ἐς  
 τοῦ Πρωτεσίλῃω τὸ ἱρὸν ἐς Ἐλαιούντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναικάς  
 34 ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε. ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου  
 ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου  
 Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην [τὴν] βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ  
 ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίου. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένον  
 5 τοῦ πόρου ἐπυγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα  
 35 πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος  
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι

8 προσδιεπασσάλευσαν B. διεπαττάλευσαν Eustath. Od. p 1923  
 9 ἱρὸν B8: ἱερὸν A 10 ἀθέμιτα B, Holder 34 3 τὴν  
 δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην α· τὴν secl Gomperz, Stein<sup>3</sup>: τὴν δὲ βυβλίνην B  
 appr. Holder, van H || εἰσὶ B 4 δὴ ἐξευγμένον α διεξευγμένον B  
 35. 2 ἐπικέσθαι 'corruptum videtur' Kallenberg

8 Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον was he a satrap (in Thrace), or merely a fortress commandant? (cp *supra*)

διεπασσάλευσαν they 'spread-eagled and crucified him' The story of this barbarous vengeance made a deep impression upon Hdt (and his sources) or he would hardly have introduced it here, simply *à propos* of the topography. Possibly this topographical note was introduced after his own visit to the Hellespont, and did not belong to the first draft of Bk 7. Cp Introduction, § 9.

ὃς, 'for he' καί, 'even' On Elaiús, c. 22 *supra*, Protesilaos, 9 116 ἔρδεσκε has here the iterative force (The profanity of Atayktes recalls that of Eli's sons, 1 Sam 2. 22.)

34. 1. ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι seems to make Abydos the headquarters of the bridge-building were the bridges not constructed simultaneously from each end? Bridges (not a bridge merely, *pace* τὴν γέφυραν c. 10 l. 26 *supra*) there were already, with τὴν μὲν and with τὴν δέ, γέφυραν must be understood, though strictly speaking 'the bridge' was not of sparto or of byblos but only a part of it, to wit, the cables (γέφυραν is approved by Schweighauser, Kuehner, Baehr, Rawlinson, Blakesley, and Stein in his later editions, Kruse started the unfortunate notion of a single bridge, and supplied *μερίδα τῆς γεφύρας*, which Stein followed in his first annotated ed.) The first pair of bridges too were presumably bridges of boats, but are not described in view of the full description

of the second pair which follows; only the one respect in which the first structures differed from the second is here specified whether correctly or not, is another question, cp c 36 *infra*

3 ἔστι τοι εἴσι cp 1 26 (of the same measure<sup>1</sup>), less violent in construction than in Plato, *Rep* 463 A (τί οὖν, ἔστι μὲν που καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀρχοντές τε καὶ δῆμος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ, ἔστι) The structure used to be called *schema Pindaricum* (*Pyth.* 10. 72 *κείται* . . *κυβερνάσις* v l. *λείνται* 'de Pindaricis exemplis vix satis constat')

4. ἑπτὰ στάδιοι the same estimate is given 4 85, so too Strabo, 125, 591 τὸ ἑπταστάδιον (obviously conventional) Xen *Hell* 4 8 5 gives 8 stades as the measurement It is now considerably wider (by some 3 stades) or about 1½ E mile in all. The loss (or gain) has been apparently at the expense of the European shore, and will have reduced the dimensions of the ἀκτὴ πλατεία above mentioned, and made the exact location of the bridges difficult, if not impossible, to identify

35 1 δεινὰ ποιούμενος *aegre forens*. Cp c 1 *supra* There are four measures of revenge taken — (1) Flogging, (2) Fettering, (3) Branding, (4) Taunting, the first three sensibly weaken the effect of the fourth The most effective measure on the Hellespont (as on the Tay) was the restoration of the structure in a more durable form

2. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον . . πληγὰς: Baehr and Blakesley (without acknowledgement) follow Valckenaer in taking

πληγὰς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὦν ραπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν

4 μαστιγέας z, vulg

5 βάρβαρά μέρμερά vult Naber

this to be constructed ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλῆς ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἰκέσθαι μαστιγὶ πληγὰς Stein (*et al.*) understands ἐπικέσθαι μ. = μαστιγῶσαι, with double accus. sc. τινὰ πληγὰς. So too L & S, obviously right (But why just 300 lashes? Even more severe penalties were apparently prescribed in ‘the law of the Priests’; cp. Duncker, *ET* v 237)

ἐπικέσθαι (ἐπῖκειο) in somewhat different sense, c. 9 *supra ad init*

3 πέλαγος Stein understands of the open sea below the Hellespont, i.e. the Aegean, or Thracian. It would have been more logical to fether the Pontos, or Propontis, out of which the Hellespont came. Probably πέλαγος is loosely used of the Hellespont itself, as quite clearly in c 54 *infra*.

πεδέων ζεύγος, ‘a yoke of fetters’ Aischyl. *Persai* 746 ff uses the ‘fettering’ simply as a metaphor ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἰρὸν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισεν σχῆσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥέον θεοῦ καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις περιβαλὼν πολλὰν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῶν στρατῶν. The bridge itself, the pair of bridges, would be fetters. Stein regards the Herodotean story as having (possibly) arisen from a misunderstanding of the (Aeschylean) metaphor. Hdt is deeply committed thrice he records it—here, c 54 *infra* (only the flogging), 8 109 (flogging and fettering, *Themistocle loquente*!) The flogging and the branding might be natural extensions of the fetters the Hellespont was to be not merely a slave in fetters, but a whipped and branded runaway! Rawlinson (after Grote) defends “the several points of this narrative” from “the sceptical (!) doubts” of Larcher, Muller, Thirlwall, and others, but the citation by Rawlinson of the bombastic “letter to Mount Athos” in Plutarch, *Mor* 455 E, and the apocryphal “message of insult to Apollo” recorded by Ktesias, *Pers.* 27, is very unfortunate for the authority of Hdt. Hdt 1. 202 (vengeance exercised

by Cyrus on the river Gynges) cited by Grote as a parallel case, being itself even more obviously apocryphal, cannot save this anecdote. The branding, indeed, is too much for Hdt. himself (ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα κτλ and δὲ ὦν) (How, indeed, the Hellespontine water was to be ‘branded’ unless it was first bottled is not very obvious.) No doubt the items are “in keeping with the character of an Oriental despot,” i.e. the conventional character, a point which explains the ease with which the story was invented, or developed, but is little guarantee for the truth of the items narrated. Duncker (iv 726 *ap* Stein) has indeed remarked upon the truly Iamian character of the address to the Hellespont, but such orientalisms are not beyond the resources of Hdt. and his authorities

4. στιγέας (cp App Crit) Baehr understands of the ‘instruments’ *quo stigmata inuruntur s. punguntur*, cp. Suidas. L & S render it ‘tattoos’ with no ref but this passage. To tattoo the sea would indeed be a feat. Were not ‘hot irons’ rather in question (cp c 18 *supra*)? Xerxes had the necessary operators and instruments in his train, according to the anecdote c 233 *infra*.

τούτοις is vague.

5. ραπίζοντας, generally to strike with a rod, or stick, so contrasted with *κολαφίζειν* Matth 26 67. Grote (iv. 118) by the way seems to think that Arrian (7 14) credits the story of the scourging, Arrian does not mention this item, but mentions the fettering to discredit it

βάρβαρα, ‘unhellenic.’ The speech, translated from the Persian (βάρβαρα!), seems to have reminiscences of an iambic rhythm about it. Perhaps Aeschylus had been already plagiarized and exaggerated by another poet, from whom Hdt took the story or was Phrynichos the source? Plutarch, *Them.* 5.

τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι  
 10 καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ." τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν  
 ἐνετέλλετο τούτοις ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεῶτων τῇ ζεύξιν τοῦ  
 36 Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα  
 ἐποίουν, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι  
 ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐζεύγνυσαν. ἐζεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε, πεντηκοντέρους  
 καὶ τριήρας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου

10 θολερῷ Markland ad Eurip. Suppl. 222: δολερῷ codd

9. ἄρα in Homer often expresses disillusionment (Abicht) Monio, *Homeric Grammar*, 347, gives the meaning as *fittingly, accordingly, consequently*

10 θολερῷ (cp App Cit) καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ a great contrast to Borysthenes καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι 4 53, or to the Stymon, to which the Magi did sacrifice, c 113 *ἡψα* ἄλμη, salt, 2 12, 77 ποταμῷ is bitter sarcasm here, even if (as Baehr points out) πλατὺς, ἀγάρροος in Homer, of the Hellespont, imply a fluvial character

11 τῶν ἐπεστεῶτων hardly Persians, though beheading was an honourable mode of execution, cp 8 90 *ἡψα* Plutarch *Mor.* 470 cuts off their noses and ears

36 2 τοῖσι, relative. τὰς δέ, sc γεφύρας There were plainly (in Hdt's conception) two bridges of unequal length, the one (or northern bridge) the longer (360 vessels) nearer the Pontos, the other (τὴν ἐτέραν, or southern bridge) the shorter (314 vessels) on the side of the Aegean He conceives them apparently as parallel to each other, but not as bound together so as to form a single structure

ἄλλοι Thirlwall, Grote, and others suggest that Greeks were employed this time. Why did not Hdt name Harpalos the architect? Cp Diels, *Laterculi Alexandrini*, Berlin, 1904, pp 8, 9.

3 ἐζεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε instead of describing the bridges as they might have appeared, when complete, to the eye, Hdt, who, of course, could no more have seen them than we ourselves, follows the Homeric method of recording the process of their manufacture. He appears to distinguish four main stages in the process — I. The *synthesis* of ships. II The discharge of the anchors III. The placing of the cables (ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κτλ.) IV. The formation of the roadway (ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγε-

φυρώθη κτλ) It is not easy, however, to understand how the 'synthesis' of the ships could have been accomplished without the employment of anchors and of cables from the first, and the whole description bustles with problems, larger or smaller, too complicated to be adequately discussed here, but cp Appendix II § 4

4 συνθέντες How this 'synthesis' of pentekonters and triremes was accomplished is not clear Each vessel might have been moored independently, in line with the rest, but the anchors to be next mentioned are not (according to Hdt) to prevent the vessels from being swept away by the current, but for a different purpose Or the vessels might have been attached to each other by ropes, or cables, but if so, Hdt. should have made that clear and, moreover, what are the ὄπλα there for finally? The words ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν κτλ (sc. γεφύραν) can hardly be taken to prove that the bridges, and therefore the cables, were already in place across the strait, but are obviously used, so to speak, proleptically It is a further defect that Hdt does not specify whether the vessels touched each other, thwart to thwart, or whether there was an interval, and if so, how much of an interval, between ship and ship There is no difficulty in understanding why the two bridges had a different number of boats in them, for even if parallel to each other, they need not have been the same length (Grote remarks that taking the breadth to be one mile or 5280 ft, 360 vessels of an average breadth of 14½ ft would exactly fill the space.) Nor does Hdt specify the respective numbers of triremes and of pentekonters employed, but he plainly conceives of both classes of vessels as employed in each bridge, though Kraz (*Abhandlung*, 1851) assigns all the

ἐξήκοντά [τε] καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην <τὴν πρὸς 5  
τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου> τεσσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν  
Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα

36. 5 τε Stein. del van H || τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου suppl.  
Stein<sup>3</sup> 7 Πόντου ῥόου Schweighaeuser (iv 198 a)

turemes to the one bidge, and all the pentekonters to the other Grote speaks (iv. 118) of "triemes and pentekonters blended together" in each bidge, and "moored across the strait breastwise with their sterns towards the Euxine and their heads towards the Aegean". what a blend! what a muddle!

6 τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, 'at right angles to the Pontos' ἐπικάρσιος means not merely πλάγιος 'schräg' (as Stein takes it) but at right angles (as Grote rightly) There is nothing in 1 180, 4 101 against this, but the reverse, and Hdt could have expressed the oblique angle, if that had been his intention Moreover, ἐπικαρσίας must refer to all the ships, of both bridges, alike, and shows that in relation to each other the ships are all conceived as in parallels There is nothing to justify our understanding τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας only of the vessels of the longer (or northern) bridge, and τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον only of the vessels of the shorter (or southern) bridge, nor again to justify us in restricting the whole phrase to the shorter bridge Taking Πόντου to be the true text, the passage would prove Hdt aware that the Hellespont forms an angle, and indeed a right angle with the Pontos—a conception by no means applicable to the general lie of the Hellespont, but precisely accurate of the portion of the Hellespont lying between Abydos and Madytos, though not of the portion lying between Abydos and Sestos But (1) so precise an orientation, and with reference to the remote Pontos, is neither after Hdt's way nor specially applicable to his proper audience, (2) the bridges cross, according to him, not from Abydos to Madytos, much less S. of Madytos, as this orientation might suggest, but distinctly N of Madytos and towards Sestos. There is, then, something to be said for Schweighaeuser's conjecture ῥόου for πόντου, the ῥόος being understood of the 'passage' to be foamed across the Hellespont by the bridge, or

bridges, when completed The change of reading makes no difference to the actual orientation of either bridge, or of the boats forming it, but delivers the text from an almost inexplicably remote reference Nor is the statement that the boats are at right angles to the passage across them quite inane, as is proved by the theory of some commentators that the boats were, and were by Hdt conceived as, at an oblique angle to the parallel cables drawn across them from shore to shore

7 τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, that is, 'parallel to the stream of the Hellespont' The question arises, whether Hdt conceived the stream, or current, setting down the Hellespont as parallel to the coast lines, which, of course, are not precisely parallel to each other, or whether he was aware, as was Strabo, that the current in the Heptastadion sets from the European to the Asiatic side, so that in order to cross from Asia to Europe the ferry started 8 stades above Abydos, ἔπειτα διαίρειν πλάγιον καὶ μὴ τελέως ἐνάντιον ἔχουσι τὸν ῥόον (Strabo 591) But had Hdt. been acquainted with this remarkable fact, would he not have stated it clearly? Hdt probably conceives the current as generally parallel to the coast, and the boats as heading directly up stream, likewise parallel to the coasts, or, more strictly, to the current, and traversed at right angles by the ὄπλα, the γέφυρα, the πύρος (there is absolutely no justification for saddling Hdt with Grote's idea that the boats 'had their heads towards the Aegean').

ἵνα ἀνακωχέη τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων The subject, the sense, and even, perhaps, the reading, are in doubt. The most obvious subject is ὁ ῥόος understood out of the foregoing, or more generally τὸ ὅδε συνθεῖναι (so Sitzler); and even if Reiske's or Stein's possible plural for the verb were adopted the sense would not be substantially altered (whether a personal subject or αἱ νῆες were supplied), ἀνακωχέει seems impos-



εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης 10  
 τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα. διέκπλουν  
 δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα  
 καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔξη ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι  
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ  
 γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνουσι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς 15  
 ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς

10 τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε van H. eadem mihi occurrerant 11  
 ζεφύρου 'incognitus quidam' Allgem Litteraturz 11 (1802) p 226 εὔρον  
 12 τῶν <τε> πεντηκοντέρων? van H || καὶ τριηρέων idem ille incog-  
 nitus: καὶ τριηρέων τριχοῦ Petavius καὶ τριχοῦ codd

10 πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου. These words are adverse to the view that Hdt conceived the bridges as running E. and W or the Hellespont as flowing S through the Heptastadion; west and south-west sufficiently well describe the general direction, and the more precise orientation would probably have been beyond Hdt's resources, even after a personal visit to the spot (cp c. 176 *infra*).

11 διέκπλουν δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων. The last word is an emendation, but a fairly certain one, cp App Ont. It is not likely that three different openings were provided in each bridge for the passage of smaller crafts. The text will mean that where the pentekonters and the triremes joined, an opening was provided (If the pentekonters had been all in one bridge, and the triremes all in the other, we should expect τῶν τριηρέων.) The remark throws some light on the structure of the bridges, but the respective positions of pentekonters and triremes remain unfortunately undetermined. Were the pentekonters all together in one place in each bridge, or distributed? If together, were they in the middle, or at one side? and so forth. If, as is possible, the pentekonters formed movable blocks in the bridges which could be slung out, in order to allow of the navigation continuing, powerful cables and capstans might have been employed for performing that operation. (On Grote's 'blend' see above) ὑπόφασιν appears to be a ἀπαξ λ, and διέκπλοος is used in a sense differing from the technical (later?) sense in 6 12, and more resembling the use in 4 179.

13 πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι, but hardly

for such larger craft as the corn ships mentioned c 147 *infra*.

14. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες. Hdt. distinguishes (III) the slinging of the cables from land across the boats, which he treats as the veritable γεφύρωσις, from (I) the 'synthesis' of the boats and (II) the anchoring of the boats in line across the channel. Whether the cables were fastened to the boats and the boats to the cables, or whether the cables simply rested upon the boats; whether the cables were each in one length, or whether there were in each several lengths, and so on, are questions which he neither resolves nor even raises. The stage in the process of construction which he is now describing savours more of a suspension bridge than of a pontoon, or bridge of boats. Grote, who seems to think Hdt shows neither 'ignorance' nor 'incorrectness' in his description of the bridges, observes that "the essential portion of the bridge is the continuous way across from bank to bank, which, in the case of a narrow stream, may exist without any supports at all." But the parallel cables laid over the vessels, 'resting upon them, and stretching across from bank to bank' (*sic*) do not by themselves constitute such a way, without the further treatment described by Hdt below (IV.).

15 ὄνοισι capstans, windlasses (though 'ass' in windlass is but a chance coincidence), the use of the word recalls our 'donkey-engines,' or still more exactly the 'mule' in a cotton mill.

16 ἐκάτερα, 'each set,' or 'sort' (force of the plural). There were six cables in all used for each bridge, two of 'sparto' and four of 'papyros,' the size and finish of each kind being alike,

ἐκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἶλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, 20 κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας

17 ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ A<sup>2</sup> marg (Stein<sup>1</sup>), B<sup>2</sup> marg (Stein<sup>2</sup>) ἦν αὐτὴ ceteri: (μὲν) ἡ αὐτὴ Reiske, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Kallenberg 18 ἦν damn. Kallenberg

the specific gravity of sparto or grass-rope being greater, for it weighed 'a talent per cubit'. How much the papyrus weighed Hdt does not say, nor does he specify how these cables were arranged, whether e.g. the sparto-cables were exterior, and the papyrus-cables within, or otherwise. Nor does Hdt specify exactly what 'talent' he had in view. Could this be determined we might calculate (1) the weight of the cubit of esparto-cable, (2) the weight of the whole cable, approximately 8 stades, or about a mile long, (3) the approximate size or thickness (παχύτης=πάχος) of each cable. As the cables were subsequently captured and taken to Athens (9. 121 *infra*) they may have been weighed there, and Hdt. may be drawing on an Attic source, the Phoenician makers would have reckoned by their own weights and measures. (Similarly the cubit here would be the mean Greek cubit=1½ feet, not the 'Samian' or 'Egyptian,' for example, 2. 168.) If Attic weight is here used the 'emporic' talent is presumably intended, weighing 82 lbs avoirdupois—a truly stupendous weight of rope, 54½ lbs per foot! (Stein gives the παχύτης as about 33.8 inches (*Zoll*) "the stoutest modern cable is only 24") The cables which Hdt has here in view would have suited a suspension bridge. The anchors above mentioned also require cables. If any section, or sections, of the bridges were capable of being slipped back and forward into place, cables would be required for such an operation. Finally, if the bridges were made in lengths and floated out into position, or even put in position, ship by ship, cables would be used to control the movement. Hdt's account of the δπλα leaves much to be desired, in form as in substance, cp. c 25 *supra*.

18 τοῦ, as relative, refers loosely to λευκολίνου implied in τὰ λίνεα.

19. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος. There follows (IV.) the fourth stage in the process as apparently conceived by

Hdt, viz. the formation of the actual roadway. πόρος is a little ambiguous, and might mean the passage or waterway across which the bridge was stretched, or the passage or roadway formed by the construction of the bridge itself. It has the former meaning in c 183 *infra*, 8. 76, and the latter conspicuously in c 10 *supra* (παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον), here, and elsewhere, including l. 7 *supra*, if πόρος is read for Πόντον.

20 κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες κορμοὶ are 'logs,' which, when 'sawn up' (as we say), would make 'planks', these were as 'long' as the 'fratle' or 'pontoon' (σχεδία sc of each bridge) was 'wide' (the exact measurement unfortunately not given). These planks had no doubt been got ready before the γεφύρωσις was accomplished, they were laid in order above the cables (ἀεὶ τοῦ τόνου RWM), and bound down upon them (αὐτὸς ἐπεξεύγνυσεν), either by separate ties, or possibly by some of the great cables (perhaps the 'papyrus') being put down along them. It is but a further stage of the same process of road-making that brushwood (ῥάκη) was then laid down evenly upon the planks, and earth spread and stamped or rammed tight (κατανάξαντες) on the top of the brushwood. The bridge is completed by a bulwark (φραγμός) of planks, on either side, to prevent the sumpter-beasts being scared by sight of the water. This remark should apply to the bridge on the Aegean side for the commissariat (cp c 55 *infra*), presumably there was a railing, or some protection, along the other one too, although Hdt. does not say so.

There are two systems of building pontoons, as distinguished from 'suspension' and from 'sublecan' bridges, on one or other of which the bridges over the Hellespont must have been constructed. A. The one of these is virtually described by Aelian, in a well-known passage of the *Anabasis Alexandri*, 5. 7, as the Roman method employed on the

τῷ εὖρει κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνουν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν 25 ὑπερορῶντα [καὶ οἱ ἵπποι].

21 ἐπετίθεσαν BPz || κατύπερθε B : καὶ ὑπερθε α || τοῦ τόνου delevem  
22 ἐπεξεύγνουν ἐπεεύγνυσαν van H 24 φραγμὸν . φαργμὸν ?  
van H 25 φοβέηται aRS . φοβεῖται V 26 καὶ οἱ ἵπποι secl.  
Stein<sup>2</sup>

Danube, Rhine, Euphrates, and Tigris Ships are allowed to drift down the current, stern foremost, to the given spot, where they are stayed by a galley with oars, to which they are attached (presumably each ship to a separate galley<sup>1</sup>), and which rows or paddles against the stream while the next operation is accomplished. While this galley is rowing or paddling against the stream, large baskets of picked stones are dropped from the stem of each ship, forming the pontoon, and serve as anchors. The ships are thus arranged at intervals from each other all across the stream, with their stems to the current, and from ship to ship beams (ξύλα) are laid lengthwise, and planks (σανίδες) at right angles (εγκάρσιαι) to bind them together (this work beginning as soon as two ships have been successfully moored near enough to each other, and proceeding on both sides, every ship having a working party on board) until the whole passage is bridged by the requisite number of ships (ἔσαι ἱκαναὶ γεφυρώσαι τὸν πόνον). At each end fixed gangways (κλίμακες) project from the bank to the bridge, which serve as a safe approach for horses and beasts, and also keep the pontoon in its place.

With this kind of bridge and bridge-building Arrian contrasts the method here reported by Hdt. (ὡς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ξευθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον), by which ξυνδεῖσθαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὁρμισθεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεύγμα ἀπῆρκεσαν. But Arrian has apparently a little forgotten his Herodotus! One great difference he does indeed rightly signalise between the Roman method and that here described. There is nothing in the Roman bridge corresponding to the colossal ὀπλα, which give the bridge of Xerxes somewhat the

air of a suspension-bridge. For the rest, the floating of the ships stern foremost down stream, and their mooring, just on the Roman system, seems to be involved in Hdt.'s account, though he does not specify the κελήτιον ἐπήρες which is necessary to this operation, unless indeed the pentekonteres mentioned by him should be taken out of the bridge, and definitely assigned to this service. The place of the gangways (κλίμακες) too on the Roman bridge is taken by the shore ends of the cables with Hdt., but this is a mere detail of difference.

B The substantial alternative to the Roman method of throwing a bridge across a stream, and to the method described by Hdt. which appears to correspond in essentials to the Roman method, is not specified by Arrian, and would be to form pontoons on shore, or close to shore, of vessels bound or fastened together, and then float these pontoons, with the shore ends securely fastened, out into the stream, and either moor them or bind them together, or both moor them independently and attach them to each other at their juncture. Such a method would give a less stable result than the method described by Arrian, but some hints of such a process seem to shimmer through the description of the bridge-building in Hdt. (e.g. the separation of the 'synthesis' of the ships from the anchoring, the descriptions of the cables and windlasses, which seem quite *de trop* for the formation of the roadway, in anything but a suspension-bridge—of which there may have been examples, of course on a smaller scale, in Asia, which have affected the Herodotean account of the Hellespontine structure). The real use of the great cables and windlasses may

37 Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ  
περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώ-  
ρυχος, οὐ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πύμπληται τὰ  
στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελῶς  
5 πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι  
παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμᾶτο ἐλὼν ἐς

37. 1 τὰ om. α 3 ἐμπύμπληται PR 'contra usum Hdt.' van H.  
5 ἀγγελλο B 6 ὀρμᾶτο αV ὀρμᾶτο R, Stein<sup>1</sup>

have been (1) to control the great pontoons when being floated out into position, and perhaps to help to moor them there, (2) to control the opening and closing of the διέκπλος ὑπόφανσις, which must have been effected by slipping one or more ships out of position in the bridge, and replacing the same after the passage of the craft (unless, indeed, a gap or quasi-archway was left somewhere, or in more than one place in the bridge). Possibly the two pairs of bridges, successively thrown across the Hellespont, were not made on the same methods

It is conceivable that the first pair of bridges, which were destroyed by a storm, had been made upon the latter principle, and that the cables really played a more important rôle in relation to the first than in relation to the second pair of bridges. The second pair of bridges may have been constructed more upon the lines of the 'Roman' method (which may have been 'Greek' before it was Roman), and the cables used simply or mainly to form the basis, or to bind together the roadway, the change in method being underestimated and misconceived by Hdt, who makes it merely a matter of a different distribution and perhaps number of sparto and byblos ropes. Hdt, who gives no precise account of the structure or appearance of the first pair of bridges, had to rely upon mere hearsay for his account, and might easily have got details of the last bridges mixed up with details from earlier structures, not merely on the Hellespont, but on Bosphoros and Istros, cp Introduction, § 10. The fact that he describes the bridges of Xerxes but not the bridges of Dareios supports the theory of the prior composition of Bks 7-9, *ibid.* § 8.

37 1. τὰ . . τῶν γεφυρέων might have included the προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ

described in c 44 *infra* as especially constructed by the Abydenes ἐντεταμένον πρότερον βασιλέως κατεσκευάστο is here a full pluperfect, temporally

2 οἱ χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος These χυτοὶ are here mentioned for the first time, a remarkable addendum to the description of the Canal (τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων), confirming the conjecture in note c 23 *supra*. It might further be conjectured that the Canal was at first, like the bridges, a failure, and that the 'moles' or 'dams' were additions made during the winter 481-80 B.C. χυτός, properly an adjective (χέω), here = χώματα. Cp the Samian χώμα 3 60

3. ῥηχίη opposed to ἀμπωτις c 198 *infra*, coupled with πλημμυρίς 8 129.

ἵνα μὴ πύμπληται τὰ στόματα

Stein suggests that ψάμμον is wanting. Abicht interprets 'that the canal might not be flooded,' οἱ overflow (taking στόματα = χεῖλα). The object of these moles or dams was evidently to protect the entrance to the canal from being choked, or even storm-lashed. Cp note on c 23 *supra*.

5. ἐνθαῦτα as it stands can hardly be other than temporal, but it comes in rather awkwardly, and strengthens the suspicion that the description of the bridges (cc 33-36) was not in the first draft of the work. ὀρμημένῳ δέ οἱ here might have followed ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν c. 33

χειμερίσας the winter 481-80 B.C. ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι suggests an early start. Duncker (*G d. Allenstums* vii.<sup>5</sup> (1882) 201) delays it until mid-April (mainly on the ground that Xerxes was only seven months absent from Saides: Nepos (= Ephoros) *Themist* 5), and places the storm which destroyed the bridges in the early spring. The eclipse which follows, and ought to throw a flood of light upon the chronology, unfortunately fails us.

"Αβυδον· ὀρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὗτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς Μάγους τὸ ἰο θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς "Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολλίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων ἐποίεετο τὴν ἔλασιν. ὡς 38 δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθεῖς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἂν τι σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἑλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργήσαι, 5 ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν

11 θέλοι α 38 3 ἐπαρθεῖς codd 4 ἂν τι σεῦ β. ἂν τι τεύ Οζ. ἂν τί τευ AB · ἂν τευ Suevern appr. Holder, van H

7. ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην . ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο, 'night substituted for day,' suggests a total eclipse (cp 1 74, 103) 'The disappearance of the sun from his seat in heaven' is apparently conceived in terms of motion Hdt is of course aware of the (apparent) motions of the sun, diurnal and annual (cp 2 24-25), it is not to be supposed that the motion here posited is in a visible direction analogous to either of those it is apparently a direct retreat, or evanishment, from a cloudless and clear sky There was no eclipse of the sun visible in Sardes in the spring of 480 B.C., and this reported eclipse not only conflicts with the general chronology of the war, but with the verifiable eclipse, Oct 2, 480 B.C., 9. 10 *infra* It is therefore a fiction, not merely generally discreditable to the traditions of the war, but specifically ominous to the anecdote of Pythios, his fright, and its consequences There was, indeed, a total eclipse of the sun on April 18, 481 visible in the Indian Ocean, but not apparently on the mainland, or we might (with Rawlinson) associate with an eclipse the departure of Xerxes from Susa (which would not help us out here) An annular eclipse on Feb 16, 478 was visible in Sardes, and might be associated with the king's presence there, but only after his return from Greece this eclipse has perhaps been transposed by tradition to do duty at a point where it is most effective (That there had been any development

of such feeling since the celebrated eclipse of Thales and its notorious results, 1 74 (Stein), is surely more than we need suppose)

8. αἰθρίη is probably a substantive, cp c 188 *infra* φάσμα cp 8 37, and c 38 *infra* ὁ θεός cp 2 24

12. ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων has much more the ring of a Greek than of a Persian or Magian interpretation, the Persians were nothing if not sun-worshippers, cp c. 54 *infra*, 1 131 Blakesley has a suggestive note on this passage, but should not have treated it so seriously as indicating "a great change in the religion of the Persian court as compared with the time of Cambyses" (If there had been any change under Darius it was, as we now know, in the direction of a purer Mazdaism) As the eclipse is a fiction the interpretation can hardly be quoted for a fact

According to c 57 *infra* another *τέρας* occurred at Sardes, the birth of a bisexual mule The fatal accident to Pharnouches, the Hipparch, might also be added, c 88 *infra* Hdt is probably following various sources without combining them, or he would have massed the portents προδέκτωρ (προδείκτωρ), apparently an *Harapologomenon*

38. 2 Πύθιος ὁ Λυδός re-enters from cc 27-29 *supra*, with an implicit reference back (τοῖσι δ) ἐπαερθεῖς, always with a disparaging sense cp 9. 49.

6. γενόμενον · participle conditional = εἰ γένοιτο, cp Index for reff

χρήσειν ἢ τό <περ> ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσύνων τάδε. “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσίν μοι παῖδες ἔοντες  
 10 πέντε, καὶ σφῆας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτίρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωυτῷ, καὶ πρήξας  
 39 τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας ὀπίσω.” κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοισίδε. “ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺν ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκίους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ  
 5 σέο παιδός, ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ [αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί] συνέπεσθαι; εἰ νυν τόδ’ ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖσι ὥσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοις ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγα-  
 10 γέλλω, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

7 τό <περ> <sup>1</sup> Stein 12 οἰκτίρας van H., Stein<sup>3</sup>. οἰκτεῖρας codd., Stein<sup>1,2</sup> || στρατηγίας Valckenaer, Stein<sup>2</sup> στρατιγῆς codd., Stein<sup>1</sup> 14 τέσσερας B. τέσσαρας ACB 39 2 ἀμείβεται AB || τοισίδε τοῖσδε codd. τοῖσδε Stein 5 σοῦ Krueger || τῇ om Bz nonne glossema totum αὐτῇ τ γ. deleveris? 7 ἀκούσας van H 8 ἐμπιπλεῖ Dindorf, appr. van H || ἀκούσας del van H 9 ἐπαγγέλλω <sup>2</sup> idem

7 τό <περ> ἐδεήθη τό relative. δέομαι is constructed with double genitive, of thing and person as in 3 157, or as here with accus. of thing (gen. of person), though this accus. looks like a case of attraction, cp ὅτεν δέοιτο immediately following

10 καταλαμβάνει neut

11 ἐς τόδε ἡλικίας If Pythios was grandson of Kroisos, cp c 27 *supra*, he would be in 480 B C (as Stein calculates) some 80 years old. All his five sons were of age for military service he asks for the eldest—who would be no chicken. Stein compares the request of Chryses *Il.* A 18 (Baehr records this as Laicher's suggestion). The Homeric reminiscence affects the form of the request, not the substance of the story the parallel with 4 84 is even more suspicious

14 μελεδωνός cp c 31 *supra*

πρήξας . ὀπίσω Ironical in effect, and probably in Hdt.'s intention.

39. 1. κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη . . καὶ ἀμεί-

βετο. a weak *parataxis* as the subject of the verbs is not changed ἀμείβεται, the reading of AB(α), is perhaps preferable, as rather stronger.

2 ἄνθρωπε, not ἄνερ

3 αὐτοῦ, 'in person', cp 4 1

4 μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, 'about a son of thine' (thee) σέο περὶ π would have been confused after μνήσασθαι. περὶ π σέο would have been less emphatic. The mid aor (ἐμνησάμην) is rare in prose (Stein). Cp. Veitch *sub v.* μμνήσκω

5 αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί would that have added to the sacrifice? Is not πανοικίῃ enough? The words look almost like a comic gloss

6 ἐν τοῖσι ὥσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός has the air of a gnome, the psychological terminology of the passage, Homeric or popular as it is, is interesting ὁ θυμός τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ (τοῦ ἐνός) τὸ σῶμα is the seat of pleasure (τέρψις): ψυχῇ=νῆα c 209 *infra*, 8 118.

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμψαι [ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης]. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσαι.” ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν 15 Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς οδοῦ τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξῆγε ὁ στρατός. 40 ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια,

12 glossema del Stein<sup>3</sup> || τέσσαρας B. τέσσαρας AB

14 ζημιώσαι. fut pass (Stein); middle in passive sense (L & S.).

18. ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν If the army of Xerxes was to pass along the road between the halves of the bisected corpse, the army cannot have been a large one, or the feat would have been practically impossible, even if limited to τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν (c 26 *supra*) the performance is a difficulty. Behind the physical difficulty lies the obviously fabulous moral of the story, as an exhibition of the unbounded cruelty and caprice of the oriental despot, from whose rule Hellas had been saved at Salamis. Beyond that comes the dramatic or literary interest of the contrast between the beginning and the end of Pythios' dealings with Xerxes. The form and expression of the whole story are essentially Greek, and the parallel in 4. 84 (Dareios and Orobazos) discounts it. Yet we may reasonably hesitate to dismiss the story of Pythios as a pure fabrication. The apparently unconscious precision of some of the details, Pythios' name and antecedents, Kritalla the place of meeting, as Sardes of parting, convey touches of verisimilitude to a story, or pair of stories, which has assumedly 'lost nothing in the telling'. We may discount but we cannot deny the evidences of autocratic caprice, cruelty and folly, recorded of Xerxes, as of Kambyases, of the Greek 'tyrants,' of the 'Roman Caesars'—not to speak of modern examples from further east or nearer home. The possession of autocratic or almost autocratic powers over fellowmen is more than any human being can stand without disaster, and when those powers have been acquired,

not by ability and service (as in the case of Dareios), but by way of inheritance and traditional right (as by Xerxes, or Kambyases), the prospects of disaster are increased. Such is the unanimous testimony of Greek tradition in regard to the second generation of 'tyrants' as compared with the first, or founders, and whatever the exaggerations of tradition and the prejudices of republicans, the general conscience of humanity justifies in its own forum the 'tendency' or moral of the too dramatic or too edifying natural history of the tyrant.

40 1 ὁ στρατός The description which follows is far from being adequate to cover the tribes and nations enumerated in the Army-list afterwards (cc. 61-88), or even those which crossed the bridge, and one may suspect that in this place Hdt has in view (though perhaps not quite consciously) only the troops who marched ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ, in fact mainly the levies of Upper Asia, which had mustered at Kritalla in the previous year (cp c 26 *supra*). That the column is described in marching order as it left Sardes merely shows that Hdt's sources did not date or hail from Upper Asia. (Cp. Introduction, § 10.) This observation does not preclude some of the Anatolian levies having mustered at Sardes, but the bulk probably made their way direct to Abydos; cp c. 44 *infra*.

2 οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια That the baggage-train marches first shows that the column is still in thoroughly friendly country. Moreover it was to cross by the Upper Bridge, and had therefore to arrive first at Abydos. Cp τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηγία, c 55 *infra*.

μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ,  
οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο,  
5 καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. προηγύντο μὲν δὲ ἱππόται  
χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι  
χίλιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω  
ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι  
δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὥς· κάλλιστα. Νησαῖοι ἰδὲ καλέονται  
10 ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐνομα  
ἐστὶ Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ  
πεδῖον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς  
ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ  
αὐτοῦ εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ  
15 δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ

40. 3 σύμμικτος om α 4 οὐ διακεκριμένοι del Valckenaer 5  
οὗτοι αὐτῶ? || βασιλεί del Krueger || μὲν om. R || δὴ α γὰρ β 7  
Περσέων Stein<sup>3</sup> πάντων 8 ἐς τὴν γῆν del Kallenberg || τράποντες?  
Stein<sup>2</sup> || Νησαῖοι Stein passim v.l. νισαῖοι B<sup>2</sup> 'fortasse venior' van H.  
10 μέγα om C 14 αὐτοῦ Stein<sup>2</sup>: αὐ τῶν ἵππων αὐ om. PRz  
15 δὴ om. SV || ἀναβαίνει β, Holder

3 σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων  
ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι seems viciously  
redundant even for Hdt. Cp App Crit.  
The first four words recur c 55 *infra*,  
and may be taken to cover the various  
tribes and nations of the eastern half of  
the empire, subsequently enumerated  
and described co. 63-71 They formed  
the larger half (*ὑπερημίσεις*) of the  
column that left Sardes

4 διελέλειπτο is in neuter construc-  
tion The exact force of the pluperfect  
is not apparent, but it may be taken to  
emphasize the moment of the interval.

5 ἱππόται χίλιοι, 'a chiliad of  
cavalry' the total number of Persian  
cavalry here, with that given in the  
next chapter, amounts to 12,000, cp. c  
84 *infra*.

6 αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι . . τὰς λόγχας  
κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες *τράποντες*  
(*τρέποντες*) in c 41 *infra*, the word here  
seems to describe the corps as it marched  
out of Sardes or its *Laager* The normal  
way of carrying the spear was point  
upwards, cp next chapter

8 Νησαῖοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα.  
The reason given for the name 'Nesaeen'  
does not quite clearly show whether  
there were some large horses called

'Nesaeen' without being of the true  
stock, or at least raised in the actual  
spot (even as 'Limerick hams' have  
been known to hail from Chicago), but  
the passage has the appearance of having  
been composed not merely before 9 20,  
but before 3 106, where τῶν Μηδικῶν,  
Νησαίων δὲ καλεωμένων ἵππων are men-  
tioned without any explanation of the  
name Hdt seems to make a poor jest  
in μέγα and μεγάλους Greek horses were  
of course small But cp App Crit

12 ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν· the chariot of  
of Ahuramasda, no doubt, upon which  
not the king himself dared set foot.  
Xen *Κυριον* 8 3 12 (ἐξήγετο ἄρμα λευκὸν  
χρυσόζυγον εσπεμμένον Διὸς ἱερὸν, μετὰ  
δὲ τοῦτο Ἥλιον ἄρμα λευκόν, καὶ τοῦτο  
εσπεμμένον ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν μετὰ δὲ  
τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτον ἄρμα ἐξήγετο, φοινίκισι  
καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὅπισθεν  
αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἵποντο  
φέροντες) describes a procession with  
three sacred cars, one of Zeus, one of  
Mithra, and one of the sacred Fire But  
that was a pacific, this a warlike occasion.  
(Rawlinson suspects in that a corruption  
of the Persian religion between the days  
of Hdt and Xenophon!) This sacred  
chariot was left in Thiaee and not re-  
covered, 8. 115.



ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νησαίων· παραβεβήκει  
 δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς  
 Πέρσεω παῖς. ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, 41  
 μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς  
 ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἀριστοί  
 τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες,  
 μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ 5  
 δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι.  
 οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντί

16 παραβεβήκει augmentum restit passim van H.  
 Πέρσεω B

17 παῖς ἀνδρὸς

16 παραβεβήκει. Homeric παραβά-  
 ται are the warriors, not the charioteers  
 (ἀν δ' ἔβαν ἐν δίφροισι παραιβάται ἡνίοχοι  
 τε II 23 132), and so generally. The  
 verb is here used in a less technical  
 sense, as in II. 11 522 of Hector's  
 driver, Kebriones.

17 Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς  
 Who the mother of Patiramphe was  
 does not seem to matter. The father  
 Otanes could hardly be the son of  
 Pharnaspes, cp 6 43, but might very  
 well be the son of Sisamnes, cp 5 25,  
 and identical with the father of Amestris,  
 c 61 *infra*.

41. 2 ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, "when  
 the fancy took him" (Rawlinson), "when-  
 ever he was so disposed" (Macaulay).  
 Cp. 1 132, 4. 127.

3. ἀρμάμαξα, a covered carriage,  
 used especially by women, cp. c. 83  
*infra*; Xen. *Kyrop.* 3 1 40, 6. 4. 11,  
 Aristoph. *Ach.* 70 ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῶν μαλθα-  
 κῶς κατακείμενοι, Diodor. 18 26 1 (the  
 dead body of Alexander conveyed on a  
 ἀρμάμαξα, perhaps described 20 25 4  
 ἄρμα τετράκυκλον σκηπὴν ἔχον), Plutarch  
*Themist.* 26, *Artax.* 5, *Alexand.* 43,  
*Mor.* 173 F, Athenaeus 206 E, etc.

αἰχμοφόροι Π. οἱ ἀριστοί τε καὶ  
 γενναιότατοι χίλιοι τε καὶ = *id est*.  
 This chiliad has its spears point up-  
 wards.

5 ἵππος . . . χιλίῃ: χίλιος in the  
 singular, with a collective noun.

ἄλλη, in distinction from the  
 chiliad mentioned in c 40, it is perhaps  
 identical with οἱ ἱπποὶ οἱ χίλιοι of c.  
 55 *infra*, unless, indeed, there is some  
 omission and confusion in that account.

6 μύριοι, presumably the 'Im-  
 mortals', cp. c 83, though why not so  
 named here already is a mystery. The

myriad of 'Immortals' forms an excep-  
 tion apparently to the other myriads,  
 chiliads, and so forth, in that it is  
 always maintained at its full strength.  
 But it is natural to suspect that the  
 chiliad of spearmen which preceded the  
 king, and also the chiliad of the 'best  
 and noblest born' who succeeded him  
 in the procession, were 'Immortals'  
 also, that is, drawn from the myriad:  
 in which case the corps in this place  
 would have numbered only 8000. Cp.  
 also cc 55, 211 *infra*.

7 καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν κτλ. There  
 are three curious chiliads in this passage:  
 (i) a chiliad of the ten thousand (Im-  
 mortals?) which has golden pomegranates  
 (βοῖδες) on the butt end of its spears,  
 and forms the outside rank of the  
 ten thousand, the nine thousand within  
 having pomegranates of silver. (ii.) A  
 chiliad, likewise with golden pome-  
 granates, which they held upwards  
 (turning the spear points to the ground)  
 as they marched in the procession in  
 front of the king. (iii.) A chiliad of  
 the noblest and best, who have 'apples'  
 (μήλα)—presumably of gold—and march  
 immediately in the rear of the king.  
 Whether the difference in this case  
 between 'apples' and 'pomegranates'  
 is one of kind or of degree, who shall  
 say! But it is difficult to avoid a  
 suspicion (a) that there is one chiliad  
 too many, (b) that the two chiliads,  
 the one before and the one after the  
 king, were really divisions of the ten  
 thousand Immortals. The one thousand  
 élite (μυλοφόροι) are, however, mentioned  
 by Athenaeus 12. 514 B, and in connexion  
 with the ten thousand· χρῆται δὲ  
 αὐταῖς (sc. ταῖς γυναιξί, a body-guard of  
 300) καὶ πολλάκις ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τῆς τῶν

τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιάς εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας 10 ῥοιάς εἶχον· εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιάς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἀγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ.

42 Ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ

41. 10 τὴν om ABC (α) 11 τράποντες τρέποντες cp. Weir Smyth § 128 p 133 13 διέλειπε Bz. διέλειπέ τε α διελείπετο Schaefer διελέλειπτο Schweighaeuser approb. Holder, van H et al. 14 ἀναμίξ? van H.

μυριοφόρων αὐλῆς ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τοὶ τῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῷ γένει πάντες Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσὰ ἔχοντες χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀριστίνδην ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν μυρίων Περσῶν τῶν Ἀθανάτων καλουμένων L & S *sub v* seem to treat μυριοφόροι as an invention of Wesseling's. The ten thousand foot, and similarly the ten thousand horse, formed, probably, the full Persian Guard, the two chiliads of cavalry above specified, one in the van, the other in the rear, of the marching column, being similarly covered by the ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη which follows.

13. διέλειπε for the pluperfect (διελείπετο) and aorist (τρέπαντες) in c 40 before the king passes, are substituted the present and imperfect, after mention of the king, and thus an air of motion is imparted to the passage. But cp App Crit.

ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος might conceivably stand here for the Anatolian levies that may have joined at Sardes, unless they were covered by the συμμικτὸς στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων in c 41, in which case ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος may simply stand for the host of outlies and non combatants, other than the organized baggage-train, in the train of the army.

42 1. ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδόν, 'inarched,' or, as we might say, 'made (or was making) its way.' Three stages, of widely varying length, are specified in this chapter. I. Out of Lydia into Mysia, or from Sardes to the Kaikos. The route is but vaguely indicated: did the forces go from Sardes to Smyrna? or by a more northerly road, down the Hermos valley? or by a still more northerly route such as afterwards led

from Peigamum to Sardes? or a part by one, a part by another way? Whatever the route, this stage would have occupied not less than five to six days. II. From the Kaikos, through Atarneus, to the city of Karene, leaving Mount Kane on the left hand. The route is here clearly given, the distance would only be some twenty R miles, perhaps a march of two days. III. From Karene into the Troad, and Ilion, a march of several days. The route is indicated, but is not free from obscurity, there is difficulty, for example, in understanding how the column could leave Ida on the left hand if it marched *via* Antandros. Is 'left' a slip for 'right'? Or is the point of view not that of the column *en route* but of a reporter farther north, e.g. at Abydos? Or did a part of the force really cut across inland, while the main part took the coast route (as Blakesley suggested)? Anyway, from Karene to Adramyttion would be a long day's march, from Adramyttion to Antandros another, from Antandros to Ilion would take at least three days more. Xenophon and his remnant made this very march in the opposite direction. *Anab* 7 8 7 ἐντεύθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδὴν εἰς Ἀντανδρον ἀφικνούνται πρῶτον, εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορεύμενοι τῆς Μυσίας [MSS. Ἀσίας Λυδίας] εἰς Θήβης πεδίον 8 ἐντεύθεν δὲ Ἀτραμυντείου καὶ Κυωνίου [Κερώνου?] ὁδεύσαντες παρ' Ἀταρνείας εἰς Καΐκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες Πιέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας. Also *Thuc* 8 108 4 shows that hoplites could march from Abydos to Antandros περὶ ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ ὄρους. It appears then that there was a route from Ilion to Antandros

τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καίκου  
ὀρμώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος  
ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου  
ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειον τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀνταυδρον τὴν 5

42 3 ὀρμώμενος ABRs ὀρμώμενος Cz ὀρμώμενος P, Stein<sup>1</sup> 4  
Καρήνην Steph Byz. καρίνην β κάρνην α 5 ἀδραμύττειον α  
ἀδραμντεῖον Vpr, Holder ἀτραμύτειον RSVcorr Ἀτραμύττειον Valla,  
Gaisf, Paln et al

crossing Ida, this would probably follow the line of the Skamandros (*Mendere Çayı*) to Kebrene, on past the modern Turkish village of *Eyilar*, and thence "across the spurs of the *Kaz Dagı* (Mount Ida) to *Narli* (eight hours) and *Edremet* (seven hours)" (Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 69, 1895). This route, however, from Edremet (Adramyttion) would leave the bulk of Ida on the right, not on the left. A road passing east of Ida, from Zeitunlu, apparently exists (Sitzler in Bursian's *Jahresb.* 86. 67 f.) It is possible that all three routes were used by the king's forces, the coast road, however, must have been taken by the *σκενοφόροι*. It seems that Hdt himself had not been over the ground. Holder apparently solves the difficulty by re-punctuation "Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν, ἐς ἀριστερὴν χεῖρα ἦε κτλ." The form of the expression is harsh; and why should the king have had to 'take' Ida?

ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικον κ. γ. τ. Μυσίην. The valley of the Kaikos and the plain of Thebe were reckoned to 'Mysia' even after the Lydian conquest of the district. Atarneus is expressly described by Hdt. (1. 160, 8 106) as a Mysian city. The people of Astyria (*Ἀστυρηνοί*), between Adiamyttion and Antandros, are described in the Attic tribute-lists as *Μυσοί* (cp. Hill's *Sources*, *sub nom.*) Karene was a *πόλις Μυσίας* according to Steph. B., and unfortunately Adramyttion too (cp. *infra*) Thraemer, *Pergamos*, p. 279. Cp. also 6 28.

3 Κάνης ὄρος. The construction is unusual. Stein cps. Thuc. 4 46 1 *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἰστώνης*. There was a town hard by named *Κάναι*. cp. Forbiger, II 152-3.

διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος perhaps the district, not the city, both bearing the same name, a rich grain-growing neighbourhood, yet 'a field of blood,' or at least 'the price of iniquity', cp. 1. 160,

6 29, 8 106 *infra* Xen. *Hell.* 3 2 11 describes the city of Atarneus as a *χωρίον ἰσχυρόν*, which it took Derkyllidas eight months to reduce (398-7 B.C.).

4. Καρήνην, mentioned by Pliny (5 32) and Steph. B. (*πόλις Μυσίας*), but perhaps only from this passage (Should we have read *Καρήνη* in 6 29 for *Μαλήνη*?)

Θήβης πεδίου, "plaine extrême-ment fertile qui va d'Antandros jusqu'au delà d'Adramytte," Radet, *La Lydie*, p. 175. It seems hypercritical to object to Hdt.'s narrative here that if Xerxes had gone by the coast route the order should have been (1) Adiamyttion, (2) Theban plain, (3) Antandros. R. Virchow, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* (1892), 978 ff. The plain extends from Adramyttion to Antandros, the former is now its principal place. Hdt. names first the larger space, and then its terminals.

5 Ἀδραμύττειον τε πόλιν. The form in Thucydides (and others) appears as Ἀτραμύττιον. There was considerable variety in spelling the name (cp. Steph. B. s. v., and App. Cit. above). The position of the ancient Adramyttion is no longer identified with the modern *Adramytte*, the name having been transferred about 1100 A.D. to the town on the site of Thebe (Hirschfeld in Pauly-Wissowa, I 404), 'the ancient Adramyttion lay on a hill by the sea, S. of the Euenos'. Hdt. is the first extant author to name the city. Thuc. 5 1 mentions it as a place of refuge offered by the Persian Pharnakes for some of the Delians expelled by the Athenians in 422 B.C., and later (8 108. 4) records the treacherous butchery of the refugees by the Persian Arsakes. Xenophon touched the place (*Anab.* 7 8 8 quoted above). The city had a harbour (Paul sailed in a ship of Adramyttion, Acts 27. 2), and notwithstanding its sufferings in the Asiatic wars retained its importance in the times

- Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν  
 χεῖρα ἤιε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ  
 Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεσπί-  
 πτουνσι καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.  
 43 ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς  
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεῖτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν  
 τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε  
 καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος, ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς  
 5 ἀπύκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου πέργαμον ἀνέβη ἕμερον ἔχων

6 τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν, ἐς Holder || δὲ. δὴ Matzat 7 χεῖρα secl.  
 van H 8 ἀναμείναντι μίαν μείναντι? Stein<sup>2</sup> 43. 1 ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Σκάμανδρον B, Holder, van H. et alii: ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Σκάμανδρον d  
 3 ῥέεθρον? van H.

of Cicero, Strabo, and Pliny (Cic *pro Flacc.* 68, *Brut.* 316, Strabo 614, 660, Pliny 5 123). According to the foundation-legend, *ap. Steph. B.*, it was named from Adiamytes (Adramys), brother of Kroisos (ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἄλλοι), but Xanthos (?) made Sadyattes his father (Nicol Damas *Fr.* 61), and seems to have recognized a king of Lydia of the name (*F. H. G.* 1. p. 40) Dikaiarchos (*Fr.* 11, *F. H. G.* 1. p. 238) made him a 'Pelasgian' (perhaps in the interests of the 'Athenian colony'?) in a distinctly Hellenising version Radet (*La Lydie*, p. 199) treats Adiamys as an historical person, and dates the foundation 584 B.C. ('Adiamys,' like Attalos, Atys, Adrastus, has a suspiciously 'divine' air about it, but where the etymology, 'court of death,' 'mansion of death,' comes from, Cruden's *Concordance*, *sub v*, is not stated.)

Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα, cp. 5 26 Strabo, 606 (oi rather Alkaios, our oldest authority), describes it as 'Lelegian' Thuc 8. 108. 4 makes the Antandrians Αἰολῆς. Its name appears on the τάφισ φέρου of 425 B.C. (Hicks' *Manual*<sup>2</sup> (1901), p. 119). It was seized by the Lesbian exiles in 424 B.C. (Thuc 4. 52 3), but recovered by the Athenians in the same summer (c. 75). Lost apparently by the Athenians to the Persians after the Sicilian disaster, it was liberated by a body of Lakedaemonian hoplites in 411 B.C. (Thuc 8 108), but was apparently subject to Pharnabazos a little later (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1 25), when the Syracusans not only build ships, but help to rebuild the walls of Antandros, receiving 'citizenship' in return for

their services. The control of the woods of Ida was a considerable source of profit to the Antandrians, Thuc 4 52, Xen. *i.e.*, Strabo 606

7. πρῶτα μὲν is not clearly answered by a corresponding clause with δέ. Abicht takes the failure of the Skamandros as the intended complement, but the panic afterwards makes a better parallel to the storm (So too Stein)

43 1 Σκάμανδρον, 'the fabled stream, Scamander's holy flood,' first of the rivers that failed, cp c 21 *supra*

3 τὸ ῥέεθρον is apparently an acc 'of reference' Cp c 90 *infra*

5. τὸ Πριάμου πέργαμον (Πέργαμον): in the *Iliad* ἡ Πέργαμος (Περγάμω εἰν ἱερῇ 5. 446, Περγάμω ἄκρῃ 5 460), later writers use τὰ Πέργαμα (e.g. Sophokl. *Phil.* 353, etc.), seems here to be used for akropolis, or citadel (etymology connected with burg, bourg, Πέργη, πύργος, L & S.) Not to be confounded locally with Pergamon (Xen. *Hell.* 3. 1 6), but no doubt identical with the spot visited by Alexander, Arrian, *Anab.* 1. 11 7, 8 (334 B.C.), and identified as the modern Hissarlik, the now indubitable site of Homeric Troy, cp W Doerpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 2 Bde, Athens, 1902 Stein observes that Hdt's expression implies that the place was uninhabited and unoccupied, if so, it would go to prove Hdt personally unacquainted with the locality Hellanikos knew better Ἑλλάνικος δὲ χαρίζομενος τοῖς Ἰλίουσιν, ὅς οἱ ἐκείνου μῦθος συνηγορεῖ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν τῇ τότε (Strabo 602 = *Hell.* *Fr.* 145)

ἕμερον ἔχων θεῖσασθαι. Xerxes, son of Dareios, may have had a special

θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βούς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοιισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτειν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ 10 Δάρδανον, ἣ περ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὁμουρος ἐστί, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

9 ἐσέπεσε ABC (α) ἐπέπεσε d  
12 γέργιθας τε καὶ τευκρούς PRz

10 Ῥοίτειον Pdz appr. van H.

reason for his interest in Troy, cp Hesych Δαρείος ὑπὸ Περσῶν ὁ φρόνιμος, ὑπὸ δὲ Φρυγῶν Ἐκτωρ. The fame of the Trojan war was not unknown at the Persian court.

6 πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα, rather from the Greeks in his train than from the local guides. ἐκείνων is used vaguely for 'the story of Troy'; τῶν ἐκεῖ γενομένων (Stein)

τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι. Πιάδ, 6 269, 297, mentions a νῆος Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει Ἄκρη, cp also Xen *Hell* 1 1 4 (where Mindaros, the Spartan navarch, is ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ). Was Apollo, so intimately associated with the spot by 'Homer,' ignored by Xerxes? Rawlinson's notion (so too Duncker's *E T* v 175) that the king and the Magi would not have been at all likely to worship foreign deities is refuted by what we know of the Persian policy in Babylon, in Egypt, and even, from Hdt.'s testimony, in Greece, cp Persian indignation for the destruction of Kybele's temple, 5 102, Datis' offerings at Delos, 6 97, Xerxes' own subsequent action in Athens, 8 54, and the attitude of Mardonios towards the Greek oracles, 8 133, 9 42, to say nothing of the cylinder of Cyrus, and the Egyptian evidences (*Records of the Past*, x. pp 45 ff., etc). How far such acts may have been the expression of policy, how far of personal piety, need hardly be discussed; the two are not mutually exclusive. It is undoubtedly remarkable that the Magi should have propitiated the 'Heroes,' 'hero-worship' being a characteristically Hellenic office. Hdt. may have gone rather far in this item. (Alexander specially averted the μῆνιν Πριάμου, Arrian, *Anab* 1 11. 8) On the Magi cp. cc 19, 37 *supra*.

8 φόβος, curiously separated from the thunderstorm and its dire effects,

c 42 *supra* 'Panics' do happen, cp 4. 203, 6 105, 8 37 Could this one have been due to the neglected majesty of Apollon?

10 ἐν ἀριστερῇ the march from Ilion to Abydos might have been accomplished in a day, but may have occupied longer. It is observable that Hdt. omits all mention of Sigion and the Achilleion (cp 5. 94).

Ῥοίτιον, captured by the Mytilenean exiles in 424 B.C. but immediately restored for a payment of 2000 Phokaian staters (gold), Thuc 4 52 2. Elsewhere Thuc (8 101) incidentally supplies the names of several towns between Lekton, the southern promontory of the Troad, and Rhoiteion or 'Rhoition.' (Eustath. ad Hom *Il* 2 648 condemns the form of the word here adopted, but cp. App. Crit.)

Ὀφρύνειον mentioned by Xen. *Anab* 7 8. 5 on his march from Lampsakos to Antandros, and apparently a day's journey from the former.

11 Δάρδανον Cp. 5 117. In the sea-fight off Kynossema in 411 B.C. the Peloponnesian fleet (of 86 vessels) had its right wing off Abydos and its left wing off Dardanos (Thuc. 8 104 2) Dardanos was 70 stades from Rhoeteum (sic Pliny, 5 33), and exactly the same distance from Abydos (Strabo 595) It occupied, presumably, the site of that *Δαρδανίη*, founded by Daidanos, son of Zeus, before the foundation of holy Ilios itself (*Iliad*, 20. 215 f) In later times it was celebrated as the spot where Sulla met Mithradates in 84 B.C. and concluded peace (Strabo *l.c.*; Plutarch, *Sulla* 24.)

12 Γέργιθας Τευκρούς By Hdt identified apparently with the Trojans proper, or at least a portion of them (cp. 5. 122 εἶπε μὲν Διοχέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶπε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς

- 44 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ [μέσῃ], ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης  
ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ  
κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ,  
ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος,  
5 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν  
πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θηεύμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἀμίλλαν  
γυνομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες  
45 Σιδῶνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. ὥς δὲ ὦρα  
πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον,  
πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώ-  
πων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο

44 1 ἐπίτε vel ἐπειδὴ δ' ? van H. || μέσῃ Stein<sup>12</sup>. om. B etiam  
Stob 98. 73 3 αὐτοῦ Abresch approb Holder, van H. nisi ταύτῃ  
deleveris || ἐξέδρη B 7 τε del van H || Φοίνικες del. idem 8  
τῇ τε idem 45. 2 ὑποκεκρυμμένον Stob 1c 4 τοῦτο del.  
van H

ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν) On his theory of the Teukrian, or Myso-Teukrian invasion, the 'Gergithes' are in fact those Teukri who had not migrated into Europe. The theory is, probably, a complete inversion of the facts: the Teukri, the Gergithi, were foreign settlers in the Troad (like the Mysians themselves), 'Gergithes' was perhaps the wider term of the two, but Hdt is not wrong in associating the two terms together: the original home of the Gergithians is probably to be sought in Kypros (Cp note to c 20 *supra* and *ref* there). Xen *Hell.* 3.1 15 mentions Gergisasa fortified city, cp Steph B *sub v*

44 2 πάντα τὸν στρατόν seems to imply that all the forces were there to review. The Anatolian levies may have been given Abydos as the rendezvous. The fleet appears just below, but is it very likely that the whole fleet of 1207 vessels (more or less) was conveyed into and out of the Hellespont, and apparently for nothing but this review? If so, the fleet will have been numbered by tens, not by hundreds, and those who desire to diminish the scale of the expedition as much as possible should take note of this review.

προεπεποίητο· how weak the mere temporal force of the pluperfect is with Hdt. is shown by the *compositum pro-*. Cp Index *sub v*. 'Pluperfect.'

3 προεξέδρη: the word is found elsewhere only in Pollux, 9. 46 (not 49 as

in L & S and Didot's Stephanus), *inter partes urbis pro-* has here the same force as in *προεδρία*, a seat 'in front,' i.e. of honour. This white marble seat, or platform (as Rawlinson suggests), had been commandeered some time before, and was probably a substantial structure.

5 κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο, "gazing thence upon the shore below, beheld" (Rawlinson), "looking down upon the shore he gazed" (Macaulay). The ships apparently were drawn up on the shore: another indication that there were not so many of them at Abydos. The next chapter, however, has them all afloat.

6. τῶν νεῶν ἀμίλλαν. perhaps the earliest international Regatta on record, the Sidonians were victorious, and Xerxes' joys were multiplied (*ἦσθη*, cp. c 29 *supra*). It was, perhaps, the vessel victorious on this occasion that he afterwards employed as his yacht, c 128 *infra*, the captain, according to one story, though a good seaman, came to a sad end, 8 118.

45 4 ὁ Ξέρξης ἐδάκρυσε Xerxes at the Hellespont affords an interesting contrast to Dareios on the Bosphoros, 4. 85-88. He too does his sight-seeing, and has his pleasure, but dry-eyed. It was not possible to improve that occasion, once the moral had been exploited in this passage, any more than to reproduce the Army-list, though Dareios had all the forces of the empire with him: ἦγε

ἐδάκρυσε. μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος [ὁ πάτρως], δς τὸ 46  
 πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευόντων Ξέρξη  
 στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὡνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξην  
 δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων  
 κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας 5  
 γὰρ σεωντὸν δακρύεις.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογι-  
 σάμενον κατοικεῖν ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος,  
 εἰ τούτων γε ἔοντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος  
 περιέσται.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν  
 ζόην πεπνύθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς 10  
 οὕτω ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν

46 1 ὁ πάτρως secl van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ conl Stein<sup>2</sup>  
 2 ἐλευθέρως B 4 πολλὸν Stein<sup>1</sup> πολὺ codd, Stob 7 κατοικεῖται Stein<sup>1,2</sup>, cp. c. 38. 12 sup || ἀνθρωπίνος Bredow ‘ex usu Hdti’  
 van H. 10 ζώην B

δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥρχε, 4 87 Cp Introduction, § 10 One may easily reconcile this observation with the hypothesis of the prior composition of Bks 7, 8, 9 It is difficult to discover a rule for Hdt’s use of the article with Ξέρξης, but its effect is to give the name additional prominence for the moment

46. 1 Ἀρτάβανος. c 10 *supra*  
 τὸ πρῶτον for he subsequently altered his opinion There follows here an elaborate Dialogue, with five speeches assigned to each interlocutor (cc 46-52) Little or no degree of authenticity can be claimed for the passage as a record of an actual conversation between the king and his uncle (a) The conversation is *ex hypothesi* a private one, (b) surely not conducted, although reported, in Greek, (c) marked by Greek sentiment rather than Persian, or Oriental, (d) affording an artificial antithesis, or series of antitheses, between the cheery optimism of the king and the sober pessimism of the counsellor, (e) in regard to human life generally and the jealousy of the gods, (f) in regard to the natural difficulties encompassing the expedition, (g) in regard to the danger to be apprehended from the Ionians, a human element of weakness The passage suggests to some extent a rationale for the coming failure of the undertaking, in ‘the jealousy’ of heaven, the physical obstacles on land and sea, the human elements of weakness in the composition of the forces, all points which are sub-

sequently worked out more fully, and to a great extent in similar dramatic form (Cp cc 101ff) It cannot be said that Xerxes has the worst of the argument upon this occasion, he contrasts favourably with the blatant egotism of a Kroisos in his interview with Solon (1. 30), and Hdt has nowhere shown himself a finer literary artist than in his management of this matter, and of the subsequent dialogues which are the vehicles for his own philosophy of history, with especial reference to the great expedition. A modern historian, dealing with a similar problem, must speak *in propria persona*, and dare not invoke Hdt’s stage-devices (cp. H. B. George, *Napoleon’s Invasion of Russia*, 1899, *passim*) But Hermogenes went too far in his commendation of Hdt as a master in the representation of ἡθῆ and πάθη προσώπων, in this passage especially, where the treatment is decidedly conventional *περὶ ἰδεῶν* β 396 (Spengel, *Rhet Gr* ii 421)

2. οὐ συμβουλευόντων: *dissuadens*, 1 e  
 συμβ μὴ

6 ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικεῖν ὡς, ‘yes, for pity came over (into) me, when I thought how . . .’

8 ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος, ‘a hundredth year,’ from now? or of age? The former seems the more forcible. ‘a hundred years hence they will all be gone’

9 παρὰ τὴν ζόην, ‘during life . . .’

- ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἄπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἷ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσιν καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα
- 15 μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἔων.”
- 47 Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπίνης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἴην περ σὺ διαιρέει εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί· φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου
- 5 μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἔων με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἂν; φέρε τοῦτό μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ οὐνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσῃς, ἐγὼ δ’ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δειμάτος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος
- 10 οὐδ’ ἐντὸς ἔμεωντοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ
- 48 ὀρώων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἔοντα πολεμιώτατα.” Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοισίδε. “δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς

13 ζῶειν Cā· ζῆν PRz 14 συνταράσσουσιν Stein<sup>12</sup> 17  
 τεύξας Stob 98. 62. τάξας idem 73 47. 2 διαιρέει CPz, Stein<sup>1</sup>  
 διαίρει B || [εἶναι]? 3 μεμνώμεθα z, Eustath II, p 767· μεμνέμεθα  
 9 ὑπόπλεος R ὑπόπλεως αSV. ὑπέρπλεος van H. 11 ἔοντων B  
 48. 2 τοισίδε· τοῖσιδε Stein· τοῖσδε

12 τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν: the same pessimistic sentiment is put into the lips of Solon, 1 31 διέδεξε τε ἐν τοῦτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἀμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν Artabanos of course could not cite the story of Kleobis and Biton as proof of his contention Side by side with the childlike and the cheery view of life there runs through Greek literature, from Homer to Plutarch, the sadder note of pessimism, as perhaps through every great literature (though ‘prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament,’ *Ecclesiastes*, or even Job, is not exactly cheerful reading) Cp note to 5. 4 (Hdt IV-VI, 1 155a) But the sentiment here is Hellenic rather than Persian (Omar Khayyam notwithstanding)

17. ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἔων, ‘while our God, after giving us a taste of the

life that is sweet (or, of the sweetness of life), gives it, one finds, with a jealous hand’ This thoroughly Greek form of the doctrine of Divine φθόνος is out of place on the lips of a worshipper of Ahuramazda. On the doctrine cp c 10 ll 45 ff *supra*, and Introduction, § 11 ἐν αὐτῷ is vague· ‘theism,’ cp ἐν αὐτοῖσι, c. 8 l. 34 *supra*.

47 3 μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα κτλ. Xerxes had no exception to take to Artabanos’ pessimism, unless that it is *mal a propos* μεμνώμεθα· Od. 14 168 ἄλλα παρέξ μεμνώμεθα, μηδὲ με τούτων Μίμνησκ’. The perf. pass. is used as a middle, 5. 195 μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων (as if from μνάομαι). The word βιοτή is rare in prose.

10 ἐντὸς ἔμεωντοῦ Cp. 1. 119 οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντὸς τε ἔωντοῦ γίνεται.

48. 2. δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, 4. 126.



μεμπτός κατὰ πλήθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν 5 τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιεόιτο.” ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν 49 τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ’ ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλήθος· ἦν τε πλεῖνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεσθαι. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδα- 5 μόθι, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάξω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκί ἔνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι [τὸν λιμένα], ἀλλὰ <πολλοὺς> παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπειρον παρ’ ἣν δὴ κομίζειαι. οὔκων δὲ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίω, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 10

4 κατὰ τὸ πλήθος CP appr. van H. 8 ἄγερσιν τὴν ταχίστην B  
9 ποιεόιτο codd, Holder 49. 1 στρατοῦ τοῦτον? Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H.  
2 ἔχοι B, Holder, van H. 8 τὸν λιμένα del Krueger, Stein<sup>2</sup> || πολλοὺς  
com Stein<sup>2</sup> 9 δὴ κομίζεται Cd δεῖ κομίσαι B || ἐόντων. ἐουσέων  
Tournier 10 λιμένων del idem || ὑποδεξίω? Valckenaer

6 συναμφότερα, ‘both at once’ Three alternatives are put (1) the Greek land army outnumbers the Persian, (2) the king’s fleet outnumbered by the enemy, (3) both these conditions realized together

8 τὴν ταχίστην, not with ἄγερσιν but adverbially (sc ὁδόν); cp c. 162 Notwithstanding the expressed condition εἰ φαίνεται κτλ., the apodosis στρατοῦ ἂν . ποιεόιτο comes very near to the optativus potentialis, dubitativus, “used to denote something as what is conceivable, and, under certain circumstances (sic), could and might easily occur, or to which some person might be inclined,” Madvig, *Greek Syntax*, § 136

49 1 οὔτε μέμφοιτ’ ἂν . τὸ πλήθος Artabanos does, however, delicately hint that the army is too large and the ships too numerous

4 γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα The formula is good but its development disappointing· ‘the further you go the harder it will be to find food, and there are no harbours’ In the sequel the many advantages the Greeks enjoyed in their land and waters for purposes of defensive warfare are illustrated and set forth, more or less consciously, by the historian.

Perhaps Artabanos says as much as he could say, being a stranger to Greece; but his bare remarks would have applied equally well to Skythia If they are not introduced in the story of the Skythian campaign it is perhaps because they had already done duty here, that story being of later composition than this, cp. 4. 83.

7 φερέγγυος, a more strongly coloured word than ἱκανός or δυνατός, cp. 5. 30.

10. ὑποδεξίω, ὑποδέχεσθαι δυναμένω, a curious word, ἀπαξ λ Valckenaer proposed to read ὑποδεξίμων, but Stein points out that the word is guaranteed by Photius and Suidas, and compares ἀσπάσιος, ἐπήπιος, θαυμάσιος, καθάρσιος, ῥύσιος, φύσιος, ἀκρίσιος, taking ὑποδεξίος from ὑπόδεξις The ambiguity of this word is, of course, enhanced by the alternatives, δεξιός, δέχομαι (δέχομαι), δείκνυμι (δείξω)

μάθε, ‘let me remind thee’ The imperative seems a little abrupt, but is merely conventional.

αἱ συμφοραὶ . τῶν συμφορέων, an obvious ‘Gnome’ Cp 1. 32 πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορῇ, and Sallust, *Jug.* 1 ad f neque regegentui magis quam regegent casus.

ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὠνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο  
 τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ [δὲ]  
 πολέμῃ τῇδὲ τοι κατίσται· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν  
 καταστήναι, τοσούτῳ τοι γίνεταί πολεμωτέρῃ ὅσῳ ἂν προ-  
 15 βαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης δὲ  
 οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρα. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς  
 οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωμένου, λέγω τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ  
 γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτῳ ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ  
 βουλευόμενος μὲν ἄρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρήμα,  
 50 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη.” ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοισίδε.  
 “Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ  
 μήτε πάντα φοβέο μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ  
 βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ προσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως  
 5 ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα

12 δὲ codd, Stein<sup>1</sup> δὴ com Wesseling et sic S (Gaisf) γὰρ Schweigh  
 del. Herold, Stein<sup>2</sup> 13 θέλει ACd θέλοι B ἐθέλει PRz ἐθέλοι  
 SV || ἀντίξουν A ἀντίξουν BRV 15 δὲ B· γὰρ α 17 ἐναντιου-  
 μένου B 50 1 τοισίδε τοισίδε Stein. τοισίδε 2 διαιρέαι RS,  
 Gaisf, Stein<sup>2</sup>. διαιρέαι Stein<sup>1</sup> 4 προσφερομένῳ Stein<sup>3</sup> ἐπείσφερο-  
 μένῳ α, Stein<sup>1 2</sup> ἐπείσφερομένῳ B, Holder ἐπιφερομένῳ van H nonne  
 potius προσφερομένῳ?

12 ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, 'I am going to say',  
*je vais dire*, *eo dictum*, what may be  
 called a maternal future, enhanced in  
 this instance by the futurity inherent  
 in ἐρέω itself

13 ἀντίξουν, an Ionic word, Hdt  
*passim*, used by Herakleitos *ap* Aristot  
*Eth N* 8 1. 6=1155 B<sup>5</sup> (τὸ ἀντίξουν συμ-  
 φέρον)

15 τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, "*furtum  
 proficiscens*" (Wesseling), "*imprudens  
 semper abreptus*" (Schweighaeuser),  
 "*inscius tu semper ulterius protractus*"  
 (Baehr), "*jeder Fortschritt erschleichend,  
 dich immer weiter stehlend*" (Stein),  
 "*indem du das Vorrücken dir immer  
 erschleichst*" (Abicht), "as thou pro-  
 ceedest further and further, insensibly  
 allured onwards" (Rawlinson), "being  
 cheated as you go of [real] advance"  
 (*sic*. Blakesley), "ever stealing on further  
 and further" (Macaulay), "going on  
 blindfold" (L & S) The versions  
 differ according as κλεπτόμενος is taken  
 to be passive (Schweighaeuser, Baehr,  
 Rawlinson, Blakesley, L & S) or middle  
 (Wesseling, Stein, Abicht, Macaulay).  
 Aristot. *Rhet* 3. 7=1408 B<sup>5</sup> has κλέπτεται

ὁ ἀρρόατης ('is cajoled') Xenoph *An* 5.  
 6 9 εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνήθετε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι  
 ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες κτλ 1b 4 6 11 πολὺν  
 οὖν κρείττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι  
 τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθά-  
 σαντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα μάλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ  
 χωρὰ καὶ ἀνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχε-  
 σθαι In the present case κλεπτ τ πρ.  
 may best be taken = πειρώμενος αἰεὶ  
 κλέψαι τι λαθὼν τ πρ For the last  
 two words cp c 57 *μηδὲ*.

18 ἀνὴρ δὲ εἴη, another senten-  
 tious 'gnome', cp. *Hamlet* I iii 65 ff.  
 "Beware Of entrance to a quaiel, but  
 being in, Bear 't that th' opposed may  
 beware of thee" (Polonius)

20. τῷ ἔργῳ, contrasted with λόγος,  
 ἔπος, oi as here with βούλευμα cp 9 92

50 2 διαιρέαι, as in c. 47 *supra*

ἀτὰρ, a rare word in prose, intro-  
 duces a marked alternative, cp 6 133,  
 answering μὲν more emphatically than  
 δέ Xerxes repays his uncle in his  
 own sententious coin 'nothing venturie,  
 nothing have.'

3. εἰ . . ἀποδέξῃς. Stein cps. 4. 172  
 for subjunctive with εἰ.

θαρσέοντα ἡμισυ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρήμα προδιδιμάσσοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξῃς, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπ' ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρή τὸ 10 βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιέειν ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοις τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεοῦσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς δὲ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμησι ἐχρέωντο 15 ὁμοίησι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμησι τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νυν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνουσι ἐθέλει κατατρέεσθαι. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ὁμοιούμενοι ἐκείνοισι ὄρην 20 τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεφόμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῶ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δέ, τῶν ἄν 25 κου ἐπιβέβαμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῆτον ἔξομεν· ἐπ'

7 παθεῖν ποιέειν Krueger 8 μὴ τὸ β μῆτε α || ἀποδέξῃς β, Stein<sup>13</sup> ἀποδέξῃς α, Stein<sup>2</sup> || ὀφειλήσεις (post ἀποδέξῃς) Naber appr. van H 10 κακῶς β 18 σφέα β. σφέας α 19 προήγαγον Krueger

9 ἐν αὐτοῖσι, 'thereby', cp c 81 34.  
12 ποιέειν, 'to be doing'  
16 ὁμοίησι καὶ cp. ὁμοίως καὶ just above.

18. κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες: cp. Thuc. 4 85 4 κινδυνόν [τε] τοσόνδε ἀνερρίψαμεν διὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἴοντες κτλ 1b 95. 2 παραστή δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῶν ὡς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ οὐ προσήκον τοσόνδε κινδύνον ἀναρριπτούμεν· and 6. 13 1 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τῶν πρὶν κινδύνον ἀναρριπτούσης ἀντιχειροτονεῖν Thuc 5 103 1 suggests the origin of the metaphor τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γινώσκειται σφαλέντων κτλ (dice-throwing, gambling ἀναρρίψαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κύβον Plutarch, *Brutus* 40)

19 μεγάλα γὰρ . κατατρέεσθαι, more 'gnomic' wisdom. The sense of κατατρέεσθαι here is perhaps unusual, 'to be won,' 'achieved': Thuc. 1 121 4

δ δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιστήμῃ προύχουσι, καθαιρετὸν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτη Euip. *Supp* 749 φόνω καθαιρέισθ' οὐ λόγῳ τὰ πρᾶγματα

20 ὄρην . . . καλλίστην, from a military point of view. Acc. of 'duration' or 'date' *passim*.

22 πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην, a large order! Artabanos disapproved even of the attempt to conquer 'Hellas,' c. 47 *supra*. The objective of the expedition fluctuates *passim*, cp c 54.

οὔτε λιμῶ . . . οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι . . . in view of the sequel, these words may be regarded as 'ironical.'

24 φορβὴν cp cc 107, 119 *νηῖρα* In Homer only of fodder, but in Hdt of food for men, 1 202, 4 121

25 ἐπ' ἀροτήρας . ἄνδρας an obvious reference, from Xerxes' point of view, to the Skythian expedition his uncle had used the same fact to enhance the dread of attacking Greeks ἄνδρας πολλὸν ἀμείνωνς ἢ Σκύθας c 10 *supra*.

51 ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.” λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἔας πρήγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτείνειν. Κῦρος  
 5 ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰοί τε εἶμεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἥ γὰρ σφέας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι  
 10 καταδουλομένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἥ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικωτάτοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἰοί τε δηλήσασθαι

51. 5 Ἀθηνέων post Vall corr Schaefer approb Holder, van H 12 προβάλλουσι α || [γινόμενοι]<sup>2</sup> van H || τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν δηλήσαι μεγάλως β

51. 3 σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι, 'do thou withal accept (this) advice of me'. The δέ *in apodosis*, especially remarkable here as (a) the subject is the same as that of the *protasis*, (b) the phrase is imperative. The construction, rare in Attic prose, is very common in Hdt. Sitzler (*in l.*) formulates the rule "Hdt. uses the pronouns of the first and second person, and for the third person ὁ and οὗτος in conjunction with δέ at the opening of the *apodosis* (Nachsatz), after a temporal, conditional, or relative *protasis* (Vordersatz), in order to emphasize an idea of the *protasis* (*sic* Vordersatz), only, however, in cases where the δέ *in apodosis* repeats a δέ in the *protasis* epanaleptically, or (as in this place) an opposition of ideas (ein begrifflicher Gegensatz) is present." Stein (note to l. 112) expresses the rule more happily. "Like Homer, Hdt is apt after conditional, temporal, and relative *protases* (Vordersätze) to impart an emphasis to the *apodosis*, and to contrast it with the *protasis*, even in cases of an imperative, by putting its subject forward with δέ even when both sentences have the same subject." A cognate idiom obtains when Hdt, in antithetical sentences introduced by μέν and δέ, in order to emphasize further the contrast, introduces the pronoun οἱ grammatical subject of the second clause, even where there is no change of subject, or where

the contrast does not lie between the subjects of the two sentences. Cp Stein, 1. 17 note

4 Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω, no doubt 'son of Kambyzes.' Cp c 11 *supra*.

5 Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων. 'Ionia' here is an ethnical not a geographical term cp 1. 146 τοῖσι Ἰωνίῃς μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν. Artabanos betrays a degree of research into Hellenic ethnology perhaps remarkable and undramatic for a Persian cp c 9 *supra*. The remainder of his speech certainly smells pure Attic. The Kyriean conquest of Ionia (effected by deputy) is described 1. 161 ff, to which passage a reference here would be, of course, dramatically impossible, hence no argument *a silentio* can be drawn as to the order of composition. With κ δασμοφόρον εἶναι cp 1. 6 κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῇ

7. τοὺς πατέρας . . τὴν μητρόπολιν. Artabanos anticipates the appeals of Themistocles, 8. 22 *infra*, and might have learnt his political philosophy from the loyal Phoenicians, 3. 19 (*vice versa*). It is hardly conceivable that any Persian should have admitted the 'justice' of the Ionians in joining the Greeks, but it is, of course, more than possible that the loyalty of his Greek subjects was not above suspicion, and was suspected by Xerxes or his councillors; cp. 8. 90.

μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βάλευ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὥς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἄμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι.” ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Ἀρτάβανε, 52 τῶν ἀπεφῆναι γινώμεων σφάλλαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὅς Ἴωνας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῷ σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ 5 ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδεξαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλπόντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδ’ ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσιν. οὕτω μὴδὲ τούτο

13 ὦν βάλευ Ccorr B<sup>2d</sup> ὦν βαλεῦ AP ὦν βασιλεῦ B<sup>1z</sup>. ὦ βασιλεῦ Cpr. B ὦν βάλλεο van H. 14 παντελῶς B 52. 1 πρὸς B: καὶ α fortasse καὶ πρὸς Stein<sup>2</sup> 3 φοβέαι Pz, Stein<sup>1</sup> 4 τῷ Reiske. τῶν codd., Stein<sup>1 2</sup> 6 καὶ ἢ Naber appr. van H. 7 ἐνέδεξαν Stein<sup>2</sup>. ἐνέδωκαν codd., Stein<sup>1 2</sup> ἐνέδέξαντο van H.

13 ἐς θυμὸν B., cp 1 84: here of the intelligence, not as in c 160 *infra*

14 τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος Hdt has a penchant for ἔπη εὖ εἰρημένα, ἔπεα πτερόεντα Artabanos concludes his appeal with the notorious Solonian bon-mot, in a variant. 1 32 gives it σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κτῆ ἀποβήσεται. Aristotle, *Éth.* N 1 10, 1=1100 A<sup>11</sup> has it in the Delphic form τέλος ὁρᾶν This is not the first instance in which Artabanos derives his philosophy from Solonian wells. cp c 16 *supra*. It may be doubted whether Hdt would have committed himself to such doublettes, or made Artabanos plagiarize Solon, had Book 1 been in existence when Book 7 was being composed. But granted that Book 1 was of later composition, it was natural that the historian should render to Solon what belonged to Solon, when he got the chance Cp Introduction, § 7

52 3 μεταβάλωσι, “umschwenken, abtallen” (Stein), “andere Meinung werden” (Abicht). The question is whether the word indicates the material act or the mental antecedent. The active (used intransitively) certainly refers to a material act, as in 1. 65 μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εἰνομίην, and absolutely c 170 *infra*. μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰηπύργας Μεσσαπίους ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας 8 22 illustrates this passage fully

ἵνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλεῖα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐωυτῶν ἢ κτλ. Cp (8 109), 9 6. The middle μετεβάλλοντό (τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο), 5. 75, may be taken in a strictly physical sense ‘wheeled them round and marched off,’ or (with L & S.) ‘changed their minds’

τῶν, relative, attracted, cp c. 8 1 17 The word is twice repeated, as a relative, just below, rather inelegantly δς=διότι σύ

γνῶμα, ‘token’; not common Soph *Trach.* 593 The faithful loyalty of the Ionians in the Skythic expedition is adduced by Xerxes as a precedent; but (a) an invasion of ‘Skythia’ was one thing, an invasion of Hellas another; (b) Artabanos had already discredited, or heavily discounted, this argument, c 10 *supra* Hdt could not have made Xerxes refer to the story in Bk. 4, but it is curious that he should represent him as ignoring the story of Histiaios as told by Artabanos above. Is that passage part of the additions to the first draft of this Book?

5. ἄλλοι, ‘besides you.’ ἐπὶ τούτοις, cp ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνί, c. 10 1 35 *supra*.

6 καί, ‘and’=‘or’· a disjunctive conjunction

7. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου the second argument for the loyalty of the Ionians, that the Persians had their families and properties as security, is more convincing.

10 φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σφῶζε οἰκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ  
 τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνφ ἐκ πάντων σκήπτρα  
 τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω.”

53 Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σούσα δεύτερα  
 μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ  
 παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ’ ἐγὼ ὑμέων  
 χρηρίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ καται-  
 5 σχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ  
 πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ’ εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμῆν  
 ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ  
 εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς  
 γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν  
 10 ἧν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε  
 ἀνθρώπων νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ  
 Πέρσας λελόγχασι.”

10 ἔχε ἀγαθόν α 11 ἐκ πάντων om β 12 ἐπιτρέπω α  
 53. 1 ἀπολύσας β 2 ἐπεῖτε vel ἐπειδὴ δὲ? van H. 4 γίνεσθαι  
 β, van H. 7 ἔχομεν β || σπευδέτω α || τῶνδε δὴ? Stein<sup>2</sup> 8  
 ἐντεταμένως R ἐντετασμένως SV 12 περσίδα γῆν βz, Holder,  
 van H

10 οἶκον· τυραννίδα· σκήπτρα  
 Artabanos no doubt was Majori-domo  
 and Viceroy during the king's absence,  
 cp. c 2 *supra*. This fact may help to  
 account for his person being used by  
 Hdt to represent the stay-at-homes,  
 and opposition to the war (though he  
 gains by it personally) τυραννίς is  
 hardly appropriate in the king's own  
 mouth, σκήπτρα (pl) is poetical cp  
 Aesch. *P.* 761, Soph. *O.C.* 425. The  
 whole interview suggests a theatrical  
 scene, and may be taken as illustrating  
 the influence of the stage upon Hdt

53. 1 δεύτερα, 'next' Περσέων τοὺς  
 δοκιμωτάτους, cp c 8 *supra*. There is  
 an anecdote of Xerxes at Abydos related,  
 c 147 *infra*, in which οἱ πατέρες figure  
 3 τῶνδ’ ὑμέων χρηρίζων συνέλεξα  
 (ὑμέας) χρηρίζων takes here a double  
 genitive, like δέσσειν.

7 ἔχωμεν the use of the first person  
 is tactful, and altogether Xerxes comes  
 out well in this speech, or 'General  
 Order,' which comprises an appeal to his  
 lords and officers to be good men and  
 true, worthy of their ancestors, in view  
 of a common object and a common good,  
 and concludes with a compliment to the  
 enemy, and a call to divine worship

Xerxes here shows himself brave, cour-  
 teous, pious, not immodest, not insolent,  
 not egotistic. Hdt is generously in-  
 consistent, cp Introduction, § 11

8 ἐντεταμένως, the participial adverb,  
 cp 8 128

10 οὐ μὴ . ἀντιστῇ, the double  
 negative with the subjunctive=a future  
 with strong negation. Madvig, *Syntax*,  
 § 124, R. 3. Xerxes is made to pay the  
 Greeks a high compliment incidentally,  
 but he does not affect to despise his  
 enemy (Cp ἄνδρας ἀνθρώπων)

11. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι  
 τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασι,  
 'but now, before crossing, let us make  
 supplication to the gods, who have us  
 Persians in their charge' There is no  
 monotheism here (nor were the Persians  
 of that age monotheists), nor even quite  
 'Katheno-theism' or 'Heno-theism'  
 (to use F. Max Muller's term, *Hubbert*  
*Lectures*, 1878, 260). "It is question-  
 able whether the Persians had the notion  
 ascribed to them in this place of a special  
 superintendence of different countries  
 <nations?> by distinct deities" (Rawlin-  
 son). The verb no doubt implies a  
 whilome partition; and the idea is un-  
 doubtedly Greek, so Homeric Poseidon

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· 54  
τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ιδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα,  
θυμὴματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ  
μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανετέλλε ὁ ἥλιος,  
σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο 5  
πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ  
μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ  
τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν

54 1 παρεσκευάζετο α 2 ἐθέλοντες secl van H ἐθέλοντες  
ιδέσθαι susp. Krueger 8 γενέσθαι? van H || τήν<τε> idem conl

describes the triple division of the universe between Zeus, Hades, and himself *Il.* 15 187 ff *τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς κτλ*, the division here, however, holds not of nations, but of natural realms—Sky, Sea, and Underworld, Earth being common property. But the struggle of Poseidon and Athene *περὶ τῆς χώρας* was the fundamental myth of Athens (cp 8 55), and the localization of deities was everywhere in order in Hellas (cp Thuc 2 74 2 *θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε*), and local titles among the commonest. The tribal and the national gods are thoroughly Hellenic institutions (cp 1 143, 144, 147, 148, 5 49, etc.).

It is hardly reasonable to deny similar institutions and ideas to the other peoples and nations of antiquity, rather may it be said that the appropriation of gods to the nations, and of the nations to gods, is characteristic of antiquity (4. 59, 79, 94 *οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον*, 5. 7, etc.). In the time of Hdt this exclusiveness had been breaking down for a long time, and Greeks tended to identify their own deities with the gods of the surrounding nations, while foreign potentates and others, from policy or from piety, recognised and worshipped Greek deities. These phenomena were parts of the development of monotheism, a process the consummation of which was then still in a remote future, while, conversely, the essence of polytheism is involved in the local and tribal appropriation of deities (deity). The Persians were apparently quite ready to recognize the gods of the nations (Kyros in Babylon, Kambyzes in Egypt, Dareios and Xeïxes, cp c. 43 *supra*), but they still had their own especial gods (1 131, 3. 76), and

even the ruling house, or horde, its special patron deities (3 65, 5 106). The supposed iconoclastic monotheism of the Behistun Inscription is refuted, not merely by other Achaemenid inscriptions, but by the very context of Behistun.

54 1 *ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην* Much more than a day must have passed since the arrival at Abydos, c. 44 *supra*; the expression is little more than a device to emphasize the morrow.

2. *ἀνέμενον* they must have been early astir to await the sunrise. The importance of the sun and the sunrise for the Persians (cp 3 84-87, the accession legend of Dareios) seems to square very ill with the mantic principle laid down by the Magi, c. 37 *supra*.

6 *πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*, 'with his face towards the sun,' facing the sun, an orientalism which, as Canon Blakesley observes, has passed into Christian ritual, probably as a direct bequest of sun-worship, see his interesting note 174 *ad l.* (Sitzler takes *εὐχεσθαι πρὸς* together not so well). *θυμὴματα παντοῖα* would also have been used in Hellenic worship, Stein cps Aristoph *Wasps* 860 ff, but the *σπονδαί* of Xerxes would have been *ἡσποτα*, not wine, so 1 132 *οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται* (Stein). On spreading 'myrtle' in the road cp 8 99 and S. Matt xxi. 8.

7. *παύσει καταστρέψασθαι* "παύειν with infin = κωλύειν with mid and pass Hdt (like the Attic writers) uses participle" (Sitzler). Cp. 5 67.

8 *γένηται*, with negative *οὐ πρότερον* (*πρὶν*) ἢ Hdt. uses the subjunctive without *ἄν* (e.g. 9 86, 87, 93), as there is here no negative *γενέσθαι* would be correct, but is diverted in order to avoid clashing with *καταστρέψασθαι* (Stein).

φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ  
 10 Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω  
 ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ  
 πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώ-  
 55 σαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά  
 οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων

10 τὸ  $\approx$  nonne glossema τὸν . καλέουσι tollendum?

and also, presumably, with γενέσθαι just before Sitzler says there is a negative present in μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην—is not the negative which affects γένηται really implied in παύσει? As Xeïxes cannot be supposed to place Hellas ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι Εὐρώπης, 'Europe' is here given as the objective of the expedition, not indeed the 'Europe' of Hdt's geography, or later geography, but a more conventional (and Persian) Europe Cp note to c 50 *supra*

10. Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι, taken for a 'scimitar' (*Krimine Sabel*) in O Schrader, *Reallexikon d. indog. Altert.* (1901), p 751, but erroneously, cp. my note to 4 62, and Rawlinson's here, nor is the etymology of the word attempted by Schrader. The 'Persian ξίφος' is not, however, a long sword, but a dagger (cp. 3 78). Pollux, 1 138, gives a description (ξιφιδίον τι τῷ μηρῷ προσσηρημένον) quite in accordance with the monumental representations, cp. c. 61 *infra*. The Persian word *akinaakes* is here explained, and then naturally taken as understood in 8 120, 9 80, and equally so in 3 118, 128, and 4 62—an observation which supports the hypothesis that Bks. 7–9 are the earliest composition of Hdt Cp Introd §§ 7–8, and App CIII

ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι. What Hdt cannot decide is whether the gold cup, the Persian *akinaakes*, and the gold bowl were offerings to the Sun or to offerings to the Sea. The very similar offerings of Alexander at the mouth of the Indus were distinctly to propitiate Poseidon Arrian *Anab.* 6 19 5 ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάξας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπείσας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὴν τε φιάλην, χρυσὴν οὖσαν, καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σῶν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν κτλ., but there was a long voyage then in view. Alexander had, however, apparently offered similar

sacrifice on crossing the Hellespont, Arrian, *Anab.* 1 11 6

11 οὔτε εἰ how throwing things into the sea could be taken as offering them to the sun is not clear. Both πέλαγος and θάλασσα (*bis*) are here used of the Hellespont. There is an implicit reference back to c 35 *supra* in the second alternative here propounded (in which the second εἰ=ἦ)

55 2 κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην κατὰ δέ. The duality of the bridges as conceived by Hdt is here put beyond controversy. The passage of the combatants (ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἀπασα) by the long bridge on the side of the Euxine (πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου), and of the army train, of non-combatants, by the short bridge, facing the Aegean (πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον), reverses the order of march from Sardes to Abydos, cp. c 40 *supra*. The items of the marching column which succeed ought to be identifiable with the items in the column as it left Sardes in cc 40, 41, and are so identifiable, with one rather important exception a body of ten thousand Persian horse, which in c 41 follows the ten thousand élite Persian infantry (the Immortals), has here disappeared, and must be re-discovered among οἱ ἰππῶται, or under ὁ ἄλλος στρατός, or boldly inserted immediately after οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι which head the marching column. These μύριοι must be the ten thousand Persian infantry, which in c 41 follow after the king, but are here sent forward (perhaps attended by a myriad of Persian cavalry, as in c 41, here omitted). The next item here (ὁ σύμμικτος στρατός παντοίων ἐθνέων) corresponds plainly to the σύμμικτος στρατός παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμῖξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι, which apparently headed the column from Sardes (c 40) and arrived first at Abydos—perhaps because that was their rendezvous, and they never went to Sardes at all. If ten thousand Persian infantry, ten thousand



τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπήνη. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, 5 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὔτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἳ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὔτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἳ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι 10 καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθελίτο τὸν 56 στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ [ὁ στρατὸς

55. 4 τὸν α || τὰ <τε>? Stein<sup>1</sup> 8 τρέποντες codd. 12  
ἀπαντίον van H. 56 1 ἐπείτε R(V ?)Sz, Holder, van H. 2 ὁ  
στρατὸς αὐτοῦ secl. Stein<sup>3</sup>

Persian cavalry, and the Anatolian levies crossed the Bridge upon the 'first' day, and bivouacked upon the European shore, a very considerable feat had been accomplished

7. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ On the second day Xerxes crosses, with his immediate guard and suite, exactly as described in cc 40, 41 for the departure from Sardes οἱ ἱππῶται here are presumably identical with ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολεγεμένοι who led the king's column (προηγύντο) there (and it would be very difficult to find room just here for the missing myriad of cavalry) They are succeeded immediately here, as there, by οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες, that is, an elite chiliad of infantry (Immortals?), and these in turn by the (ten) Nesaeian horses, the chariot of Ahuramazda, and the king himself οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, who here succeed the king, are identical with αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναῖότατοι χίλιοι there, with their spears upright οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι who succeed them are the ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολεγεμένη of c 41, which there, however, are succeeded by (1) the ten thousand infantry, already accounted for here, (2) ten thousand Persian cavalry, here nowhere expressly accounted for, (3) ὁ λοιπὸς θμίλος, which seems to correspond to ὁ ἄλλος στρατός here, and presumably comprises the further Asiatic levies; to take it as equivalent

to, or even as including, the missing myriad of Persian cavalry, seems less satisfactory than to recognize frankly that Hdt has allowed this item to disappear, and that it may be most conveniently appended to the Persian infantry, which had crossed the previous day

12 ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον, sc γῆν or ἡπειρον the object of the fleet's movement at this point is not very clear

ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα (cp 4 77). This variant on the order of the procession affecting so important an item as the place of the king is indicative, as Blakesley insists, of 'the uncertain character of the sources of the narrative' But even worse is to come, the variant on the time occupied by the crossing, which in this chapter is only two days

56 1 ἐθελίτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβ. Xerxes, on the European shore, watches his forces crossing under the lash But what was left to cross after the king, according to the immediately preceding context? Moreover, the army has all crossed in two days, while here the crossing takes 'seven days and seven nights' without stopping! The 'whips' might suggest that the crossing here refers only to the baggage-train and non-combatants, but στρατός is against that, and whips are used on the fighting men, cc 22 *supra*, 103, 223 *infra* This passage is of value as showing how

- αὐτοῦ] ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος  
 5 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώ-  
 57 πους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.”  
 Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοισι τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καίτερ ἐνσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. ἐνσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 5 Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατά τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων

3 ἐπτά <τε> ἡμέρησι van H 5 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον secl van H.  
 57 4 τοῦτο om B, Holder, van H 5 γαυρότατα Cobet || τε καὶ  
 Naber, van H, Stein<sup>8</sup> καὶ 8 ἔχοντα? van H.

little Hdt reckes of the contradictions and inconsequences in his various sources he does not really know (or much care) whether Xerxes crossed last, or midst, or, as this passage implies, among the first, nor whether the crossing took two days, or “seven days and seven nights without pause”!

3 ἐλινύσας 8 71 *infra*

4 λέγεται ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν the construction (acc w infin) lays stress on what was said rather than on the man who said it (Abicht) ἄνδρα has a point against ἀνθρώπους following The Hellenistic bon-mot is adopted seriously by the Delphic oracle, c 220 *infra* (cp the case 4 144), but explicitly refuted by the laconic apophthegm, c. 203 *infra* (οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπώντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ’ ἀνθρώπων)

57. 1 τέρας μέγα as the thing is a physical impossibility the story is an obvious fiction, and Xerxes stands acquitted of neglecting the divine warning. It is not clear how far Hdt designed a contrast between this anecdote and the one immediately preceding; but he seemingly regards this as the more authentic of the two (λέγεται *supra*)

2 ἐν οὐδενὶ λ. ἐποιήσατο, c. 14 *supra*.

3 εὐσύμβλητον, Aischyl. *Prom.* 775, who also uses εὐσύμβολος in the

same sense (easy of interpretation), cp συμβάλλω III 2 L & S

5 ἀγαυρότατα, a noticeable word = γαῦρος with a- euphon. (L & S) or rather intens (Stein) from the root γαF or γαν-; cp L & S *sub v* γαίω. The verb γαυριᾶν is used of a horse prancing, Xenoph *de re Eq* 10 16, ἀγαυρός of a bull bellowing, Hesiod, *Theog* 832; γαῦρος in Attic, but rarely if ever in a good sense

6 περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων, like the hare, running for his life the metaphor more explicitly put 8 102 *infra* πολλοὺς πολλὰκις ἀγῶνας δραμόνται περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες, and 8 74, 140, 9 37

ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον, ‘to the place from which he had set out’ (not merely the place where the portent occurred?) But ought not the portent to have occurred, like the next reported, at Sardes?

7 ἕτερον τέρας, not quite so clear either in statement or in interpretation the arrangement described by Hdt (κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος) is not easy to visualise, and though the portent might indicate the inferiority of the weaker, who was to decide beforehand which side that was? Cp 8 136, where Mardonios still expected κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. This portent, too, looks like an *ex eventu*

λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δέ οἱ 10  
 ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον 58  
 πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τοῦ πεζοῦ.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης  
 ποιούμενος τὴν ἀπίζιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προεῖρητο ἀπικομένῳ  
 περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου 5  
 ἀνατολὰς ἐποιεέτο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ  
 μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ  
 Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα  
 τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν 10  
 Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα  
 τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτου τὸν  
 ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην  
 ἔχει, ἥμε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Αἰνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα

58. 3 πρὸς α: ἐς β

11 ῥέεθρον? van H.

12 ἀπ' οὗ z

11. ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, clearly including the cavalry, = ὁ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατός c. 58  
 FROM SESTOS TO DORISKOS

58 1 ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον cp 5 103.

2 τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τοῦ πεζοῦ a glance at the map explains the sounding paradox, and shows how far Hdt is mistaken. The Chersonese being a long peninsula, and Sestos a considerable distance from the isthmus or base (cp 6 36), the land-forces had to make their way eastwards round the bay of Melas before turning west to Doriskos, while the fleet struck straight across the mouth of the bay to the promontory of Sarpedon. The latter course is, however, not west (πρὸς ἐσπέρην) but almost due north, from the mouth of the Helles pont, similarly, the general direction of the march through the Chersonese would be not east (πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς) but north-east. The sunrise would, of course, be more or less SE of Sestos.

3 ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης Baehr takes the words with τὴν ἀπίζιν ποιούμενος, Blakesley rather elaborately with ἔπλεε, supplying, apparently, ἐς τὴν γῆν or sim with π τ ἀπίζιν. In fact the local indication qualifies both verb and participle. As to Sarpedon *προσίσχει* (sc ὁ Ἡρακλῆς) Αἰνὼ ἐνθα ξενίζεται ὑπὸ Πόλυνος ἀποπλέων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡῖνος τῆς Αἰνίας Σαρπηδόνα, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν νιόν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Πόλυνος, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε Apollod 2 5 9 (But can we recognize more than one Sarpedon? Cp. 1. 173)

7 τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος. Helle, the daughter (cp. my note to 4. 205) of Athamas (cp c 197 *infra*) and Nephele, was being conveyed, with her brother Phrixos, on the golden ram, over land and sea, from their cruel step-mother ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ κειμένην θάλασσαν Σιγείου καὶ Χερρονήσου, ὤλισθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ἢ Ἑλλη, κακεῖ θανούσης αὐτῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἑλλήσποντος ἐκλήθη τὸ πέλαγος (sic) Apollod 1 9 1. The tomb must have been a cenotaph

8 Καρδίην 6 34, 36

9 Ἀγορή Was the place older than this expedition? Leuke Akte (c 25 *supra*) seems to have been in the neighbourhood. Lysimacheia afterwards took the place of Agora

10 Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα. ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα: a redundant description of the second river that failed, cp c 43 *supra* Melas was a not uncommon name for rivers, naturally enough (cp c. 198 *infra*) This one appears also 6 41

12 ἐπ' οὗ, of the eponym; cp 5 65

13 πρὸς ἐσπέρην the orientation is now correct enough

Αἰνόν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα cp 4 90, where the city is placed at the mouth of the Hebros (*Μαιντα*). It is mentioned apparently in *Iliad* 4 520 as the home of Πείρωσ Ἰμβρασιδης, Θρηκῶν ἄγος ἀνδρῶν. The Thracian name is given as Poltyobria, i.e. town of Poltys. Cp also 9 119 *infra* Its 'Aiolian' character is guaranteed by Thucydides 7.

59 λίμνην παρεξιών, ἐς δ' ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον. ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηίκης αἰγιαλὸς τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας "Εβρος· ἐν τῷ τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλῆιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ 5 ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίηε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς

14 λιμένα? Baehr 59 4 τὸ om α 7 ἐξαριθμῆσαι.  
ἀναριθμῆσαι R ἐναριθμῆσαι SV, Holder, van H

57 4 At this time it was probably occupied by a Persian garrison (Blakesley), and afterwards was a not unimportant stronghold in the Athenian Empire, paying a high tribute, 12 T, previous to the thirty years' truce (afterwards reduced), and a good centre for recruiting (Thuc 4 28 4). In 200 B C it was captured by Philip of Macedon "Maroneam quidem primo impetu expugnavit, Aenum inde cum magno labore, postremo per prodicionem Callimedis, praefecti Ptolemaei, cepit, demceps alia castella, Cypsela et Doriscum et Seriheum occupat," Livy 31. 16.

Σπεντορίδα λίμνην· Pliny 4. 11. 18 speaks of a *portus Stentoris*, hence Baehr's conjecture, cp Appar. Cit Stentor, *Iliad* 5 785, a Thracian according to the Scholast

59 1. ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ κτλ. *Description of Doriskos* a plain on the sea coast, and in a narrower sense, a fort, (τείχος, castellum, *passim*, cp Livy 31. 16) In view of the assertion here made, that Doriskos had been garrisoned by Daireios ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο, it is remarkable that nothing is said of the event in Bk. 4. Seeing that Daireios entered Thrace by the Bosphoros, Stein infers that Daireios garrisoned Doriskos on the return march (when he recrossed at the Hellespont) But had Daireios in person anything to say to it? Doriskos may have been occupied by Megabazos, in connexion with the first conquest of Thrace, though even this modification is hardly consistent with the notice of Doriskos, 5. 98, as the place where the fugitive Paionians were landed by the Lesbians after the outbreak of the Ionian revolt. Doriskos is not altogether a suitable landing-place for the Paionians on that

occasion (cp my note to 5 98); but in any case it can hardly have remained in the hands of the Persians throughout the Ionian revolt, but may have been one of the places occupied, or recovered, by Mardonios in 492 B C, though nothing is said of that in 6 43-47. Only at that date, perhaps, was the spot definitely garrisoned by the Persians. Mardonios would know it well. The bearing of this passage upon the problem of composition is important. It is *prima facie* older than 5 98 (where the site of Doriskos is taken for granted), and it is easier to explain the record here and the silence in Bk. 4 upon the hypothesis that this is the earlier passage, in composition, than *vice versa*. Cp. Introduction, § 7.

2. διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ "Εβρος through the plain, not through the town, which was not astride the river but on the west side opposite Ainos. The Hebros (*Maritza*) was and is the principal river of Thrace

6 ὦν not so much on account of the fortifications, as because it was a large plain on the sea shore.

8. ἐποίηε ταῦτα a more superfluous and senseless proceeding could hardly be conceived upon the supposition that the whole land-army had accompanied the king from Sardes, and the whole fleet had been present in the Hellespont. Nor could the army have really advanced so far without order or organization (as a σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμῖξ, οὐ διακεκρίμενοι c 40). The numbering, review and reorganization of the forces at Doriskos, involving, as it does, a desperate delay (contradicted, however, by the traditional chronology of the king's march, cp. 8. 51 *νηῖρα*), can hardly have any historical justification except upon the hypothesis that a con-

Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκικῇ πεποδίσται πόλιν καὶ Ζώνῃ, τελευτᾷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρην ὀνομαστή. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεγκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίετο. ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλήθος ἐς 60 ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ

10 ἐκομίσαντο B 11 τελευτᾷ Stein<sup>1</sup> τελευταία || δὲ ἔρρειον B<sup>1</sup>  
12 ἦν om B 60. 1 παρεῖχοντο πλήθος? van H. . πλήθος ἐς α  
πλήθος B, Holder πλήθος, ἐς ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔχω Schweighaeuser

siderable portion of the terrestrial and maritime forces had Doriskos as rendezvous in the first instance (cp Diodor 11. 3 6) It is impossible to take the whole fleet of Xerxes into the Hellespont it is unnecessary to take the whole army across the bridge (were the missing ten thousand Persian cavalry shipped direct to Doriskos? cp c 54). If, however, Doriskos was the first place at which the entire forces for the invasion of Hellas were concentrated, then a review, an organization, becomes both natural and necessary. Maidonios, among others, might have devised this plan perhaps he only joined the king at Doriskos

10 Σάλλη a Samothracian fenced 'city,' but without a history the name recurs in Pliny and Mela. The Samothracians had several such places on the mainland Cp c 108 *infra*

11 Ζώνη of more frequent occurrence in the texts e.g. πόλιν Κικόνων Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ, Steph. B., a gloss suggesting the source, at least in part, of Hdt's Thracian geography

τελευτᾷ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἄκρην ὀνομαστή Cp 2 32 μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἢ τελευτᾷ τῆς Διβύνης, a passage which justifies the construction, and the emendation (cp. App. Crit.) But is the promontory here the sea-limit, or is it the western frontier? The latter gives a better sense (the two coincide in the other case) Serhheion coupled with Doriskos by Demosth. Phil. 3 15, as a τείχος, cp ps-Demosth. Phil. 4 8, and altogether more celebrated than Sale or Zone ὀνομαστή in the Orpheus legend, for example, though not actually named in that connexion in extant

literature (Veig. G 4 520 is the nearest reference)

12 Κικόνων cc 108, 110 *infra*

13 κατασχέιν. 6 101

τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεγκύσαντες as though the vessels had been some time in the water. for the operation cp Xenoph. Hell. 1 5. 10.

15 ἀριθμὸν ἐποίετο. cp ἐποίεε ταῦτα 1 *supra* Hdt by the middle voice here puts the agency one step further off.

60 1. ἕκαστοι, 'each set, nation', on this force of the plural cp c 11 7

2 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές: a candid, if damning admission, for only by the addition of the items could any trustworthy total have been consummated. The added justification οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων is still more damning, for it betrays the fact that for his figures, and inferentially for his method of arriving at (a) the totals of the forces, (b) the descriptions of the several contingents, or items, Hdt has not had the official army-lists of Xerxes to fall back upon, or any similar documents, but has compiled the army-list, and perhaps the navy-list to boot, on a *priori* principles, or data or taken them over at second hand

3. οὐδαμῶν οὐδαμῶς (= οὐδὲ ἄμῶς 'not even one' L & S), a stronger form than οὐδεῖς, frequent in Hdt but only in the plural (οὐδαμῇ adverbial), and twice at least (4 114, 6 103) in the feminine.

τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ here plainly excludes the cavalry, in Hdt's conception, the numbers of which are given subsequently, as a separate figure. Cp contr. c 26

τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθ-  
5 μησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συνήγαγόν τε ἐς ἓνα χῶρον

5 συνήγαγόν τε AB: ξυνήγαγοντο C· συναγαγόντες B, Holder, van H  
ἐξηγάγοντο d

4 ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον  
'The enumeration was accomplished by the following method' Ten thousand human beings were squeezed into one spot as tightly as possible a line was then drawn round them, and they were allowed to disperse a wall, some 3-4 ft. high was then built all round upon the line the enclosure, or sheep-fold, thus constructed, was then filled and emptied, by successive batches of fighting-men, one hundred and seventy times this was the means by which it was ascertained that the Infantry in the army amounted to 1,700,000 (or 10,000 × 170)

This story is incredible, and even absurd, for the following reasons.—

(i) The method of numbering as described would have taken a very long time, weeks or months would have elapsed before 1,700,000 men could have been marched up, passed through the enclosure, and marched away again. Hdt deals with myriads of men as if they were handfuls, and ignores conditions of time and space

(ii) The numbers of the cavalry (80,000) are afterwards given c 87. How were these numbers ascertained, for they are not included by Hdt in the 170 myriads?

(iii) The numbers of the Persian forces are already known, and have been stated twice, both for infantry and cavalry, cc 40, 54 f. yet the infantry is here included in the 170 myriads, and subjected to the process of enumeration described.

(iv) The process described is not merely on the face of it childish but was doubtless superfluous the numbers of each contingent were no doubt nominally and approximately known to the captains, divisional officers, and commanders reports furnished by them would have supplied data for a computation.

(v) Elsewhere Hdt gives the sum total of large Persian armies, notably 4 87 (forces of Darius in the Skythic campaign), without any explanation of how the figures had been ascertained in the first instance

(vi) The credibility of Hdt's account here is not enhanced by the fact that the worthless Curtius (3 2 2) makes 'Darius' (Codomannus) employ a similar device for ascertaining the number of his host. Whatever the exaggerations of the *Sach-krilik*, or 'real' criticism, there are cases where its verdict is final, and this is one of them, the historian or critic who maintains the literal credibility of this Herodotean absurdity is past praying for. Nor will any reduction of the figures save the method of numbering as described the smaller the sum the less need for such clumsy methods moreover the 170 must be regarded as the most certain item in the story. An origin and a rationale the story must, of course, have had, however difficult to discover. The figures 100, 1000, 10,000 were doubtless real units of organization in the land forces of the great king if Doriskos was the rendezvous of a great part of the forces, and the first place where the whole army and navy were concentrated, it is probable enough that there was some need for organization or reorganization here for one thing, the three army corps, the three marching columns were doubtless here formed for another, it is possible that at Doriskos Persian commanders (*ἀρχοντες*) were introduced throughout the whole array, and the grouping of various contingents under these *ἀρχοντες* carried into effect. See further, Appendix II § 5.

One important inference remains to be drawn from this passage, and the army-list which follows, as compared with the data for the army of Darius as described in 4. 87, in relation to the problem of composition. Considering the materials which Hdt had at his disposal for a description of the Host of Darius, the *stelai*, the picture of Mandrokles, and so on, is it likely that he would have forgone the opportunity there presented for a pictorial description of the Persian forces, unless either this whole passage had been, so to speak, already in type, or unless he had a very clear plan and intention to do for

μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράφαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασιν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν· ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας 10 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευα- 61 σμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους

6 συννάξαντες Reiske συνάξαντες ABRSV (=αβ) ξυνάψαντες Cd  
συνάψαντες Pz 7 ἔσωθεν z 61. 2 τιάρας καλεομένους fortasse  
delenda? cp 8 120 τήρη

Xerxes what he would not do for Daireios? The latter alternative is improbable. The occurrence of this passage in Bk. 7 must be reckoned to the proofs, none of which by itself is conclusive but the cumulative effect of which is very heavy, of the earlier composition of this section of Hdt's work Cp Introduction, § 8

6 συννάξαντες cp κατανάσσειν c 36 *supra* but the reading is doubtful: cp App Crit

ταύτην, sc τὴν μυριάδα

7 περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράφαντες δὲ as easily as Perdikkas the circle of the sun 8 137 *infra* περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράφας δὲ κτλ.

8 αἵμασιν, a low wall of loose stones, such as the garden-walls in Ionia, the haunt of the lizard 2 69, the low wall round the precinct of Demeter at Paros 6 134 (cp 2 138) in Thuc. 4 43 3 a low wall of loose stones Abicht is not far wrong in saying αἵμασις is in all places to be understood of a stone-enclosure, as Hdt 1 180 αἵμασις πλινθων ὀπτέων implies as much by the express mention of the bricks in that case

11 κατὰ ἔθνεα, the national divisions remained visible in the reorganization κατὰ τέλεα

ARMY-LIST 61-80 (88) "The description of Hdt does not show any great correspondence with the Persepolitan representations," Rawlinson iv. 55 n The spears are not short but long, the bows are not long but short, coats (*sic*) of scale armour are nowhere found, there is no shield corresponding to the γέρρον. But the 'coat' is a cuirass, worn under

the tunic, and therefore invisible; the *geron* must be authentic, and if the monuments do not show it, so much the worse for them, the figures (at Susa, at Persepolis) parade the *coys d'élite*, not the common infantry, and 'long,' 'short,' are in any case relative and indeterminate. Cp Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, E.T. 420-5

61 1 Πέρσαι μὲν, answered by Μῆδοι δέ in c. 62

ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· there follows a description of the Persian, or rather Median, dress and equipments, which had once been such a fearsome sight for Greek eyes (6. 112), more fully and systematically (head, body, legs) described here than in 5 49 a difference which is at least consistent with the earlier composition of this passage.

2 τιάρας καλεομένους πῖλους ἀπαγίας The first two words look rather like a gloss *κυρβάσις* is the word in 5 49, but τὸν τιάραν occurs 1 132, πῖλους τιάρας 3 12, and τήρη χρυσοπάσῳ 8. 120 *infra*. τιάρα, τιάρας (τήρης), apparently a Persian (Median?) word for a Persian (Median) thing, but can hardly have been a 'turban' (L & S *sub v* πῖλος) as we understand the word. πῖλος is 'felt' in name and nature ἀπαγίης (πήγνυμι) 'not fixed, not stiffened,' i.e. 'soft,' or perhaps 'hanging,' in contrast to *κυρβάσις* ἐς δὲ ἀπηγμέναι ὀρθαὶ πεπηγνύαι c 64 *infra*, the king alone wearing the point of his *Fez* upright, Xen *Anab* 2 5 23, Aelian, *Anab* 3 25 3 (ἡγγελλον) Βῆσσον τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρταξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βῆσσον καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι

πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, . . . λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδούς, περὶ δὲ τὰ  
 5 σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρ-  
 τρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα,  
 ὀιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνας, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν  
 μηρὸν παραιωρέμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο  
 Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός,  
 10 ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι

3 εὐπηγέας? Larcher || κιθῶνας z. χειτῶνας C· χιτῶνας ceteri  
 4 καὶ θώρηκας ins. Biel (cp. Wesseling) ὦν ὑπεράνω ἐφόρεον θώρηκας ἀπὸ  
 Reiske: ὑπὸ δὲ θώρηκας πεποιημένους Stein || ἰχθυοειδέας de Pauw 9  
 ὁτάνην τὸν ἀμάστριος B

τῆς Ἀσίας. Cp the mosaic in Naples Museum of the so-called 'Battle of Issus' (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II. 878, Tafel XXI)

3 κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, 'embroidered tunics with sleeves' just such as represented on the frieze from Susa, now in the Louvre

4 Some words must have fallen out from the description which follows. cp. App Crit. In 9 22 *infra* Masistios wears ἐντὸς θώρηκα χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν and over that κιθῶνα φοινίκεον. (In 2. 68 the crocodile is λεπιδωτός)

5 ἀναξυρίδας The Median 'trews' (cp. 5. 49), Baehr states (note to 1. 70), were wider, ampler, those worn by Skyths and other nomads of tighter make, and the Persians (he adds) preferred the latter. They were wide enough above to have pockets apparently, cp 3. 87 τὴν χεῖρα κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσιν.

ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα the word γέρρα is freely used by Hdt (throughout Bk. 9, as here) without explanation. The 'wickers,' 'hurdles,' or 'basket-work' shields were in fact familiar to Greeks, and the word was current in Athens (at least in the time of Demosthenes) for hurdles used in the market-place; cp the celebrated description *de Cor* 169 (L & S appear to regard the word as pure Greek, connecting it with εἶρω)

ὑπὸ δέ Blakesley thinks the quiver (φαρτερέων = φαρέρη) was hung to the interior of the shield itself, Stein that as the γέρρον was carried slung at the back it generally covered the quiver.

This view is borne out by the Susan frieze (Maspero III 516)

6 αἰχμὰς βραχέας, presumably for throwing? The spears of the Guard (as represented *lc*) are somewhat higher than the bearers (7. 6), but they perhaps were not meant to be thrown away, the bow and arrow was doubtless the characteristic weapon of the bulk of the army of further Asia Cp Appendix II. § 5

7 ἐγχειρίδια, the before-mentioned περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι c 54 *supra* Greeks carried such weapons on the left side (slung from right shoulder so on reliefs, etc)

8 παραιωρέμενα, an uncommon word, perhaps from Hdt's source. The simple verb occurs c 92 *infra*, 8 100

9 Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα. It is curious that no patronymic is given, cp c. 40 *supra*, but from the fact that his daughter is principal wife of the king, it may be argued that he is identical with Otanes son of Pharnaspes, one of the Seven, 3 68-72 Ktesias *Pers.* 20 gives the name of the father of 'Amistris' as Onophas. Of this lady such things are related c. 114 *infra* and 9 108-112 as place her in no very amiable light. She was the mother of Artaxerxes, Ktes *Pers.* 20 Ktesias relates other brutality of her, §§ 42, 43, and her death *κάρτα γράυς γενομένη*. Cp. c 114 *infra*

10 Κηφῆνες Strabo 42 οἱ δὲ πλάττοντες Ἐρεμβοῦς ἰδίῳ τι ἔθνος Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ ἄλλο Κηφῆνων καὶ τρίτον Πυγμαίων καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἦντων ἃν πιστεύοντο, πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἀξιοπίστῳ καὶ σύγχυσιν τινα ἐμφαίνοντες τοῦ μυθικοῦ καὶ ἱστορικοῦ σχήματος.



σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βῆλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἔων ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσηνος γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν 15 ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι 62 ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαι-μενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοι, ἀπικομένης

15 δὴ Stein δὲ

62 3 ἄνδρα om. B

The 'Kephenes' are here not in very good company. Andromeda is the daughter of Kepheus (c 150 *infra*), and the 'Kephenes' are no doubt (as with Ovid, *Metamorph* 5 1, 97) the followers of Kepheus (or Kepheus is eponym of the Kephenes, irregularly, for why not Kepheioi, or Kephen?). Further items in the mythical pedigree are set forth c 150 *infra*, 6. 53, 54 (cp my notes *ad ll*) and 1. 7. The pedigree here assumed does not, however, expressly contradict that in 1 7 (as Stein suggests) but rather that in 6. 53. Rawlinson can discern "no ray of truth in the fables respecting Peiseus", Blakesley observes that Hdt. is here drawing "not from Persian but from Greek sources" (Hekataios? cp Introduction, § 10) Stein well explains all Hdt means as being that the Kephenes known to old Greek story are to be identified with the people now known as Persians. Kepheus, however, certainly does not represent 'Assyria' (Ninos) any more than Babylonia (Belos) but why not the primitive, pre-Phoenician inhabitants of Canaan? (or Elam?) Steph B *sub v.* 'Ιόπη has οἱ Ἕλληνες κακῶς φασιν ἀφ' οὗ Κηφῆνες οἱ Αἰθίοπες (ie 'eastern Ethiopians') again, *sub v.* Χαλδαῖοι οἱ πρότερον Κηφῆνες. The authority for this was Hellanikos, in the first Book of his *Persica*, who thus differed from Hdt on the point.

11 Ἀρταῖοι has a genuine ring about it, from its obvious connexion with *arta*—which appears in many Persian names. Artaios itself as a proper name cc 22 *supra*, 66, 117 *infra*, and in the Ktesian list of Median kings (cp Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p 92). The most valuable gloss on the name is in Steph Byz Ἀρταῖα Περσικὴ χώρα, τὴν ἐπόλισε Περσεὺς (sic), ὁ Περσεὺς

καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Περσικῶν πρώτῃ οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀρταῖοι Ἀρταίους δὲ Πέρσαι ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς παλαιούς ἀνθρώπους ἥρωας καλοῦσι, κτλ. This article shows a source common to Hdt. and Hellanikos. Rawlinson's "most probable account" of the word, connecting it with *Afarti*, "which is not an Arian name at all," seems far-fetched. Ed Meyer (*ap* Pauly-Wissowa II. 1303) sees in it a distortion of the 'Arian' name itself.

13 ἔσχε, 'had to wife.'

αὐτοῦ, 'on the spot' but where was it? The Perseus-Andromeda myth laid the scene in Phoenicia (Steph B. *sub v.* 'Ιόπη), or perhaps in Babylon (Hellanikos?). The vagueness here is necessary, Hdt. not having courage to lay the scene actually in Persia.

62 1 Μῆδοι δὲ answers Πέρσαι μὲν, c. 61

2 Μηδικὴ γάρ cp 6. 112

3 Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. son of Artabanos, 8 26 *infra*, commanded and fell at Mykale, 9. 96, 102

4 Ἀριοι· the title not of 'Medes' alone, but of all the Aryan, or Iranian conquering stocks, so Strabo 724 ἐπεκτείνεται τοῦνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτριῶν καὶ Σογδιανῶν. Sanskr. *arya*, old Persian *ariya*. Dareios, on his tomb at Naksh-e-Rustam, describes himself as "Achaemenid, Persian, son of a Persian, Arian, of Arian seed," so Stein: only the first three designations appear in H. F. Talbot's translation, *Records of the Past*, v 151. It seems a paradox to say that the title has nothing to do with Ἀριοι, c 66 *infra*, q v

ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης κτλ. . the story is given more fully in Pausanias, 2. 3, 8, the connexion of Medea with

5 δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους  
 τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων  
 ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα  
 κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι  
 ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ  
 10 κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον

5 μηδείης Bz μηδέης α || ἀθηνέων AP ἀθηναίων 6 τοῦνομα α,  
 van H. || αὐτοὶ δὲ B, Holder, van H. 9 ἀναφάνης B

Aigeus is "old-Attic prae-Euripidean" saga Hitzig-Bluemner, after Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xv 481 ff. The statement that the Arians changed their name to Medes in consequence of the advent of Medea among them is here expressly assigned by Hdt to Median authority, αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι, a truly incredible assertion, bearing the impress of an Hellenic fabrication, and irreconcilable with the fact that the real name of the Medes was Mada. A hellenized Mede or Persian, now and then, may have been persuaded to accept such Greek fictions, but this confident assertion of Hdt.'s is a good illustration of the illusory character of his *Quellenangaben*. Cp. Introduction, § 10

7. Κίσσιοι undoubtedly the inhabitants of Susiana, or Kissia, that is Elam, forming with the Persians and Medes the *élite* of the imperial army, cp. c. 210 *infra*, 5 49, 52, 6 119 (with my notes *ad ll.*), cp. also 3 91 *ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρας* κτλ. Kissia formed a separate satrapy, perhaps embarrassed by containing one of the royal residences (its acquisition for the Persian dynasty dated probably from the days of Teispes, cp. c 11 *supra*)

8 ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων μιτρηφόροι. The equipment of the Elamites differed from that of the Medes and Persians in but one respect, instead of the (Median?) *fez* they wore a (Babylonian?) 'fillet' or head-band. Is not this the head-dress of the guards upon the Susan frieze, verily, a bit of local colour! (Cp. Maspero, in 516) A *μίτρα* is worn by the Kypriot princes, c 90 *infra*, as by the Babylonians, 1. 195. It was something more than a fillet, and less than a turban, but was to a Greek the mark of effeminacy, cp. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 898. But the word is good Greek apparently, known to Homer as the warrior's girdle, *Il.* 4 187, distinct from the *ζωστήρ*.

9. Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω is unknown to fame, but he was presumably the king's brother-in-law, cp. cc 40, 61 *supra*. When Hdt wrote Bk. 7 he knew perhaps of only one Otanes, the greatest of the name, though without knowing his patronymic. When he came to write Bks 1-6 he learnt the existence of a second Otanes, and the patronymics of both. The non-occurrence of the patronymic of Otanes in this book is at least as significant, for the problem of composition, as the occurrence of patronymics in other cases, cp. cc 1, 3, 5, etc *supra*, and Introduction, § 7

Ὑρκάνιοι not enumerated in the list of satrapies (in Bk 3), and only once elsewhere mentioned in Hdt (3 117). Hyrcania was better known in Roman than in Greek times, probably because it was of more account in the Parthian than in the Persian empire, its position is indicated in Hdt 1 c, and more exactly by Strabo, 507 ff, *et al.*, as lying between the Caspian Sea and Parthia, to the east of Media. The Caspian was also known as the Hyrcanian sea (Propert 2 30, 20). Strabo describes Hyrcania as *σφόδρα εὐδαίμων* . . . καὶ τὸ πλέον πεδίας πόλεσί τε ἀξιολόγοις διειλημμένη—but a great part of the country must have been mountainous and rough, and the Hyrcani are still a *gens valida* in the days of Nero (cp. Tac. *Ann.* 15 1, etc.). Abicht says that Vehr-kāna is the Zend form, O P. Varkāna, and that it means Wolf's-land (Hyrcanæ tigres, Verg. *Aen.* 4 367). The form Ὑρκάνοι *ap.* Steph. B

10 ἐσεσάχατο the pluperfect appears to have little special force, the word, or formula, recurs cc 70, 73, 86 *infra*, otherwise the word *σάττω* habet sua fata apud Hdt. Cp. 5. 34 (with my note) and 3. 7, where *σάξαντες* is a conjecture

ἡγεμόνα = ἄρχοντα

Μεγάπανον as satrap (ἐπίτροπος)

τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι 63  
 δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε  
 κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐ-  
 ἀπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια  
 τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι <μαχαίρησι> εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων  
 τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν  
 Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι

63 3 κράνεα om α 5 τοῖσι αἰγυπτίοισι z, unus Parisinus (2933),  
 van H τῇσι αἰγυπτίοισι d <μαχαίρησι> Stein || εἶχον del Dobree appr.  
 van H 7 ἐκαλέοντο β, Holder 'fortasse neutrum genuinum' van H

of Babylon, a great man, did he pre-  
 ceede, or succeed, Tritantaichmes? Cp.  
 c 82 *infra*

11 Hdt's ὕστερον τούτων is rather in-  
 definite, the ταῦτα might refer to the  
 Hyrkanian command, or more vaguely  
 to the Persian war, the length of the  
 interval is not specified, nor whether  
 his promotion was connected with his  
 services in the war.

63 1. Ἀσσύριοι: under this term  
 Hdt may here intend to include (a)  
 Assyrians properly so called, (b) Baby-  
 lonians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia  
 generally, (c) Syrians (Assyriacs) pro-  
 perly so called, as none of these peoples  
 is separately accounted for in the list.  
 His use of Ἀσσυρίη, Ἀσσύριοι in Bks  
 1-3 (e.g. 3 92 ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας) will justify (a), (b),  
 and the remark here below (c)

2 στρατευόμενοι, i.e. *militiae*, for  
*domi* they were *μικροφόροι*, 1 195

χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα,  
 apparently two distinct kinds of helmet,  
 the latter kind perhaps of leather  
 Assyrian helmets are of various types  
 (Rawlinson's illustrations *ad l* present  
 five) Hdt's confession of inability to  
 describe their outlandish (βάρβαρον) form  
 is curious, he has not seen them, and  
 cannot understand his 'source' Had  
 Hdt been in Babylon before writing  
 this passage it would hardly have been  
 thus obscure, had he ever been in  
 Babylonia he might have revised it  
 The obscurity has its bearing upon the  
 problems of Hdt's Travels, Sources,  
 Composition, cp next note

4 παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι is  
 somewhat of a crux. Are shield, spear,  
 and dagger (poignard) all in the Egyptian  
 style? or only the poignard? What  
 word is to be supplied with Αἴγ.?   
 Probably the Egyptian type applies to

all three weapons, on the latter point  
 cp. App Crit Hdt will hardly have  
 been in Egypt before writing in this  
 manner, cp c 89 *infra*, and next note  
 but one

5 ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ  
 'wooden clubs studded with iron knobs'  
 sound barbarous indeed, but something  
 of the kind had been known, perhaps,  
 even in Athens (cp 1 59), cp c 69  
*infra* The genitive ξύλων, especially in  
 the plural, is observable, cp 1. 59, 2  
 63 ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες κτλ followed  
 immediately by ἔχοντες ξύλα; cp 4 180  
 μάχονται. λίθοισι τε καὶ ξύλοισι. Is  
 ξύλων merely a 'material' genitive, or  
 is each ῥόπαλον, each κορύνη, equivalent  
 to one ξύλον?

6 λινέους θώρηκας look eminently  
 Egyptian, cp. 2 182, 3 47, although  
 not described as such here Has Hdt  
 correctly identified the 'Egyptian'  
 analogies, or elements, in the 'Assyrian'  
 armature?

7 καλέονται Σύριοι. Ἀσσύριοι  
 ἐκλήθησαν The variation in tense  
 seems mainly for the ear, rhetorical (to  
 avoid a flat repetition), and somewhat  
 pointless ('descriptive' present, 'narra-  
 tive' aorist, Sitzler). The statement in  
 any case involves a considerable in-  
 accuracy, though Rawlinson's assertion  
 that "Syrian" and "Assyrian" are en-  
 tirely different words (Syrian, Tyrian,  
 Tsyrian, from Tsur, 𐤔𐤐, a rock, Assyrian,  
 from Asshur, 𐤢𐤶𐤫) is apparently now  
 out of date, cp *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4845.  
 'Syria,' unknown to Hebr., possibly  
 identical with Babyl. *Suri*, a N  
 Euphratean district of uncertain bound-  
 aries, but possibly a corruption of  
 Ἀσσύριοι, cp. *cit* 1. 349. Asshur as a  
 land is named from a city, and the city  
 from a god, Ašur 𐤠𐤶. The 'Syrians'  
 called themselves Aram (cp *op. cit.*

64 ἐκλήθησαν. [τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι.] ἦρχε δὲ σφέων  
 Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω. Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι  
 ἀγγότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα  
 ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ [οἱ Σκύθαι] περὶ μὲν  
 5 τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυ ἀπηγμένους ὀρθὰς εἶχον

8 τούτων . . Χαλδαῖοι secl Stein 64 2 Ἀρταχάειου codd  
 Ἀρταχάειω Stein · 'num Ἀρταχάειω?' van H. 3 <τιήρας> ἔχοντες  
 van H : ἔχοντες <τιήρας> Sitzler 4 οἱ Σκύθαι Stein del Blakesley  
 5 ἀπιγμένους B ἀνηγμένους Valckenaer appr van H

*sub v.*, recognized in the Ἀρμιοι, II 2 783, *op cit* 4845, and the Ἑρεμβοί, *Od.* 4 84, *op cit* 276. The 'Assyria' of the Achaemenid inscriptions, though distinct from 'Babylon,' seems to correspond rather to Syria than to Northern Mesopotamia

8 τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαῖοι has very much the air of a gloss, not so much because it is inconsistent with 1 181 (for there might be 'Chaldeans' and 'Chaldeans,' and Hdt is not self-consistent), nor because *μεταξύ* is anomalous, but because there appears no particular ground for special notice of the Χαλδαῖοι among all the number of 'Syrians' and 'Assyrians' here massed together. If authentic, the observation could hardly have been written after 1. 181, and thus would support the belief in the earlier composition of Bks. 7-9, the statement, or implication, that the Chaldaeans (*Kaldu*) were a nation, or people (not merely a caste or priestly order) is, however, correct, *cp Encyc Bibl* 1 720

64 2 Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάειω · the son is not named elsewhere, but the father is presumably the Artachaias, son of Artaios, who was superintending the Athos-canal (c 22 *supra*), a man of the Achaemenid stock, whose apotheosis Hdt commemorates, c 117 *infra*

Βάκτριοι the inhabitants of a satrapy in the NE. of the Persian empire, named from the chief town, (τὰ) Βάκτρα (*Zarbaspa*, Arrian), or river (Βάκτριος). In 3 93 the Βακτριανοί (*sic*) appear in the twelfth satrapy. Bactria was one of the most important of the eastern provinces in the Persian empire (*cp.* 9. 113 *infra*), its name cropping up in the Greek literature of the fifth century (Aeschyl *Persai* 306, 318, 732), and destined in the time of Alexander and his successors to still greater importance, according to some traditions

Bactria was indeed the cradle of the Zoroastrian religion, *cp Maspero, Histoire ancienne* III (1899) 573, Tomaschek *ap Pauly-Wissowa* II. 2807.

3. ἀγγότατα a rather vague neuter plural, the reading is not quite certain (*cp App Cit*), but the meaning clearly is that the Bactrians wore on their heads felt caps, like the Median fez (It was, perhaps, originally Bactrian, and of black colour)

τόξα καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια the distinctive weapon, a bow of reed (bamboo), perhaps of Indian origin. Unless *ἐπιχωρίας* is to be supplied with *αἰχμὰς*, the only difference between Median and Bactrian equipment would be that the Median bow was not of bamboo, moreover, how could the Ἀριοι, who have Median bows, be in other respects like the Bactrians, if the bow is the only point of difference between Bactrian and Mede? But perhaps to question thus, is to take Hdt. too seriously

4. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι · the last two words look like a gloss. The 'Sakai,' or 'Skyths' in this passage are doubtless the tribes, more or less nomad, of the NE frontier of the empire (Jaxartes), or between Oxus and Jaxartes (*cp.* Hdt IV.-VI II p 11). Their habitat might seem to fall into the Europe of Hdt (*op. cit* 1 28), but it would be rash to assume that his (perhaps later) geographical scheme was present to his mind in writing this passage. Hdt is dealing with Asia here

5 κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυ ἀπηγμένους ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυῖας These 'Skyths,' or 'Sakai,' with upright pointed caps, have been identified with the *Čakā tigrakharuda* of the Behistun inscription. who are these distinct from *Čakā Hau-manavargā* or Ἀμύργοι? Hdt. (or his authority) has perhaps confounded two hordes, or breeds of *Saka* distinguished

πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδυκέσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς 10 Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιη- 65 μένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμυνα εἶχον καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοι, προσ- ετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτew. Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ 66

7 ἀξίνας del Naber appr. van H, Holder || σαγάρεις C σαγάρεις ABPd  
σαγάρεις B καὶ σαγάρεις z 8 ἐμυργίους B 65 1 <εἰρών>  
ἀπὸ van H. ξύλου? idem 2 δὲ del. Krueger appr. van H. 3  
σίδηρον α || ἐστάλατο malit van H. 4 φαρναζάθρη α 66. 1  
ἐσκευάδατο malit van H.

by Dareios Cp. J. Oppert in *Records of the Past*, ix 76, also Tomaschek ap Pauly-Wissowa i 2010 f 2. 28 δύο ὄρεα es δὲ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα decides the reading Cf App Crit

6 ἀναξυρίδας c. 61 supra  
ἐνεδεδυκέσαν the pluperfect seems to have no reference to a remoter past, but if they 'had put on,' they 'were wearing' trousers, the tense becomes materially almost 'descriptive'

8 Ἀμυργίους Σάκας Steph B sub v. Ἀμύργιον πέδον <πεδίων?> Σακῶν Ἑλ- λάνικος Σκύθαις <Σκυθικαῖς?> τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμύργιος, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν. Cooley (ap. Blakesley) identified them with the inhabitants of the valley of the "Moorg". this is better than von Hammer's idea (ap. Baehr) that the Ἀμύργιοι were the Turks, Τούρκοι. J Oppert, *l.c.*, apparently renders Haumavargā, "who drink Haoma leaves"

οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας. This is an amusing instance of Hellenic insolence, and only means that the 'Skyths' of the Greek are identical with the 'Saka' of the Persians, a statement undoubtedly correct even a point beyond what Hdt intends. *Saka* was applied to the nomad tribes all along the northern frontier of the Persian empire, from the Danube to the Oxus and Jaxartes, and the Greek used 'Skyth' with a similar extension. Moreover, the two words are apparently identical Cp. my note to 4 6 4.

10 Ὑστάσσης His name and parentage are remarkable, and evidence of the importance of this command He is the king's full brother, cp. c. 2 supra

65. 1 Ἴνδοι the total absence of any reference to Bk. 3 is especially observable in regard to this most remote of peoples, so large a portion of that Bk (cc 94, 98-105) being given to the description of the 'Hindu'

εἴματα ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα. i.e. cotton garments, cp 3 47, 106 (clothes of bark, or βίβλος, will hardly do vide L & S) A verb must be supplied with ἐνδεδυκότες, οἱ the co-ordination of μὲν and δέ breaks down. To repeat εἶχον (Sitzler), in advance and with a somewhat varied sense, is harsh, though c 91 ἡμέρα might almost seem to justify it Stein suggests ἐστρατεύοντο (cp c 67), or ἦσαν (c 71), or ἦσαν (cc 69, 89), but why not allow Hdt. the trifling anakoluthon?

2 ἐπὶ adverbially, 'thereon' Hdt. might seem to think that the iron arrowhead was remarkable It occurs in Homer, *Il* 4 123

4 Φαρναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτew. Pharnazathres, son of Artabates, had apparently others in his command beside the Indians How many Indians, indeed, ever saw the shores of Greece? Neither sire nor son is elsewhere mentioned, but the compounds, *Arta* and *Pharna*, are frequent in the Persian proper names Cp. Index Nominum.

66. 1. Ἄριοι It is rather difficult

Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι 67  
δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα  
ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο,  
ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν,  
Σαραγγαί δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα 5  
δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς.  
Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ  
σισyrνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια.  
Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρταύτην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.  
Οὔτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν 68

7 ἀρτύβιος β 67 3 ἀκινάκας β 4 ἀρτυβίου β 9  
ἀρταύτην R· ἀρταύτην V ἀρταύτην S· ἀρτύτην α || Ἰθαμίτρεω Schweig-  
haeuser ἰθαμάτρεω α. ἰτραμίτρεω β 68. 1 ἐσκευάδατο malit van H.

480 BC The patronymic is added in all the references above given, not because Pharnakes, but because his son, was so illustrious.

Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου may have been a brother of Aitachaires (c 22 *supra*) the father's name is noticeable, cp c 61 *supra*

7 Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου, as a son of Artabanos, is the king's cousin in the first degree

67 1 Κάσπιοι plainly men of the Kaspian Sea, or region but how they should differ from the Τράκτιοι of c 62 does not clearly appear Cp c 86 *infra*

2 σισύρνας 4 109 Tzetzes (schol ad Lyc 634) distinguishes σισύρα (a favourite word with Aristoph) as made εκ δέρματος ἐντρίχου from σισύρα, ἄτριχον δερμάτιον, cp. L & S *sub* vv. Hesych also has σίσυς

ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα do bamboos grow in Kaspia? or should these 'Kaspi' be 'Kasperi'? (Κάσπειρος πόλις Πάρθων προσέχης τῇ Ἰνδικῇ Steph B. who refers to Hdt. 3 where only Κάσπιοι is to be found, cc 92, 93, unless Κάσπειρος lurk in Κασπάτιρος c 102) Cp c 86 *infra*

3 ἀκινάκας c 54 *supra*

4 Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. therefore son of Artabanos, cousin of the king, and an Achaimenid

5 Σαραγγαί. Zarangia is one of the twenty-two provinces of the empire enumerated on the Behistun inscription to be identified with the Δράγγαι of Arrian's *Anabasis* (cp Sintenis' ed.) and located in Seistan. the origin of the name perhaps traceable in the great lake Zarah (Hamun). Cp also Bevan, *House*

of Seleucus 1 270 This folk appears distinguished by its gay clothing (εἴματα βεβ. ἐνέπρεπον ἔχ.), while its shoes recall and exaggerate the peculiarity of the 'Hittite' boot, or at least the Paphlagonian, c 72 *infra*, yet the weapons are 'Median' (ie Baktrian?) Cp. Appendix II § 5 Is Σαραγγέων 3. 93, 117 the gen. of this word, or of Σαραγγέες, which would give a discrepant form? The 'Scythian' Sarancae in Tiogus Pomp *Prolog* 41, 42 are now written Saraucae

7. Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου would seem to be a brother of Boubaies, c 22 *supra*

Πάκτυες important and typical people, with a σκευή (cp c 85 *infra*) as well as a county (cp 3 102) of their own. The voyage of Skylax of Karyanda (4 44) serves to identify their habitat with the upper Indus, or rather the Kabul region, ie E Afghanistan ('Pathans'?). (The Πακτυκή of 3. 93 can have nothing to say to India) Their equipment includes (1) *sisyrna*, (2) bow, (3) dagger; but they presumably had at least boots, hats, and some underclothing as well

9 Ἀρταύτην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω. to be distinguished from Artayntas son of Aitachaires, one of the admirals next year (cp 8 130), who associated his own nephew (ἀδελφιδέος), *Ithamitres*, in the command unless by chance Hdt. has mixed the pedigree (he certainly has not given it clearly)

68 1 Οὔτιοι Μύκοι Παρικάνιοι the first two are found in similar juxtaposition 3 93 (xiv satrapy), but with some other strange company, while

κατὰ περ Πάκτες. τούτων δὲ ἥρχον οἶδε, Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ  
 69 Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεζωμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ

4 οἰοβάζου B

69. 1 ὑπεζωσμένοι Bz

Παρικάνιοι are there found in two different satrapies (x λιν) as well as c 86 *infra*, in connexion with the ἸΚάσπιοι u v. The three names are in fact among the most puzzling in the whole list.

Οὐτίοι. Yutiya appears on the Behistun inscription as "a district of Persia" (col. iii 5), and this is the only known parallel, outside Hdt., to the name. The fact that islanders of the Erythraean Sea are placed by Hdt. in the same νομός (3 98) suggests locating the Uti on the coast of the Persian Gulf, or Indian Ocean. Rennel (ii<sup>2</sup> 384), followed by many since, identifies the Uti with the Uxi (Οὐξιοί) of Strabo and Arrian, a sufficiently heroic expedient, approved by Baehr, Rawlinson, and others. The Herodotean form of the name would in that case seem more correct.

Μύκοι. Steph B *sub v* ἔθνος, περὶ οὗ Ἑκαταῖος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, ἐκ Μυκῶν (*sic*) εἰς Ἀράξην ποταμὸν. Hekataios was perhaps giving a measure of distance, which might have been helpful had it survived. The Ἀίακες would be somewhere in the north, and the Mykoi consequently in the south, which agrees with the emplacement of the Uti. Baehr (note 3 93) identifies them with the Μάκαι of Steph B. *ἔθνος μεταξὺ Καρμανίας καὶ Ἀραβίας*—again a bold proceeding, but agreeing with (1) the position assigned to the Uti, (2) the apparent position of the province Media (Behistun) and perhaps Maka (Persepolis), which disappear at Naksh-e-Rustam, (3) the identification with the modern *Makran*, favoured by Baehr, Rawlinson, and others.

Παρικάνιοι. Steph B πόλις Περσική· Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ, ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πόλις Παρικάνη ὄνομα. (But was Hekataios versified!) τὸ ἔθνος Παρικάνιοι λέγονται καὶ Παρικανοί. The Parikanians then were in the *Asia* of Hekataios, but were they in 'Persia'? The 'Parikanians' of satrapy x (3 92) are in Media; these here can hardly be in either Media or Persia. The Parikanians of satrapy xvii (3 94) may correspond with these, especially if the 'Ethiopians' (or negro population), with whom they

are associated, be placed (with Rawlinson) in Beluchistan. Pliny (6. 16, 18) places 'Paricani' apparently in the region of the Sarang, Chorasmi, etc. These confusions may arise from Paricani not being an ethnical term, but an epithet, meaning 'devils' (O P *pariká*, a *peri*, oi fairy Lassen) or "mountaineers" (Rawlinson). Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1 272 (following whom?) regards the Parikani of Hdt. as the inhabitants of Gediosia, worshippers of the Pairiká, unclean spirits of the desert. (The name Gedrosi is post-Alexandrine.) They nowhere appear in Alexander's historians.

3 Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου a son of Dareios, not to be confounded with the Arsames mentioned in the next chapter, and of course an Achaemenid.

Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. perhaps the father of Masistios (c 79 *infra* q v), and still more probably of that Oiobazos, of whom the gruesome anecdote (4 84) is related, and thus the more discredited. Cp c. 39 *supra* (Pythios-anecdote).

69 1. Ἀράβιοι. One of the standing provinces of the empire on the Achaemenid inscriptions, and habitually grouped with Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt, but assuredly not including the whole peninsula (cp 3. 91, 97). Ethnologically, we have here the purest Semitic stock of the empire, unless, indeed, these 'Arabians' are to be sought (with Rawlinson) in Africa, between the Nile valley and the Red Sea (2 8). The Arabs of Asia were not vassals of Persia (3. 88).

ζειράς "probably a Semitic word" (Stein), yet Hdt. also uses it of a Thracian garment, etc. (c 75 *infra*). Schweighauser, Baehr translate *zeira* by *sagum* (= *σάγος*, Polyb 2 28. 7, 30 1, apparently a Celtic garment and perhaps word), generally interpreted 'a long flowing cloak'. G. W. ap. Rawlinson makes it "a flowing dress, or petticoat (*sic*), very similar to their present costume".

ὑπεζωμένοι seems to mean 'under-girt,' 'girt in,' perhaps between the legs, to facilitate movement, hence the curious

παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηγέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνοὺς ὀιστοὺς μικροῦς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ λίθος 5 ὄξυς πεποιημένους, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς

2 προσδέξια codd πρὸς δέξια z || πρὸς τόξα δὲ εἶχον om. B ||  
μακρά mihi suspectum || δὲ del. Krueger appr. van H 5 μικροῦς  
Stein<sup>1</sup> ('μικροῦς ABR, μακροῦς reliqui' Stein<sup>1</sup>) μακροῦς PR (ap. Stein<sup>2</sup>)  
μικροῦς S (Gaisf) μακροῦς z, quod accipi debuerat

synonyms in Gloss. Herod. *μίτρα*  
*ζώνη* Cp c. 62 *supra*.

τόξα παλίντονα The epithet is Homeric, but of doubtful interpretation there (cp Monro's *Odyss* 21 11) Here it plainly has a technical significance, and applies to a small strong bow, with a curve, or double curve, when unstrung, which has to be overcome and reversed when the bow is strung Ammianus Marcellinus, in comparing the shores of the Euxine to a bow (22 8), seems to have a bow of this kind in view *cum arcus omnium gentium flexus curvantur hastilibus, Scythici soli vel Parthici circumductis utrimque intro versus pandis et patulis cornibus effigiem lunae decrescentis ostendunt, mediocritatem recta et rotunda regula dividente*. What Marcellinus predicates of the Scythian or Parthian, Hdt predicates of the Arabian that such a bow should have been 'long' (*μακρά*) seems very unlikely Agathon the poet seems to have compared the letter Σ to a Skythian bow (Athenaeus 454).

2 πρὸς δεξιὰ, 'carried on the right side,' as for example by the figure of the 'Hittite' in the Pass of Karabel, which Hdt (2. 106) erroneously describes as carrying the bow in the left hand (as is usual).

Αἰθίοπες as appears in the next chapter, the Ethiopians ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου are here intended. With them Hdt. passes from Asia to Libya, though by something of an inconsequence the same name in the next chapter leads him back to the confines of India The frontiers of Asia and of Libya were, however, perhaps ill defined in his authority (cp 4 36 ff). The 'Ethiopians' represent for Hdt. an indigenous African stock (4 197), undoubtedly the negro, or negroid, among whom he came to distinguish two or three groups or sections, (α) the Ethiopians of Meroe, or next Egypt

(2 29, 30, 3 97 etc), (β) οἱ μακρόβιοι, 3 17 f., who dwelt 'on the southern sea', (γ) οἱ τραυλοδύται (4. 183). Plainly the first alone are here in question, and they furnish a distinct type of armature (ἡ Αἰθιοπικὴ σκευή, cp 2 106), which is next described

3. ἐναμμένοι Ionic for ἐνημμένοι, cp ἐπαμμένους, 8 105 *infra* (with genit) Here *δοράς* must be supplied, cp 5 25 (ἀνθρωπότη) ἐνημμένος frequent in Aristophanes (διφθέραν, *Clouds* 72, *Ekkle* 80 παρδαλᾶς, *Birds* 1250 λεοντήν, *Frogs* 430 κάλλιστα, *Peace* 1225, etc).

ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης, 'of the stem of the palm (-leaf)' σπ 'the spathe of the flower of many plants, especially of the palm-kind,' L & S G W ap Rawlinson observes that such bows can only have been used by inferior tribes.

4 μακρά μικροῦς How the arrows were small if the bows were large is not clear Stein's remark that the larger the bow the smaller the pull does not seem helpful Perhaps the arrows were short, not as compared with other arrows, but as compared with the bow The reading is supported by Photius 723 (Agatharchides). The stone-tips were rather primitive, but still more paltry the horn-tipped lances

6 τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· sc οἱ δακτυλιογλύφοι (Stein), τῷ relative, instrumental G W. ap. Rawlinson thinks the stone in question 'an agate or some other of the silicious stones so common in Ethiopia' Is an agate hard enough to cut gems?—perhaps the soap-stone order Theophrastus lap. 41 ἐνιοὶ δὲ λίθοι καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἔχουσι δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ μὴ πάσχειν, οἷον τὸ μὴ γλύφεσθαι σιδηροῖς ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἑτέροις ὡς 43; ἐνιοὶ δὲ λίθοις ἄλλοις γλύφονται, σιδηροῖς δ' οὐ δύνανται (quot ap. H Blumner, *Technologie* III (1884) 295 n) It is not clear whether Hdt is thinking of powdered stone, or of direct use of the point, in



δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν ὀξὺ πεποιη-  
 μένου τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ  
 σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἴοντες ἐς μάχην,  
 10 τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτῳ. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου <τε> καὶ  
 Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν  
 70 γυναικῶν Δαρείου εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο. τῶν  
 μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης,  
 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρα-  
 τεύοντο) προσετέταχато τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος  
 5 μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροις, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μούνον· οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς

10 τὸ δὲ ἕτερον (δ' V) B  
 χρυσῆν? van H

11 <τε> καὶ? Stein appr van H.

13

70 4 διαλλάσσοντες A διαλάσσοντες BB

engraving. Perhaps he hardly means that the Ethiopian arrow-head is actually used in gem-cutting, but merely that the arrow-head was 'as hard as diamonds' Cp 2 86 (with Wiedemann's note)

8 ῥόπαλα τυλωτά cp c 63 *supra*, but these are not armed with iron. Such clubs are still in use, "made of acacia or of ebony, and called *lissan*, from the supposed resemblance to a tongue," G. W. ap Rawlinson.

9 τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ, 'upper and lower,' or 'back and front,' or 'left and right': γύψος (ῆ), evidently white, cp 8 27 (white chalk) μίλτος (ῆ), vermilion, cp 4 191, 194

11 Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου <τε> καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός: this Achaemenid rejoices in the name of his great-grandfather (cp c 11 *supra*), his brother is mentioned below (c 72). Aeschylus makes 'great Aisames' governor of Egypt (*Pers* 37), one of the few nominal agreements of Aeschylus with Hdt's list, and afterwards kills him at Salamis (*Pers* 308). Artystone, the sister of Atossa, evidently younger and much more attractive (cp 3 88). Was her image a Greek work? τὴν (rel.) στέρξας, εἰκὼ ἐποίησατο· 1 q. τὴν στέρξας, εἰκὼ αὐτῆς ἐποίησατο or τῆς εἰκὼ ἐποίησατο στέρξας αὐτῆν Cp c. 146 *infra*, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα εἰκὼ· an Ionic form Hdt has εἰκόνα 2, 143, εἰκόνας 2 130 Cp Weir Smvth, § 523.

70 3 Αἰθίοπες δῖξοι· is this genuine ethnology, or a reminiscence of the

*Odyssey*? a 23 f Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαλαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν|οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ἰπέρλονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. The alternatives are not quite mutually exclusive Hdt and even the Homeric poet may have had word of the existence of a dark, negroid people, beyond the Euphrates and Tigris. The reality of this race is fully recognized now by ethnologists (cp Dieulafoy, *L'Asiopolis de Suse*, 1890, Keane, *op cit infra*). Rennell (i 401) regards these Ethiopians of Asia as 'the people of Makran, Haur, and other provinces in that quarter,' i.e. the south-east of the empire, and this view is endorsed by Rawlinson and others. The term 'Burnt-faces,' Brunetti, or 'Blacks' is of course a mere epithet, and Hdt distinguishes the Ethiopians of Asia and of Africa ethnologically. This distinction reappears nowadays in the division of *Homo Aethiopicus* into 'African' and 'Indo-Oceanic' and modern ethnology reaffirms their ultimate and fundamental identity (cp Keane, A H, *Ethnology* (1896) ch xi)

4 εἶδος φωνήν· τρίχωμα. Hdt. has here as elsewhere (notably 2 104) apprehended the chief ethnological tests. But a great extension, or rather an intense specification, would have to be given to the term εἶδος before it could carry all that was requisite (e.g. not merely general shape and appearance, but size, measurements, craniology)

6 ἰθύτριχες "Owing to the absence of distinctly woolly hair, marked pro-

Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Αἰθίοπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἴνδοι ἐσεσάχατο, προμετώπια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσὶ ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν 10 λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἤισαν ἔχοντες, ἀκον- 71 τοῖσι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι. ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ 72 μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ

9 προμετώπια α προμετωπίδα β. προμετωπίδια P, Stein<sup>1 2</sup>, Holder, van H, etc || ἐπὶ περὶ van H 10 τῇσι λοφιῇσι β, Holder 71 2 παρείχοντο α. εἶχον β 3 μασσάγην β || ἀορίζου PB ἀρίζου C 72 1 ἐστρατεύοντο om β post κρ. πεπλ. ἔχοντες ponit Kallenberg

gnathism and brachycephaly amongst the low-caste aborigines of the Deccan many ethnologists still deny the presence of true Negroes in the peninsula" (Keane, *op cit* p 254) The remark might apply to the region between the Persian Gulf and the Indus, *mutatis mutandis*

8 κατὰ περ Ἴνδοι ἐσεσάχατο On the verb, and the tense cp c 62 *supra* Two differences between the 'Indian' and the 'East-Ethiopian' equipment (σκευή) are specified, sufficient, one would think, to constitute distinct types (1) the head-dress, formed of the skin of the upper part of a horse's head, with the ears and mane left on, (2) as shields the skins of cranes, presumably stretched on frames So the Nasamonians, στρουθῶν καταγαίων δοράς φορέουσι προβλήματα, 4. 175. (δορά in both places of bird-skins) The name of the commander has already been given in c 65 *supra*

11 κατέχρα καταχρᾶν with a subject expressed is unusual, it is generally neuter, 1 164, 4. 118

71 1. Λίβυες With their leathern dress (cp 4 168, 189 and my notes) are quite true to the 'Libyan Logi,' but the total absence of any reference here to that extensive treatise bears out the hypothesis that this passage is of earlier composition, cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

2 ἐπικαύτοισι Cp c 74 *infra*, otherwise ἀπαξ λ (*praeustus*) These throwing sticks are poor weapons against hoplites! And where are the ostich-shields (4 175)? The war-chariots (4.

170, 183) of the Libyan *Logi* reappear indeed in c 86 *infra*, but the shields were apparently unknown to Hdt when he wrote this passage Cp preceding note.

3 Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου. Neither father nor son is otherwise of fame, but the names are a little curious. *Masas-* has a somewhat Libyan ring in it, but might better be referred (as the name of a Persian) to the same group as *Μασσαγέται*, *Μάσσαγα*, *Μάσσανοι*, (*Μασσάγης*) while the father's name recalls the river *Ὀαρος* (4 123 f) which at any rate was within range of the *Massagetai*. The form *Ὀάρσης* is given as a name for Artaxerxes Mnemon (Dionon ap Plutarch, *Artax* 1)

72 1 Παφλαγόνες bring us back to Asia, and moreover to 'Hither Asia' Their geographical position, ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ indicated in 1 6, 72, and less exactly 3. 90 (in satrapy). The Greek name (παφλάγειν) must have been bestowed by the early navigators, or colonists, in the Euxine, and is well known to Homer, *Il* 2. 851, 5 577 To the early Hellenes those 'Blusterers' or 'Sputterers' were the 'Barbarians' κατ' ἐξοχὴν (as to Aristophanes Kleon was the perfect Paphlagonian, *Knights*, *passim*), but even to 'Homer' the name has become a purely geographical or ethnical term Hekataios had made mention of the Paphlagonian *εσθής*, had perhaps described it Cp *F* 189 (= Steph B *Ῥώπη*).

2 κράνεα πεπλεγμένα cp c. 63 *supra*, Xenoph *Anab* 5 4. 13 κράνη

μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε οὐ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην 5 ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες δὲ καὶ Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ

3 μακρὰς C σμικρὰς, Stein<sup>1</sup>  
σύριοι || τὴν αὐτὴν <σκευὴν> van H

6, 7 Σύριοι (bis) Eustath. Dion. 772

σκούτινα οἰά περ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, ἐγγύτατα τιανοειδῆ. They supply a distinct type of armature, ἢ Παφλαγονική σκευή, c. 73 *infra*

ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς in the *Iliad* (5 577) they are ἀσπισταί, rather suggesting large shields, probably a poetic licence small spears, javelins, daggers suit the lighter shield

4 πέδιλα... ἀνατείνοντα not quite so high as those ascribed to the Sarangae, c. 67 *supra*

5 Λίγυες hardly to be confounded with Ligyes of the western Mediterranean (c 165 *infra*), though Eustathius asserted that there were in Kolchis Λίγυες ἀπαικοὶ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων, à propos the verse. δὲ εἰς Κνυταίαν τὴν Λιβυστικὴν μολῶν Cp. Berkelius, Steph. B *sub* v. Κύτα (also Rawlinson iv.<sup>3</sup> 233) These eastern 'Ligyes' are unknown to history, but Rawlinson finds a link between E. and W. in the Thracian 'Ligyaei' of Aristotle, *Fr* 284 (*FHG* II = Macrobian *Saturn* I 18, now athetised by V Rose), and a *pont d'appui* in the Caucasian 'Iberians.' Strabo (503) has Ἀἰγαί on the Caucasus, and this name survives in the modern Lesghî (V. de St. Martin)

Ματιηνοί. a term known to all the geographers, yet unknown to history. Some great confusion underlies its employment, which covers a district including Media, or part of Media, Assyria, and the country up to the Halys. (Cp Hdt. IV-VI, Appendix XIII.) Since writing *l cit* it has occurred to me that in the word we have a sobriquet of the Medes, *Mada*, whose empire had extended mainly over the parts in connexion with which the term is used. The name has come to Hdt from Hekataios, cp. Steph. B Μόσχοι. Κόλχων ἔθνος προσεχὲς τοῖς Ματιηνοῖς. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσία (= *Fr*. 188) Steph. B Ἰώπῃ πόλις Ματιηνῶν προσεχὲς τοῖς Ἰορδοῖς. Ἐκ Ἀσ (= *Fr*. 189; cp note 1 *supra*) There may, however, have been some folk in eastern Anatolia whose name was confused with Mada: the Matieni of Hdt., so far as

they stand for a real people, must be located in that quarter. As Rawlinson (iv.<sup>3</sup> 228 n) well observes, the "Matieni" of the later geographers are merely "book-knowledge," not "real geography of their day." Steph. B mentions 'Sinope' (à propos of the ἐθνικόν), which tempts conjecture in regard to 'Hyope,' the unknown city of the Matieni.

Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι. The Mariandyni (Mariandeni, Μαριανδῆνοι Skymn *Fr* line 199) were known to Hekataios (Steph. B *sub* v. Στεφανίς = H *Fr* 201), and their habitat, Mariandynia to Eupolis (Bothe, *Fr* 18 10 ὁρῶ θεῶν νῦν τὴν Μαριανδυνίαν but Μαριανδυνοῦ Aischyl *Pers* 937), located by Xenophon (*Anab* 6 2 1) pretty exactly west of the rivers Halys and Paphlagonia, and about the Megarian colony Herakleia (οὐσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρῃ), and specified (*Cyrop* 1. 1. 4) among the followers of Kyros (ἡγήσατο Μῆδων κατεστρέψατο δὲ Σύρους, Ἀσσυρίους ἤρξε δὲ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν κτλ.). Strabo (295) assigns them a Thracian origin, with the Θυνοὶ and Βιθυνοὶ. Hdt seems to class them with the Paphlagonians and Syrians (cp 3 90, satrapy iii.). The *κακομέλετος* ἰδ. Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος was yearly sounded in honour of a lovely youth yclept Bormos (Pollux), slain at the hunting (Athen. 14 11, p 619; cp Pollux 4. 55 τιμᾶται δὲ θρηνῶδει περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ἔσματι), Mariandynos, his brother, was said to have taught Hyagnis, father of Marsyas. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ <δὴ> τινὲς εἰσι Μαριανδυνοὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντα <δῶτα> ἔχοντες εἰς τὰς θρηνησίας (schol. Aischyl *l c*)

6. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι. Κατπαδόκαι κ. so again very clearly, but inverted, 1 72 οἱ δὲ Κατπαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται Cp 5 49 In the Achaemenid inscriptions they appear as the 'Katapatuka,' always next after the Armenians (Behistun, Persepolis, Naksh-e-Rustam), in Hdt's map of the 'Royal Road' between Phrygians and Kilikians, 5 49, 52 By Strabo (735) they are

δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. Παφλα-  
γόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματινῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε,  
Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου  
τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς 73  
σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς  
Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι

7 οἱ οὗτοι om α 8 μαντινῶν R || μεγασίδου Β 9 σύρων  
codd || βρύης α 73 3 βρίγες Β φρίγες Α<sup>1</sup>Β βρίγες C· βρύχες  
Α<sup>2</sup>d || ὅσον χρόνον van H. || Εὐρωπήιοι CPd<sup>2</sup> εὐρώπειοι α εὐρώπιοι Β

called *Λευκόσυροι* in distinction from the  
Syrrians 'beyond Tauros' *Καππάδοκες*  
*ἀμφότεροι, οἱ τε πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ οἱ πρὸς*  
*τῷ Πόντῳ, μέχρι νῦν Λευκόσυροι καλοῦνται,*  
*ὡς ἂν ὄντων τινῶν Σύρων καὶ μελάνων*  
*οἱ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου.* Kappa-  
dokia and the Kappadokians are well  
known to Xenophon and the historians  
of Alexander (e.g. Arrian): in Roman  
times the name was restricted to the  
southern portion of what had once been  
known as Kappadokia, the northern part  
having passed under the kingdom and  
province of Pontos. The ethnological  
character of the Kappadokians is doubt-  
ful. were they "Iranian" (Ed. Meyer),  
or "Semitic" (Duncker), or "Anatolian"  
(Krietschmer) for which the religion (at  
Komana) is a strong argument (*Einlei-  
tung*, p. 399), or was not the population  
mightily mixed? (The 'Hittite' not  
forgotten!)

8 Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου neither  
name recurs except that Steph B *sub v*  
*Δῶτιον* preserves rival views which traced  
that Thessalian town to Dotos, a son of  
Pelagos, or as others had it, a grandson  
of Hellen.

9 Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρ-  
τυστῶνης, an Achaemenid, full brother  
of Aisames, c. 69 *supra*

73. 1. Φρύγες the position of this  
celebrated folk in the Asia Minor of Hdt  
is not seriously in doubt, the position of  
*Φρυγίη* between Kappadokia to the east,  
and Lydia west, is marked cc 26, 30 f.  
*supra*, similarly on the 'Royal Road,'  
5 49, 52. Hdt does not specify the  
difference between the Phrygian and  
Paphlagonian equipment was it in the  
matter of boots?

2 ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι not much  
perhaps can be made of this 'Makedo-  
nian' authority, except negatively  
(cp. *Introd* § 10), but Makedonians may  
have claimed to have driven out the

Phrygians. In Asia Minor the Phry-  
gians may have been regarded in some  
quarters as 'autochthonous,' and perhaps  
made the claim themselves (cp. 2. 2),  
but Hdt. and Xanthus knew better. ὁ  
μὲν γὰρ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ  
φησὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Φρύγας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης  
καὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν τοῦ Πόντου (Strabo 680  
= *Fr.* 5) (The date must be explained  
away if the Phrygians come from  
Europe they came 'before the Trojan  
war', if they came 'after the Trojan  
war,' they were only shifting from one  
place to another in Asia, but might still  
be ultimately European.) Hdt 8 138  
finds Midas at home in Makedonia, which  
squares perfectly with his view of 'the  
Phrygian migration'. The older com-  
mentators and historians, however,  
(Blakesley, Rawlinson, Stein), partly  
under the influence of 'the oriental  
mirage' have followed Gieseke, *Thrakisch-  
Pelasg Stamme*, and reversed the direc-  
tion of the migration so far as they  
recognized it at all. Baehr (with his  
great respect for Hdt.) struck a middle  
course, the 'Phrygians' were at home in  
Asia, but Europeans may have come and  
coalesced with native Phrygians. That  
there were 'Thracians' in Asia (cp. c.  
75 *infra*) has always been admitted, and  
that Hdt. is right in representing the  
Phrygians as Thracians, or at least as  
immigrants from Thrace, is now the  
better established view, supported (i.)  
by the earlier tradition, (ii) by geo-  
graphical considerations (e.g. relation of  
Europe and Asia wedge-like appearance  
of historic Phrygia), (iii) by archaeo-  
logical evidence (similarity of Phrygian  
and later Trojan pottery, 'Thracian  
tumuli' in the Troad and Phrygia), and  
to some extent (iv) by linguistic, cp.  
Krietschmer, *Einleitung* c. vii. Hdt.  
himself has, however, in regard to the  
inhabitants of the Troad, reversed the

έόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην  
 5 ἄμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι  
 δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, έόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι.  
 τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.  
 74 Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ  
 Μήλιους ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ἔσχον

4 συνοίκησαν α συνοίκουν z  
 van H. 7 ἔχων δαρείου α

5 ἐς Φρύγας del. Gomperz, Holder,  
 74 2 μήλιους β || τὸ om α

historic process of migration in NW Asia Minor, cp c 20 *supra*, for the Myso-Teukrian invasion of Europe in that passage must be substituted a Phrygo-Mysian invasion of Asia Minor and the Troad. The Mysian invasion of Europe is indeed hardly consistent with the Phrygian invasion of Asia, Hdt is best reconciled with himself by the hypothesis above stated.

5 Ἀρμένιοι . . έόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. Rawlinson, under the influence of the oriental mirage ("the stream of Indo-European colonization (*sic*) having set westwards"), prefers to derive the Phrygians from the Armenians. So too Stein. No special stress need be laid on the term ἄποικοι (which is too much for Bahr) beyond the idea that the two nations are related, and that the Phrygian is the elder, more primary, and historically more important. Eudoxos (*ap* Steph B *sub* v Ἀρμενία) supports the Herodotean opinion Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι. "This statement agrees so well with the linguistic facts, that there is not the slightest reason to doubt it" (Kretschmer, *op* c p 209), going even so far as to endorse the connexion between the Armenians and Thessaly, discovered by Alexander's Thessalian vassals (Strabo 503-530). If the Armenians were of European and Phrygian origin, the question would still remain whether they were sent forth by the 'Phrygians' before or after the settlement in Asia—whether they were in fact a swarm, or colony from historic Phrygia, or from prehistoric Thrace! The language of Hdt and Eudoxos seems to favour the former alternative, the historic situation and probabilities point rather to the latter. Some have referred the 'Aryan' character of Armenia to Iranian not to European antecedents (cp Baumgartner *ap*. Pauly-Wissowa 2 1182), and the

meeting of Phrygians and Armenians might be the meeting of two long separated columns of 'Aryans'. But the assumption of ethnological purity, corresponding to language, in a region which has always been a 'buffer-state,' is perhaps rash. In regard to the name, there is a difficulty arising from the fact that the 'Armenians' themselves have never used it. It is some other's name for them. *Haikē* is the native name of land, people, and eponymous ancestor.

7 Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. nothing more is known of husband or of wife. He may have been an Achaemenid. On the first part of the name *Artas*-cp c. 65 *supra*.

74 1. Λυδοί. equipped like Greeks, the Ἑλληνική σκευή being taken for granted, and nowhere exactly described. Cp Appendix II § 5.

2 Μήλιους ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος exactly agreeing with 1. 7 ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος πρότερον Μήλιων καλεόμενος. That there is no reference here to the 'Lydian Logi' (as, for example, in 5.36) is a problem easily solved on the supposition that the Lydian Logi were not in existence when this passage was first written. Cp c 27 *supra*. After all the wealth of information in Bk 1 about Lydia and the Lydians, this snippet in the army-list would cut but a poor figure!

'Lydians' are unknown to 'Homer.' 'Maionians' known, e.g. Μήλιους (*Il.* 2.864, 10.431), Μηωνίς (4.142), Μηωνίη (3.401). In historic times the name 'Maionia' still was attached to the eastern part of Lydia (Ptolemy, Pliny), or to a town in that district (Hierocl. p. 670). The Lydian appellation only came up with the rise of the Meimnad dynasty (unknown before that to the Assyrians, *par exemple*). The Lydians of history were a mixed population, in

τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικράς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν 5 ἀποικοί, ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὄρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος δς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρήκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι 75 κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς

3 τοῦνομα B, cp. c 62 6

75. 1 θρήκες B

3 χιτῶνας B

which European (Phrygian, Maionian) and autochthonous (Lydian) elements are distinguishable Cp c 27 *supra* and Kietschmer, *Einführung* 384 ff., Radet, *La Lydie* pp 50 ff

ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα reads like a false antithesis, and is at best a clumsy diffusion

3 Μυσοί cp c 20 *supra* The Mysians seem marvellously ill-armed, with no offensive weapon but a throwing stick! Cp c 71 *supra*

5 Λυδῶν ἀποικοί If the Lydians represented the indigenous Anatolian element, the Mysians, those of Mt Olympos included, Europeans as they were, could hardly be kinsmen! Perhaps, however, underlying the immigrant 'Mysians,' there might be men, and mountaineers, in Mysia, descended of the original stock, and as such 'brothers' (1 171), and 'colonists,' or 'settlers,' from 'Lydia.' There was perhaps a difference between those dwelling round Olympos (Mysia) and the mountaineers (Ὀλυμπιηνοί, Ὀλυμπιηνοί, Strabo) Cp Strabo 574 ἐστὶ τοίνυν ὁ Ὀλύμπος κυκλῶ μὲν εὐ συνοικούμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕψεσι δρυμοὺς ἐξαισίους ἔχων καὶ ληστῆρια δυναμένους ἐκτρέφειν τόπους εὐερεῖς, ἐν οἷς καὶ τύραννοι συνίστανται πολλάκις δυνάμενοι συμμεῖναι πολλὸν χρόνον, καθάπερ Κλέων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ληστῆριων ἡγεμών (Kleon, however, sounds like a Greek) The Mysians figure in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon as a troublesome and liberty-loving folk, and it is likely enough that there were not many of them in the army of Xerxes (The 'Mysians' whom Agesilaus cut up in his attack on Pharnabazos, 395 BC (Xenoph *Hist* 4. 1 24) were probably mercenaries)

7. Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος Achaemenids, the father being a son of Hystaspes (5 25), and therefore the

king's uncle The younger Artaphrenes has been mentioned *supra* (cc 8, 10) without the patronymic, but it seems impossible to mention him without a reference to Marathon! There is no reference, however, to the previous composition of the Marathonian story

75 1 Θρήκες as immediately appears, these are 'Asiatic' Thracians, alias Βιθυνοί Of the European origin of the 'Bithynians,' i.e. of the real presence of 'Thracians' in NW Asia Minor, there can be no doubt Whether the name Bithynian was first acquired in Asia, and that moreover in lieu of Στυμόνιοι, seems more open to doubt The Θυνοί of Xenophon (*Anab* 7 2 22) are a warlike tribe in European Thrace, unknown to Hdt (for 1. 28 is a gloss) It may be that the Θυνοί migrated from the Stymon to Asia, and there acquired the handle to their name The identity of the 'Thracians' in Europe and in Asia, subject, of course, to the recognition of (a) sub-divisions, (b) intermixture with 'non-Thracian' elements, is indubitable, and the invasion post-Homeric, i.e. almost historical Rawlinson cites Xenophon (*Anab* 7. 4 4) to show that the Thracians in Thrace wore exactly the same costume as that here assigned to the Thracians in Asia, and the linguistic argument, as far as it goes, fully bears out the ethnical identity (cp Kretschmer, *Einführung*, p 211)

2 ἀλωπεκέας sc δοράς Cp. c. 69 *supra* Their 'fox' skins no doubt had the hair, and perhaps the heads, on. Cp Xenoph *l.c.* τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι.

3 κιθῶνας, 'undergarments,' perhaps of Thracian κάνναβις, 4 74, cp Xenoph. *l.c.* χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς.

ζειράς . ποικίλας c. 69 *supra*; cp Xenoph *l.c.* ζειράς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν

πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια  
 5 τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες  
 μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον  
 ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκούντες ἐπὶ  
 Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστήναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε  
 καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης  
 76 ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. . . . ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοίνας εἶχον σμικράς,  
 καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἕκαστος εἶχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι  
 κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ

4 τὰς om α 9 θρηίκων β || βασσάκης αR βασάκης Cā: βαγασ-  
 σάκης PSV. Βαγασάκης z 76. 1 lacunam animadvertit de Pauw.  
 Πισίδαι δὲ supplebat Stein<sup>1,2</sup>, vel Ὑτεννέες δὲ <καὶ Λασόνιοι> (cp c 77)  
 Stein<sup>3</sup> <Καύνιοι δὲ κιθῶνας μὲν ἐνδευκότες ποικίλους> Sitzler || σμικράς  
 α· μικράς β 2 λυκιοεργέας ex Athenaei conjectura, p 486<sup>o</sup>: λυκο-  
 εργέας β, Athen.: λυκεργέας α || εἶχε secl van H 3 πρὸς α ἐπὶ β

ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας  
 Hdt is describing footmen.

4. πέδιλα νεβρῶν, 'fawn-skin boots  
 reaching half up the leg,' not unlike the  
 'Paphlagonian'; c. 72 *supra*.

5. πέλτας the most characteristic  
 item of Thracian equipment, and destined  
 to a great future, was the small shield,  
 or target (round, square, or various?)  
 cp. Pauly<sup>1,2</sup> 1721), probably of wood,  
 covered with leather, cp c 89 *infra*,  
 Thucyd. 2 29. 5, 4. 111. 1, 7. 27 1,  
 Xenoph. *Hell* 2. 4 12 etc

7. ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι . . φασί. These  
 assertions in regard to his sources or  
 authorities are vague and unconvincing  
 that the 'Bithynians' had come from the  
 Strymon is likely enough, but that  
 their proper or original name was  
 'Strymonii' is doubtful, while their  
 reported assertion that they were driven  
 to migrate by the Teukro-Mysian invasion  
 is (a) demonstrably a false tradition,  
 cp note to c 20 *supra* rather they  
 had invaded the 'Mysians'; and (b)  
 singularly ill-placed in their own mouth

9 Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου an  
 Achaemenid, brother of Artabanes (c. 66)  
 and of Ariomardos (c. 67), but otherwise  
 unknown to fame His name resembles  
 Βασσάκης, c. 71 *supra*.

76. 1 Πισίδαι δέ is a conjecture of  
 Stein's, who offers Ὑτεννέες as an alterna-  
 tive, perhaps preferable, as Hdt no-  
 where else mentions 'Pisidians' as such.  
 Xenophon is the first to use the name,  
 but it can hardly have been new in his  
 time. Wesseling conjectured Χάλυβες:

the oracle of Ares favours this, and  
 Baehr approves, but (1) the armature of  
 the eastern Χάλυβες, as described Xen.  
*Anab* 4 7 15, does not agree, (2) the  
 Λασόνιοι just below (c 77) are apparently  
 a division of Pisidians or associated with  
 Ὑτεννέες cp. 3 90, (3) the Pisidians,  
 a notoriously warlike stock (Xen. *Anab*,  
 Arrian, *Anab*. 1. 26-28, cp. *ἀνδράσι*  
*infra*), are otherwise badly wanting in  
 the list, (4) Χάλυβες are nowhere  
 named by Hdt (for 1 28 is spurious).  
 and would destroy the geographical  
 order of the names

ὠμοβοίνας of raw, or undressed  
 ox-hide, presumably with the hair left  
 on Xenophon used the word δασειῶν  
 βοῶν ὠμοβόεια *Anab*. 4 7 22 The  
 earlier form seems to be ὠμοβόειος, Ion.  
 ὠμοβόειος, and should probably be read  
 here, as in 3 9, 4 65.

2 προβόλους. a spear, or dart in  
 this sense ἀπαξ λ = προβόλιον cp τὸν  
 προβόλαιον c 148 *infra*

λυκιοεργέας is an emendation  
 for λυκοεργέας ("wolf-spears," Blakesley,  
 "such as used in wolf-hunting," Rawlin-  
 son), and means "of Lykian workman-  
 ship" (L & S), for which there is the  
 authority of Athenaeus p. 486 and the  
 analogy of μιλησιουργῆς (διδυροῦ) etc.  
 (Stein) Cp τόξα Λύκια next c

3 ὧτά τε καὶ κέρεα cp the helmets  
 of the Cimbr, whom Plutarch (*Marinus*  
 25) describes as κράνη εἰκασμένα θηρίων  
 φοβερῶν χάσμασι καὶ προτομαῖς ἰδιομόρφους  
 ἔχοντες ὡς ἐπαίρμενοι λόφοις περρωτοῖς  
 εἰς ὕψος ἐφαίνοντο μελίζους.

κέρεα προσήν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατελίχατο. ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι 5 ἀνδράσι Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον. Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηλίους, 77 Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κιλικίαν εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἴματα

6 Ἄρεος ἐστὶ Stein<sup>1</sup> ἄρεος ἐστὶ P, Stein<sup>2</sup> 3 77. 1 καμηλέες B ||  
μῆνες B 2 λασόνιοι Pz· λασόνιοι α λασίνιοι B 4 μινύαι B

5 κατελίχατο. (κατελίσσειν c 181 *infra*, 2 86) the pluperfect had no special temporal force These Pisidians wore 'puttees' of scarlet cloth

6. Ἄρεος . . χρηστήριον the right oracle for brave men Could the oracle have been at Sagalassos? the inhabitants of which ἐδόκουν πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι οἱ μαχίμωτατοι *Adrian, Anab.* 1. 28 2. The Telmessians of 1. 78, 84 are not Pisidians but inhabitants of a town in Καίια near Halikarnassos.

77 1. Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηλίους, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι In 3 90 Λασόνιοι and Καβάλιοι (*sic*) appear with Ὑπενέες as forming, together with 'Mysians and Lydians,' one νομός (satrapy II.) The variations in the text suggest complete independence in the sources, and also extreme obscurity in the subject Ὑπενέων is indeed an emendation in 3 90 but a tolerably certain one (cp. Rawlinson IV<sup>3</sup> 233), but they are omitted here altogether, unless, indeed, to be replaced in c. 76 *supra*. The "Cabaliens" are (as Rawlinson observes) "identified by Hdt with the Lasonians in one place, and distinguished from them in another"—unless, indeed, the καί in 3 90 be deleted. Moreover, the form of the name Καβηλέες varies in the two places Stein alters Καβαλίων into Καβαλέων, which is going too far, or not far enough. Hdt here must be supposed to mean by οἱ Μηλίους that the 'Kabaliens' or 'Kabalees' were of the old Lydian or 'Maeonian' stock, cp c 74 *supra*. Καβάλια as the name of a district comprised in Κιβύρα is well known to Strabo (630 f.), who adds λέγονται δὲ ἀπόγονοι Λυδῶν οἱ Κιβυράται τῶν κατασχόντων τὴν Καβαλίδα. In Roman times 'Cibyra' was the chief town. The district supplied wild beasts for the Roman games (cp Cicero, *Epp. ad F.* 8 4. 5) and suits for the Roman

governor's adjudication (*ib. A* 5 21. 9) The population of 'Kabalis' and the other 'Pisidian' communes was probably of the native Anatolian stock, with some miscegenation. That one particular division of them had 'Kilikian' armour sounds a little improbable but the reference forward, from the army-list to the navy-list (c 91 *infra*), is remarkable. 'Lasonians' Rawlinson connects with the name of the town Lysimna in Livy 38 15

4 Μιλύαι: Strabo 631 Μιλύα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Τερμησσὸν στενῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου ὑπερθέσεως δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ἰσινδα παρατείνουσα ὁρεινὴ μέχρι Σαγαλασσὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀπαμείων χώρας, and this may correspond to the use of the name here. Time was when the name, according to Hdt, had had a wider extension 1 173 τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται αὐτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλιάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. Strabo (*l.c.*) reports that the 'Kabaleis' were considered 'Solymi' and Steph. B. says that the Pisidians were formerly Solymi (*sub v* Πισιδία). The 'Solymi' in that region are Homeric (*Il.* 6 184, 204), and it may be from Mount 'Solyma' in Lykia (Strabo 666) that Poseidon saw Odysseus faring to the land of the Phaiakians (*Od.* 5. 283) ὑπέροκειται δ' αὐτῆς (sc Φασήλιδος) τὰ Σόλυμα ὁρος καὶ Τερμησσὸς Πισιδικὴ πόλις, ἐπικειμένη τοῖς στενοῖς δι' ὧν ὑπέρβασις ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Μιλυάδα.

εἴματα ἐνπεπορπητάτο Stein thinks an adjective wanting (ποικίλα), but the use of the fibula (πόρπη=περόνη) is in itself sufficiently remarkable to be specified Aischyl *Prom.* 61 has πόρτασον (not πόρπησον) from the simple verb, but in the compound ἐμπεπορπημένος is found even in Attic (L & S) The construction is as in the notorious 'suspensi loculos' Cp c. 90



5 ἐνεπεπορπέατο· εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων  
 78 πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνους εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνιοι κατὰ περ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι

5 ἐνεπορπέατο B

78 3 μικράς B

4 μοσσύνιοι ABR

μοσσύνιοι SV reliqui, Gaisf., van H.

5 τόξα Λύκια cp c 76 *supra*. The exact form of the 'Lykian' bow would presumably appear in that of Pandaros the Lykian as described II 4 105 ff τόξον εὖξον ἰξάλου αἰγὸς Ἀγρίου. Τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαϊδεκάδωρα πεφύκει, the horns being smoothed and dressed, tipped with gold-points (χρυσῆ κορώνη), and fitted with an ox-sinew, to string which it was necessary to rest the bow on the ground, but that this (Lykian) bow was παλίντονος is not expressly asserted. The arrow used by Pandaros was tipped with iron. The two horns of the bow must have been connected and fastened together by a bar or handle (τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἦραρε τέκτων). Only some of the Milyai had bows.

6 κυνέας the head-dress is generally mentioned first, these are hide-helmets.

7. Βάδρης ὁ Ὑστάνεος a Bades 'of Pasargadae' was admiral in the expedition against Barke, 4 167, 203, but this can hardly be the same man. The name looks like 'Bardes' = Smerdis. Suidas, *sub v.* Ἰπποκράτης, gives a letter written by Artaxerxes to Hystanes, satrap of Daskyleion (Ἑλλησπόντου ὑπάρχῳ), directing him to send the Asklepiad up to court. The letter does not look authentic, but the satrap's name is remarkable, though apparently ignored by Krumbholz, *de Asiae min satrapis*. The Hystanes here mentioned might be the satrap's grandfather.

78. 1 Μόσχοι were in the map of Hekataios, Steph. B. *sub v.* (=Fr 188), 'a division of the Kolchi on the bounds of Matiene'. Strabo 497 agrees, and the other names here associated (q v) confirm the position. A SW branch of the Kaukasos bore apparently the name (τὰ Μοσχικά ὄρη, Strabo 61 492 etc., Plutarch, *Pomp* 34), but of the people little is known. Pliny 6 10 3 mentions *Moschemi* as *proxima Armeniae*, and

*Armenochalybes* as occupying *Moschorum tractus ad Iberi um amnem*. Their land is perhaps first mentioned in the Assyrian records of Tiglathpileser I (1100 B.C.) as *Meshech*, Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* The army-list here shifts the scene from the SW. to the NE of Asia Minor. Their armature (wooden-hats, shields, and small spears with large heads) supplies a type. Cp. Appendix II § 5.

3 Τιβαρηνοὶ were in Hekataios under the name *Τίβαροι*, cp *Moschi* and *Moschemi* in Pliny *l.c.* It has been proposed to identify them with the Tabali, Tubal, of the Semitic records, cp Delitzsch, *op cit*. Hekataios placed them west of the Mossynoiki, and in that position they were found by Xenophon, *Anab* 5 5 2, in a more accessible country. Kotyora, a Greek colony from Sinope, was in the said country.

4. Μάκρωνες had also been known to Hekataios (Steph. B. *sub v.* =Fr 191). The Greeks with Xenophon reached the Makrones immediately after first sighting the sea, east of Trapezos and the Mosynoiki, *Anab* 4 8. The name sounds like Greek, the *Periplus* of the Euxine identifies them with the *Makro-lephali* (*G Gr m* 1 410), while Strabo 548 gives their name, in his time, as *Σαννοί* yet the conversation reported by Xenophon (4 8 5) implies a native name within reach of Makro. Hdt 2 104 ascribes to them the rite of circumcision.

Μοσσύνιοι also from Hekataios (Steph. B. *sub v.* *Χοιόδες* =Fr. 193). Xenophon passed through their country before reaching the Tibareni *Anab* 5 4. The name is obviously a Greek compound, *μόσσην* being presumably the native word for the wooden house characteristic of the locality, cp. *Anab* 5 4 26, Strabo 549. The name appears in some of the late writers as *Μοσσυννοί*, Mossyni (Pliny). Xenophon depicts

ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε, Μόσχους 5  
μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ  
Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσ-  
συνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος, δς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν  
Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 79  
κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας μικρὰς  
καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα  
ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοίνας μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας,

5 συνετάσσοντο B 6 ἀριόμαρδος B || παῖς secl van H. 7  
μοσσυνοίκους B 8 αὐτάρκηνς B || χοράσμιος B, Valla, Holder 79 1  
ἐπὶ περὶ van H. 2, 4 σμικρὰς (bis) C, Stein<sup>1</sup>

them as interesting savages living under a chieftain, practising mutilation in war, tattooing their children, and feeding them up, 'till they were as broad as they were long', very free are their domestic relations, and far from agreeable to strangers, in fact, Xen describes the men, though 'whites,' as βαρβαρώτατους καὶ πλείστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους

The Moschi, Tibareni, Makrones, Mossynoiki and Mares (cp. next c) make up, according to Hdt 3 94, one satrapy (xix) They are not, either here or there, presented by Hdt in strict geographical order, as Xenophon's narrative may be taken to show Rawlinson observes that the Makrones, Mossynoiki and Tibareni had become independent of Persia by the time of Xenophon, as *Anab* 7 8 25 suggests, also that they were better armed (*Anab* 4 8, 3, 5 4 12-13) the two points might be effect and cause, but a simpler alternative is possible: the Persian suzerainty was merely nominal throughout, and Xenophon's description of the armature is more correct than Hdt's Xenophon was an eye-witness

6 Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου. an Achaemenid like his namesake, the son of Artabanos, c 67 Parnys appears in the Haem of Dareios, 3 88. Cp c 2 *supra*

8 Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος Cp cc. 33 *supra*, 9 116 ff. *infra* The patronymic must have occurred in the list of ἄρχοντες upon which Hdt has embroidered his army-list Cp Introduction, §§ 7, 10.

79 1 Μᾶρες. Steph B *sub v*, ἔθνος προσεχὲς τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκους Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσία But no other ancient writer appears to have mentioned them Hdt. 3 94 puts them in satrapy xix Their helmets are taken from the Paphlagonians, c 72.

3 Κόλχοι seem to have been mentioned by Hekataios, cp Steph. B *sub v* Κόραζοι = *F*, 185. Their dark skin shines on Pindar's page (*Pylh.* 212) their warriors - virgins are known of Aischylos (*Prom* 422) Hdt makes frequent mention of them in 1 104 and 4 37 locates them, but does not enrol them in any satrapy they bring gifts at intervals to the king, 3 97 Hdt has described the Aimenians as ἀποικοὶ of the Phrygians, c. 73 *supra* would he not here have made the Kolchi ἀποικοὶ of the Egyptians, if the remarkable theory, propounded in his 'Egyptian *Logoi*' 2 104 f with an amplitude of anthropological method which leaves nothing but the facts in doubt, had been familiar to him, when he was composing this army-list? Cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8 Xenophon encountered Kolchi after passing through the country of the Makrones, *Anab* 4 8 8, 18 the Kolchi were nearer the sea, and extended round from the Phasis westwards a good way Kolchis is well known, of course, to Strabo (497-499) and Arrian (*Periplus*) though the Kolchi only rank as one of a number of folks occupying the whole territory.

κράνεα ξ · cp. c 72 *supra*

4. ὠμοβοίνας · cp. c. 76 *supra*.

5 πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρώων δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἥρχε  
 Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ  
 περ Κόλχοι ὠπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος  
 80 ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἥρχε. τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνα-

5 εἶχον secl. van H.

6 φερενδάτης B cf. c 67 supra et 9 76 ||

ἀλλὰ ῥόδιοι C Ἀλλαρόδιοι z

7 ὀπλισμένοι α

5 *μαχαίρας*. swords, or daggers  
 their armature is typical cp Appendix  
 II § 5.

6 Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος fought  
 and probably fell at the battle of Plataia,  
 9 76 *ἡγήσα*, but hardly his Kolchians  
 with him! Cp the next *ἄρχων*. The  
 Teaspes here mentioned is father of  
 Sataspes, 4 43, and an Achaimenid

Ἀλαρόδιοι mentioned by Steph.  
 B. *sub v* only on the authority of  
 Herodotus, who combines them into one  
 satrapy (xvii.) with the Matieni and  
 Saspeires (3. 94). Sir Henry Rawlinson  
 proposed to identify them with the  
*Urarda* or "people of Ararat" (see essay  
 in Rawlinson's *Hdt.* iv.<sup>3</sup> 245 ff.). They  
 would then be much the same as  
 'Armenians'—otherwise accounted for  
 by Hdt. The 'Armenians' of Hdt  
 might indeed be a small off-shoot of the  
 'Phrygians,' cp c 73 *supra*, while the  
 great bulk of the population of Armenia  
 belonged to an entirely different stock.  
 But whence has Hdt. obtained the name?

Σάσπειρες a more or less constant  
 quantity with Hdt. but unknown under  
 exactly this name to any other writer  
 (Steph. B. has Σάπειρες without any  
 citation, a form found in Apoll. Rh. 2  
 397, 1242). Also Ammianus Marc. 22  
 8. 21 has a list of Pontine tribes, which  
 includes 'Sapries et Tibareni et Mossynoeci  
 et Macrones' cp App. Crit. Hdt. 4  
 37, 40, and 1 104, 110 places the  
 Saspeires between the Medes and the  
 Kolchians, and in 3 94 unites them  
 with Matieni and Alarodians to form  
 one satrapy (xvii.). Their geographical  
 position is therefore indicated as in  
 'Armenia': their ethnological identity  
 is more doubtful, but the happiest sug-  
 gestion is Rawlinson's, iv.<sup>3</sup> 223, who  
 identifies them with the Iberes (through  
 the Aberis found in Menander: cp  
*Etym. Mag.* *sub v* Βέχειρ. Ἀπειρ, ἦ.  
 Σάπειρ. If the Sapeires=Iberes they  
 have a long history in later times

7. Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω destined

to figure largely in the Plataean cam-  
 paign but in quite a different capacity  
 cp 9. 20 etc. That there is here no  
 forward reference is the more curious  
 in view of the note to the name of  
 the next *ἄρχων*. A Siromities, son of  
 Oiobazos, has been already named among  
 these 'myriarchs' c 68 *supra*

80 1 τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης  
 The 'Erythraean sea' with Hdt. includes  
 all the southern waters, our Red Sea,  
 Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean e.g.  
 τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεο-  
 μένην, 4. 37 etc. Here the islands in-  
 tended may be those in the Persian Gulf,  
 a *λύκος θαλάσσης*, the distinct existence  
 of which Hdt. nowhere recognizes. The  
 same title occurs in 3 93, where the  
 islands in question are reckoned, with  
 several other tribes, including the Utians  
 and Mykians (cp c 68 *supra*) to one  
 satrapy (xiv.).

2 νήσων δὲ an attributive genitive  
 extracted out of νησιωτικὰ *supra*

τοὺς ἀνασπαστούς καλεομένους  
 cp 3 93, where, however, the term is  
 as little explained as here: it evidently  
 represents a technical term in Persian  
 for 'exiles' οἱ 'transported,' 'deported'  
 persons. Whether they are to be con-  
 ceived as persons individually sentenced  
 to exile, or as whole tribes and popula-  
 tions, torn up and transplanted whole-  
 sale, is not quite clear. The word  
*ἀνασπαστός* is used by Hdt. in the latter  
 connexion e.g. 4 204 of the Barkaians,  
 5 12 of the Paionians (cp 6 9, more  
 vaguely) but in no such case is the  
 destination the islands here in question,  
 nor does it seem likely that the specific  
 title was given to various tribes planted  
 in various parts of the empire. It re-  
 mains to take the term here and in 3  
 93 of individuals undergoing a definite  
 sentence of exile, or insular internment  
 (such as was not uncommon under the  
 Roman Caesars). Ktesias § 40 supplies  
 an illustration in the case of Megabyzos,  
 who ἀνάσπαστος δὲ γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν

σπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὄπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιω-  
τέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων 5  
δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα καὶ 81  
τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν  
οὔτοι οἱ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες  
οὔτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες,  
ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ 5  
ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι <οἱ> σημάντορες. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὔτοι 82

81. 1 τε om. α 2 τὸν β. τὸ α || μὲν om β, Holder 3 δια-  
τάξαντές <τε> καὶ? Stein<sup>1</sup> appr. van H. 5 δέ· τε β 6 οἱ  
suppl censeo

ἐν τινι πόλει ὀνόματι Κύρται (At the same time one of the eunuchs was banished to Armenia)

4 εἶχον the plural verb with the neuter plural subject (ἔθνεα) is unusual in Hdt., but is here softened by the personal nature of the subject. Cp Thuc 4 88 1 τὰ τέλη . . . αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψαν

5 Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ κτλ. reappears in 8 130 with his patronymic as one of the admirals for 479 B.C. he fell at Mykale, as reported here, and again in 9 102. It is curious, perhaps, that these islanders should be reckoned here in the army-list, while their commander reappears in the next year (δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων) after, as an admiral of the fleet. A Bagaios, son of Artontes, appears (3. 128) as one of the most faithful servants of Dareios, in the suppression of the rebel Oroites, and may no doubt be here recognised. The names Mardontes, Mardonios, Madres, Badres, Bardes, Bardyia (Smerdis) appear to be connected with one another and with Μάρδος, one of the Persian clans, 1 125

81 1 στρατευόμενα, 'on this occasion,' or 'as a general rule'? It might be either, and Hdt has perhaps converted the ideal or potential muster into the actual army of Xerxes at Doriskos.

2 τὸν πεζόν seems here to exclude the cavalry, which is separately enumerated, cc 84 ff

ἦρχον μὲν. Hdt draws a clear distinction between (a) the ἀρχοντες, twenty-nine in number, just enumerated, and two other categories of officers, (b)

Myriarchs, Chiliarchs, Hekatontarchs, Dekarchs, and (c) the Strategoi, or Generals, six in number. He also seems to distinguish these three classes of (Persian) officers from the native commanders. For reasons fully set forth in Appendix II § 5 I believe that Hdt has here fallen into an error. The twenty-nine ἀρχοντες just enumerated are 'Myriarchs,' i.e. commanders of nominal regiments of 10,000 men, which together with the 10,000 under Hydarnes imply a nominal force of 300,000. This force is divided into three columns of 100,000 men, each under two 'Strategoi' (each commanding 50,000). The Chiliarchs, Hekatontarchs, and Dekarchs are all presumably native to the countries, of which they are leading the contingents. This conception underlies the statement next annotated

5 τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι <οἱ> σημάντορες. The τέλος may be taken to be the body of 10,000 men; the ἔθνη are the ethnic units comprised in it, under their own native commanders, Chiliarchs, Centurions or Hekatontarchs, and Dekarchs. The Chiliads, etc., may have been in many cases merely of nominal strength, and the other subdivisions likewise

There is a curiously rhythmical ring about the words· ἐθνέων καὶ τελέων ἄλλοι σημάντορες ἦσαν. The word σημάντωρ is poetical: *Il* 4 431. Had Hdt poetic sources in part for his army-list? That might account for the shortcoming of his phrase. He says, 'Of battalions and of nations there were other commanders' He must have meant· the

οἱ περ εἰρέεται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρα-  
 5 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφοτέροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξη δὲ [ἐγίνοντο] ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργης ὁ

82. 3 γωβρύεω AB, Holder, van H., Kallenberg, etc 5 ζερδομένης  
 α || ὀτάνεω Porro z · ὀτάνεως d ὀτάνεος reliqui || Δαρείου . . ἀνεψιοί del  
 Sitzler . ἐγίνοντο secl. Stein<sup>3</sup> 7 ἀτόσσης τε καὶ δαρείου α || παῖς del  
 van H || γέργης B

commanders of τέλεια were not the same as the commanders of ἔθνεα I have ventured to read ἄλλοι <οἱ>

82 2. ἐστρατήγεον The commanders or generals of the whole army, οἱ infantry, collectively were six in number. They are plainly in pairs, each pair in charge of one great army-corps, or column, perhaps divided between them. Their exact relation to the cavalry and its commanders is not clearly envisaged by Hdt., cp c 88 *infra*. It might be argued from c 146 *infra* that these commanders were already in commission at Sardes. Their appointment, indeed, probably dates long before the army reached Doriskos, but Tritantaichmes and Gergis are perhaps the only ones actually covered by the title in c 146.

τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ The adj. πεζοῦ (agreeing with στρατοῦ) may include cavalry, or may exclude it. Hdt. here seems to take it as excluding the cavalry, but it may fairly be doubted whether he has not mistaken it.

3 Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω Mardonios is already well known, and has been fully described, c 5 *supra*, but the repetition of the patronymic here, in this solemn connexion would be natural enough, even if the list of Strategoi had been first compiled by Hdt., which is a thing not very likely. Probably Hdt. here follows his source, in which such particulars were given. With Mardonios was associated the fourth name, Mardonios having perhaps the ἡγεμονίη, cp. c 121.

4 Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου is mentioned again, c 121, as commander (with Gergis) of one of the army-columns. A Tritantaichmes, son of 'Artabazos,' is mentioned in l. 192 as a satrap of Babylonia, that he was so 'at the time of Hdt.'s visit to

Babylon' (if Hdt. ever did visit Babylon) is not asserted or implied in the text, and perhaps Ἀρταβάνου should be restored in l. 192.

τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Artabanos has (apparently) been mentioned, cc 66 (67), 75, without such an addition, and Tritantaichmes is the fourth son of his named among the commanders. Perhaps the importance of his command may explain the addition, or perhaps it is due to the complexion of the sources. Such a title might have suggested to Hdt. the developments which he has given to 'the opposition' of Artabanos, cc 10-18 *supra*.

5 Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω appears below, c 121, in conjunction with Megabyros as commander of one of the three army-corps.

The Otanes here mentioned is presumably Otanes, son of Phainaspes, cp c 40 *supra*.

Δαρείου ἀμφοτέροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες Tritantaichmes was a son of Dareios' brother, Artabanos, but Gobryas, the father of Mardonios, was not a brother of Dareios. He had, however, married a sister of Dareios, and Mardonios was thus ἀνεψιός to Xerxes. The word ἀδελφεῶν might be taken to cover brother (ἀδελφεός) and sister (ἀδελφή), cp Weir Smyth, § 263 p. 235. If the old order of the words be preserved we must suppose that Otanes, the father of Smeidomenes, had, like Gobryas, a sister of Dareios to wife, and ἀδελφεῶν must be 'sisters'.

7 Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς consequently full brother to Xerxes, cp c 2 *supra*. He appears, c 121, below in association with Mardonios, but it is not with this column that the king himself marches.

Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ 83  
 σύμπαντος στρατοῦ <τοῦ> πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ  
 μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν  
 Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι  
 ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλειπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ 5  
 βιηθεὶς ἢ νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ

8 ἀρίζου α || μεγάβυζος Δ 83 1 τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ Stein<sup>1 2</sup>,  
 Holder, van H. . στρατοῦ πεζοῦ α: πεζοῦ β 5 διὰ τὰδε ἐπὶ τοῦδε α ||  
 ἐξέλειπε B, Stein<sup>3</sup> ἐξέλειπε AB, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder. ἐκλίποι Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H  
 6 βιηθεὶς AB. βιαθεὶς R· βιωθεὶς SV βιασθεὶς CP<sup>2</sup>

He was afterwards 'present' at the battle of Mykale (as one of the Strategoi), 9 107, and nearly lost his life in a quarrel with Artayntes, one of the admirals. He was thereafter satrap of Baktria (9. 113) and one of the victims of that atrocious domestic tragedy, in which the foul lust of Xeïxes and the cruel revenge of Amestris are the leading dramatic motifs (9 108-113).

Γέργης ὁ Ἀριάζου mentioned afterwards (c. 121) in association with Tritantaichmes as commander of the army-division with which the king himself marched. Otherwise neither he, nor his father, is known to fame, notwithstanding the exalted position he occupies on this occasion.

8 Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. It would have been strange for Hdt to pass over this name without comment in this place, or reference, had he been acquainted with the reputed feat of this Zopyros, and the fate of the younger Zopyrios, as narrated (afterwards) 3 150-160. One might even suspect that this passage had been originally composed before the date of Megabyzos' command in Egypt 456 B.C. (Busolt III 328). In any case it supports the hypothesis of the prior composition of Books 7-9, cp Introduction § 8.

83 2 τῶν μυρίων cp c 55 *supra*, where οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι cross the bridge before all the rest of the host.

3 ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. Hydarnes, the commander (Myriarch) of the Ten Thousand Immortals, is here given a place co-ordinate with the six Strategoi, τοῦ σύμπαντος πέζου numbering (accord to Hdt.), without the Immortals, 1,690,000, or 281,666 $\frac{2}{3}$  per Strategos. This co-ordination is absurd. If Hydarnes and the six Strategoi were on a level, then each of

them commanded 10,000 men, and the total foot amounted to some 70,000. If the total army, or infantry, amounted to 300,000, then Hydarnes' proper place is with the twenty-nine ἀρχοντες οἱ Μυριαρχοὶ already named, though as Myriarch of 'The Immortals' he may very well have had a higher brevet rank. He figures largely in the subsequent campaign (cp. c 215 *infra*). He belongs to the very highest nobility. His father, Hydarnes, was one of the Immortal Seven, 3 70 (cp 6 133), his brother is presumably Sisamnes, the commander (Myriarch) of the Arians, c 66 *supra*, cp. also c. 135 *infra*.

4 ἐκαλέοντο· ἐγίνοντο. The past tense is a little curious, as Hdt might surely have predicated this immortality of the Guards in his own day. It seems to show that he is not here writing from his own knowledge or observation, but reproducing his authority (source), probably a written one. This observation leads to the further remark that this passage is presumably of early composition.

ἀθάνατοι. Hdt. is following his sources rather closely, or he might have been expected to have used this term for the Ten Thousand at the crossing of the bridge, c 55 *supra*.

5 ἐπὶ, 'in consequence (honour) of', cp cc 40 *supra*, 193 *infra*.

ἐξέλειπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν, 'left the number incomplete' (L. & S.), 'made the number incomplete' (Macaulay), but no parallel is quoted. Is it not rather 'left (quitted) the number,' ἀριθμὸς being used somewhat concretely, and almost as=τοὺς ἀριθμουμένους? The indicative mood is forcible.

6 ἀραίρητο. The pluperfect has perhaps no particular temporal force, though here it might mean that the successor

οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλείστον  
 παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν.  
 σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἥ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσὸν  
 10 ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο, ἐν δὲ  
 παλλακὰς καὶ θεραπῆνὴν πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην·  
 σίτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ  
 ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

84 Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο

8 Πέρσαι secl. Dobree appr van H. 9 ταύτην vel οἷον malit  
 van H || χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ β, Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder τε πολλὸν καὶ om.  
 Stein<sup>3</sup> πολλὸν χρυσὸν καὶ α· χρυσὸν πολλὸν τε καὶ van H 84 1  
 ἵππευε? Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H. || Nonne πάντα post ἔθνεα suppleveris?

'had been' already appointed or designated, during the man's life

7 κόσμον is military discipline, or rather its result, cp c 36 *supra*, 8 60, 86, 9 69, etc. The concrete meaning of 'ornaments,' as in 3 123, is rare in Hdt. He is here, indeed, comparing the Persians with other 'barbarians,' not with Greeks. But he allows them ἀρετή (ἀριστοί) even in the latter comparison Cp 9 62

8 διὰ πάντων. is it masculine ('among all the barbarians'), or neuter ('in all respects')? The former is borne out by the *locus classicus*, II 12 103-4 οἱ γὰρ οἱ εἰσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γ' αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων Baehr and others give the force of πρό (*prae*) to διὰ in this phrase

9. ἥ περ εἴρηται: sc in c 61 *supra*, the first reference by the writer backwards in this Book

10 ἐνέπρεπον cp c 67 *supra*, rather a poetical word

ἄρμαμάξας: c. 41 *supra*

11 παλλακὰς. cp the anecdote of the Koan, 9 76

12 χωρὶς the word is used three times in this c, twice with the genitive, once absolutely such iteration is rather thin in style. Hdt does not seem quite at his ease in reviewing these 'Immortals'

κάμηλοι cp. c 86 *infra* This was probably the first occasion on which the camel made his appearance in Greece (though Mr Evans has found something like a camel on an early Kretan seal, cp *JHS* xiv 1894, p. 341) Agesilaos, on his return from Asia in 394 B.C., brought with him, by the same route as

Xerxes, some camels which he had captured at the battle on the Paktolos, and which evidently made some sensation at home Cp Xenoph *Hell* 3 4 24, 4 2 8

84 1 ἵππευι δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα. Stein takes ταῦτα=τάδε to refer to the coming list, on the ground that some of the previously-named nations could not furnish cavalry (which?) he also notes the stylistic inconsequence of the tenses, and once proposed (cp App Crit) to change ἵππευι into ἵππευε to harmonise with παρείχετο A better alternative might be to insert πάντα after ἔθνεα

The Cavalry-list which follows (cc. 84-86) is somewhat suspicious Eleven names of nations supplying cavalry are given, but three of these, Arabians (camels), Libyans (chariots), Indians (chariots and *λέλητες*) may be removed, leaving eight nations to furnish 80,000 cavalry As 12,000 Persians and 8000 Sagartians may be subtracted, six myriads are left to be supplied by six nations One of the names of the six is doubtful If Stein's Πάκτες be adopted, then the Sagartians are the only folk supplying cavalry who have not already been named and described in the infantry-list. If there were forty-six nations represented in the infantry, it seems unlikely that only eight were represented in the cavalry, and *vice versa* if the cavalry-list is good, and eight to twelve nations furnished that, were there forty-six supplying infantry? Stein understands ἵππευι ταῦτα to be introducing an ideal or potential list, reduced in παρείχετο to the actual dimensions on the given occasion It is likely enough that both infantry- and cavalry-lists are rather ideals of the

ἵππων, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μούνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα. εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος 85 μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυικῆς· οὐ παρέχοντο μὲν ἵππων ὀκτακισχιλῆν, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι 5 πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτῃσι πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτεν δ' ἂν τύχη, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ <ὡς> ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται. 10 τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. 86

3 ἐπὶ: περὶ van H 4 ἔνιοι α μετεξέτεροι ἔνιοι β. μετεξέτεροι Wesseling, Holder, van H 85. 1 σαργάτιοι β, Valla 2 καὶ φωνῇ del. Sitzler: φωνῇ <χρεώμενον Περσικῇ> Stein <γένει τε> καὶ φωνῇ van H 4 οὐ νομίζουσι α· οὐνομάζουσι β || ἔχειν del. Naber, van H 5 ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων α· ἐκτὸς ἐγχειριδίου β 6 τῇσι β 10 ὡς supp Stein<sup>2</sup> || ἐν om β 86. 1 ἐπετετάχατο Naber, van H.

nations in the Persian empire who might furnish soldiers than an authentic list of the actual contingents furnished in the expedition of 480 B C

2. Πέρσαι the number of Persian horse accounted for in c. 55 is 12,000, but cp. notes *ad l*

4 ἔνιοι: were there any but the officers thus protected? (cp 9 22), or was there also a *corps d'élite* of cavalry?

ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα, 'helmets of wrought bronze and iron' ποιήματα, cp 4 5

85 1 Σαγάρτιοι here introduced and described as hitherto unknown, are included in one satrapy (xiv) with Sarangians, Thamanaians, Utians, Mykians, and the Islanders from the Persian Gulf, 3 93, while in 1 125 they are enumerated as one of the four 'nomad' clans (γένεα) of Persians. Those passages look like later information, and support the idea that this Book is of earlier composition. The Sagartians appear to be a γένος or ἔθνος of Persians, nomad and wandering over the south-Iranian region. Yet one of the rebellions quelled by Dareios was headed by a Sagartian named Sitratachmes, who set up as "the King of

Sagartia," and claimed descent from Kyaxares (Behistun Inscrp. iii. 14), which would rather suggest a Median, or perhaps a 'Skythian' connexion (if the last kings of Media were 'Skyths')

5. σειρήσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων. The use of the lasso, which we are apt to associate with the N.A. Indians and the cow-boys of the West, is ascribed to the Persians in the *Shahnameh*, to the Parthians by Suidas, *sub v* σειρά to the Sauromatae by Pausanias, 1. 21. 8, and is even found represented on the Assyrian monuments in the B. M. (cp Rawlinson). The lasso was not then a peculiarity of the 'Sagartians,' nor is it likely that their lasso was peculiar as formed of plaited thongs. The description given by Hdt in the present of the manner in which the lasso was used is clear enough, but it is remarkable that no instance of its employment is recorded during the campaign. The description, in fact, is not based upon memories of the actual fighting, much less upon official Persian lists.

10 ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι, 'entangled in the coils.' ἐμπ in Thuc. 7 84 3 absolutely

86 1 ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. at Doriskos? For they do not figure at



Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίσιοι  
 ὠσαύτως. Ἴνδοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν  
 τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι  
 5 ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο  
 ὠσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως, Λίβυες δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες  
 ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως †Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο  
 ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν  
 10 αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους <ἐς>  
 ταχυτήτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.

87 Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα ἵππεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου  
 ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πᾶρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων.

8 Κάσπειροι Reiz Κάσιοι Larcher Πάκτρες Stein· Κάσπιοι codd., del  
 Sitzler (Κασπίους<-σι?> Laird) 10 ἐς comi Stein<sup>2</sup> 11 ταχυτήτι B,  
 Holder, van H 87 1 ἵππευεν B, Schaefer, Gaisford, Holder, van H.

the budge! Had they reached Doriskos  
 by sea? Cp c 59 *supra*

2 Μῆδοι c 62 *supra*

Κίσιοι *ibid*

3. Ἴνδοι· c 65 *supra*

4 κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα κέλης may  
 mean a swift charger, suitable for light  
 cavalry, or perhaps simply 'a riding  
 horse' in distinction to the chariot-horse  
 It may also mean, as in 8 94 *infra*,  
 a light, swift vessel That Indians  
 brought chariots overland from the  
 Punjab to Greece is hardly credible  
 Even the Kypriotes have left theirs at  
 home (cp. 5 113) Nothing, indeed, is  
 heard of chariots in the actual cam-  
 paigning The chariots here are intro-  
 duced, perhaps, to please the poets!  
 Cp Aesch *Persai* 84, and c 140 *infra*.

5 Βάκτριοι c 64 *supra*

6 Κάσπιοι c 67 *supra* If the  
 name stands here, it must not stand just  
 below, and so *vice versa*

ὁμοίως Not 'like the Paktrians,'  
 but ὠσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ (cp. 67)

Λίβυες c 81 *supra* Their  
 chariots would not have been much use,  
 and what a way to take them (via  
 Egypt, Abydos, to Doriskos? or direct  
 by sea?).

8 †Κάσπιοι· read Πάκτρες, an  
 emendation by Stein for the mss Κά-  
 σπιοι, which is impossible in view of the  
 occurrence of the word just above, cp  
 App. Crit Stein's suggestion is the  
 best, because, of the 8 (11) ethnic names

in the cavalry-list, Σαγάρτιοι is the  
 only one which has not occurred in the  
 infantry-list, and the only one which  
 has here a description of the armature  
 appended Πάκτρες also occurs there  
 (c 67), and ἡ Πακτική σκευὴ is referred  
 to just above (c. 85), but neither of the  
 other two suggested names has occurred  
 before, one or other would therefore  
 have had something more of a descrip-  
 tive note here Laird's emendation  
 destroys one of the eight names, and  
 makes the sentence objectionable

Παρικάνιοι· c 68 *supra*

9. Ἀράβιοι c 69 *supra*

10 καμήλους cp c 83 *supra* These  
 are not sumpter beasts but war animals  
 They are not mentioned at Plataea. But  
 cp c 125 *infra*

87. 1. ἵππεύει preserves the same tone  
 as the first word of c 84

2 ὀκτὼ μυριάδες the figure is in-  
 credibly large for the actual campaign,  
 but not so gross an exaggeration as the  
 figures for the foot, the method of  
 numbering is not specified (cp c 60  
*supra*), nor are the items specified, ex-  
 cept for the Sagartii, c 85 *supra*, and  
 in quite a different connexion for the  
 'Persians' (cp cc 40, 55 *supra*). The  
 way in which eight myriads were reached  
 is obvious, viz by allowing a myriad  
 for each of the eight nations furnishing  
 cavalry The actual numbers were per-  
 haps 30,000. Cp. next c and Appendix  
 II § 5.

οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππῆες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἄτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὐτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.<sup>5</sup> ἵππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες.<sup>88</sup> ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνῖππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὀρμῶντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προιδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε<sup>5</sup> καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεῖσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια, πεσὼν δὲ αἱμὰ τε ἡμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω<sup>10</sup> παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκόσια<sup>89</sup>

4 ἐτετάχατο B 5 ὕστατοι malit van H. || ἵνα . ἱππικόν eidem suspecta 88 1 Τιθαῖος Lehrs 2 κατελέλειπτο BACorr R. καταλέλειπτο Apr. SV 3 Σαρδίων ἐπὶ <τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς> Sitzler Σαρδίων, συμφορῇ περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητῳ, van H 4 περιέπεσε α ἐνέπεσε B, Sitzler, Holder 8 οἱ οἰκέται ὥς ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην ἀγαγόντες σὺν B

3 τέλεα, i.e. myriads, cp c 81.

4 ἄτε γὰρ κτλ. cp 1 80. The remark might perhaps apply to the baggage-train, and also help to explain why no one in Greece ever saw these camels.

88 1 ἵππαρχοι three apparently in number, each commanding a myriad (nominal strength) and attached to one of the three army-corps, and presumably subordinated to the στρατηγοί (cp cc. 81, 82). As the 'Persians' supplied one (probably commanded by Pharnouches, to whom Masistios succeeded, see below), the two sons of Datis, the Mede, divided the command of the two myriads supplied by the rest of the nations. (If there were finally only two 'Hipparchs' in all, there were probably only 20,000 cavalry in all.)

Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες nothing more is known of them, for the father cp c. 74 *supra*. Hdt does not repeat the note upon his name.

2. Φαρνούχης probably a Persian, but not elsewhere mentioned. He was presumably in command of the Persian horse, as it left Saudes, cc 40, 41 *supra*, it is curious that the ominous disaster

which occurred to him was not reported there, οἱ in c 57 Cp note to c. 37 *supra*.

3. ἐπὶ συμφορῇ περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· the construction is unusual, but cp App C111. For ἀνεθέλητος, c 133 *infra*, the word of positive mischief is avoided, cp use of ἀχαρίς, c. 36 *supra*. This is *euphemism*.

7 ἐς φθίσιν περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος· perhaps the earliest example of φθίσις for a disease, cp Aristot *Elh N* 7 8 1= 1150 b *ἐοικε γὰρ ἡ μὲν μοχθηρία τῶν νοσημάτων ὅλον ὑδέρω καὶ φθίσει ἡ δ' ἀλυσία τοῖς ἐπιληπτικοῖς*. The more usual Attic term was φθόη, *vid* L & S.

τὸν δὲ ἵππον κτλ. Was the treatment of the horse an act of stupid revenge, or of superstitious sacrifice? The horse as a sacrificial animal, c 113 *infra*.

11 τῆς ἡγεμονίης Presumably Masistios succeeded him (9 20), though Hdt does not expressly say so.

89 1 τῶν δὲ τριηρέων Hdt passes to the *Navy-list*, and at once gives the total of ships—1207. This total was in itself the easiest to ascertain, it has

καὶ χίλιαι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον  
 5 τὸν Ἑλληνικόν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτους οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ,

89 2 Σύροισι Stein. συρίοισι 4 τρόπον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ van H.  
 5 ἀσπίδας τε SV 6 τὸ α τὰ β, van H

a plausible air, it corresponds to the items given for the several contingents, and it is apparently confirmed by Aischylos, *Persai* 341. It has, therefore, been generally accepted, but there are some reasons against its acceptance (i.) Other ancient authorities give different totals, cp. Appendix II. § 5 (ii) The fleet was probably commandeered in round numbers, in 'decads,' in hundreds—perhaps a 'chiliad' was the regulative total, no other Persian fleet ever appears with a nominal total expressed by an uneven figure (iii) Aischylos, far from supporting Hdt's total, destroys it, for (1) Aischylos' figure is for Salamis, Hdt.'s for Doriskos, and (2) Hdt.'s figure may have been reached by misunderstanding Aischylos, with whom the total is the (ideal) chiliad, and the 207 ὑπέρκομποι τάχει are included, not additional ships. See Appendix II. *loc.*

2 Φοίνικες the description and particulars regarding the Phoenicians, who have figured largely in each and every book from A to Z, are rather belated and out of place, on the supposition that Bks. 1-6 were written before Bk 7. It might be said, indeed, that Hdt. is clinging to his sources for the army- and navy-list, and thus comes to introduce an account of the Phoenicians, including their origin; but (i.) the army- and navy-lists are highly composite structures, apparently compiled from a variety of sources by Hdt. himself; cp. Introduction, § 10.

(ii) The absence of a more detailed account of the Phoenicians at some previous stage of the work, as we now have it, is best explained on the supposition that this passage was, so to speak 'already in type' when the introductory *Logi* came to be written. Cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

Σύροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ would cover Canaanites, Jews, and

Philistines, and any other elements in 'Palestine.' Rawlinson (*ad l.*) doubts whether any Jews served in the forces of Xerxes, least of all in the fleet. "in the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra they were too weak to be of any account." The Philistines were themselves of Greek, or at least of Aegean, origin, but were hardly of much account compared with the 'Phoenicians' Askalon, Ashdod, and Gaza were their chief coast towns. Παλαιστίνη is etymologically as well as historically the country of the 'Philistines', but the geographical note with which this chapter concludes is hardly necessary after Bks. 1-3, cp. especially 3 5.

3 τριηκοσίας the 300 may be, like the similar round numbers for other items, and for totals, a nominal or regulative number, but estimates of fleets are constantly given in tens and hundreds, and are apparently to be taken as substantially exact.

ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι. The 'Phoenician' armature, like Phoenician civilisation generally, is of eclectic character, quasi-Hellenic helmets, Egyptian corslets, targets without metal fittings, Anatolian javelins. But perhaps the Phoenician helmet was rather Assyrian or Egyptian than Hellenic.

5 θώρηκας λινέους· cp. c 63 *supra*  
 ἀσπίδας . . ἵτους οὐκ ἐχούσας· cp.  
 c 75 *supra*

7 οἴκεον, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, i.e. in the south of Arabia, the true home of the Semite, cp. cc. 80 and 69 *supra*. The statement is in a sense true, and the 'Phoenicians' (whose connexion whether with *Punt* or with *Feuch* is doubtful) may have remembered their own origin, though Hdt.'s reference to source and authority in such cases is rarely convincing (cp. Introduction, § 10). In 1. 2 the same origin is predicated of the Phoenicians without a reference, or perhaps on the authority of

ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. 10 οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλεντά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἵτους μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω 90 ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι οἱ

11 χηλεντά **β** πλεκτά χηλεντά Apr B πλεκτά superse. verbo eraso A<sup>2</sup>. 'χηλεντά ex Hdto citat Pollux 7. 83 et interpr τὰ πλεκτά' Gaisf. 13 post ναύμαχα glosses add AA<sup>2</sup> δρυξ λιθοξοικὸν ἐργαλείον idem post τύχους P<sup>m</sup> z, cp Stein<sup>1</sup>, Gaisf. 90 2 ἐστάλατο Dobiee ἐσταλάδατο **β**· ἐστελάδατο **α**: ἐσκευάδατο Parisinus 2933: ἐστολίδάτο Naber

'Persian writers,' a further hint of the priority of this passage.

10 Αἰγύπτιοι It is a wonder to find Egyptians at sea, or supplying a fleet, of 200 ships, it is also a wonder that no Egyptians have appeared in the land army. Hdt assigns the *aristeia* on the Persian side to the Egyptian vessels in the second engagement off Artemision 8. 17, and the satrap of Egypt, the king's brother, Achamenes, is one of the chief admirals, c 97 *infra* (Diodorus 11 17. 2, incidentally mentions them at Salamis). Aischylos seems to recognize Egyptian forces both by land and by sea, the latter drawn from "the marshes" (cp 2 94 and Thuc 1 110), Baehr. On the other hand the Egyptians, after Salamis, are landed and joined to the infantry, 9. 32, *q v*. It would be convenient to get rid of these Egyptian ships altogether, the 'Aristeia' might be put down to the credit of Egyptian *Epibatai*, and Diodorus would not bind us, the position of the Egyptian satrap is harder to explain. Blakesley suggests that the *rowers* were Egyptians, and that the ships, though paid for by Egypt, were 'navigated' by Phoenicians, but he ignores the 'Epibatai' and the 'Nav-arch'.

11 οἱ the description of the armour could, of course, only apply to the Epibatai, who, on Hdt's calculation, would amount to 6000 men: cp c 184 *infra*.

κράνεα χηλεντά. χήλη means,

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among other things, a knitting-needle; and χηλεντά here may mean 'plaited' or 'knitted'. The material was apparently 'reeds' πλεκτά ἐκ σχολίνου (Hesychius), cp Pollux 7 83 μάλιστα δὲ οὕτως ὠνόμαζον τὰ τῶν σχολίνους πλεκόντων, ὡς καὶ κράνη χηλεντά τὰ πλεκτά 'Ἡρόδοτον λέγειν καὶ Εὐπόλις "σκήντα χηλενέει" but the last words suggest that the term might have been applied to helmets plaited of leather (cf c. 63 *supra*).

12 κοίλας, 'capacious', cp 4 2.

δόρατα ναύμαχα ξυστά *v* II 15. 389, 677, "boarding-pikes," Rawlinson.

13 τύχους, pole-axes, "from its resemblance to a mason's pick," L & S *sub v* τύκος

90 2 ἐστάλατο *i e* ἐστολισμένοι ἦσαν "Schweighauseriana lectio ἐσταλάδατο *e* duabus scripturis orta videbatur. ἐστάλατο et ἐσκευάδατο, illud a verbo στέλλειν hoc a verbo σκενάζειν," Baehr. Cp Hesiod, *Scut* 288

Κύπριοι are subsequently subdivided into five 'nations' (*ἔθνεα*), which might perhaps have supplied each thirty ships (5 × 30 = 150)

3 ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε It is only the head-dress of the Kyprians which betrays the oriental element or influence, the rest of their *σκενὴ* is Hellenic. The kings have 'turbans' wound round their heads (εἰλίχατο μίτρησι, cp c 62 *supra*), the commons wear a kind of fez (κινάριος κίταρις) κεφαλὰς is the so-called 'accusative of reference.' Cp. c 77

βασιλείες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ  
 5 περ Ἑλλήνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ, οἳ μὲν ἀπὸ  
 Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ  
 Κύθνου, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ

4 χιτῶνας B· κιτάρης (κιταρίας) de Pauw propt Polluc 10 163, van H  
 5 ἔθνεα ἐστι (-ιν V) B 6 ἀθηνέων Acorr., P, deorr ἀθηναίων

4. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα . .  
 there is a slight inconsequence οἱ  
 obscurity in the passage, but οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
 may be taken as a parenthetical anti-  
 thesis to οἱ βασιλείες, while τὰ δὲ ἄλλα  
 furnishes the regular antithesis to τὰς  
 μὲν κεφαλὰς.

5. οἳ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων  
 these are presumably the Teukri. cp c  
 20 *supra* That there were actually  
 settlements from Athens in Kypros  
 dating from Mykenian times is not  
 impossible, but less probable than the  
 alternative hypothesis, that we have  
 here a false inference from the 'Teukrian'  
 element, or name, found in Kypros and  
 in Salamis, and from the name Salamis  
 itself Salamis and Soli (cp 5 113)  
 were the headquarters of the Hellenic  
 influence, as their conduct during the  
 Ionian revolt attested

6 οἳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας The reality  
 of a connexion between 'Arkadia' and  
 'Kypros' is now assured by the similarity  
 of the Aikadian and Kyprote dialects  
 The connexion may indeed date back to  
 Mykenian or Minoan times, and does  
 not, of course, imply more than that  
 Peloponnesian settlements in Kypros  
 took place at a time when the settlers  
 spoke a dialect, which in historic Greece  
 was best represented in Arcadia It  
 must have been the observation of resem-  
 blances between Kyprote and Arcadian  
 dialects, and possibly other analogies  
 (cult of Amyklaiian Apollo), similarly  
 explicable, that suggested to the *Logo-*  
*graphi* a direct connexion between Kypros  
 and 'Arkadia' Cp Busolt *Gr. G* 1<sup>2</sup>  
 (1893) 318 ff., E Meyer, *G d Alt* 11.  
 (1893) 222 f., Bury, 1 (1902) 60 ff

οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου Kythnos is  
 one of the Kyklades, lying between Keos  
 and Seriphos the inhabitants passed as  
 'Dryopes' (8. 46 *infra*) Such a con-  
 nexion would point to the antiquity of  
 the 'Greek' settlements in the island of  
 Kypros

7 οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης. The reality  
 of the Phoenician element in Kypros is  
 beyond dispute, but it is not necessarily

older than the 'Greek' or so-called  
 Greek, nor perhaps originally were the  
 two elements hostile. Kiton and Ama-  
 thús (5 105) were the Phoenician head-  
 quarters The different attitude of  
 the Persians towards Phoenicians and  
 Ionians, and the results of the Ionian  
 revolt (498-494 B.C.), especially in Kypros,  
 had accentuated the difference between  
 the Greek and the Semitic elements in  
 the island at the time when Hdt was  
 writing. The Homeric poems show no  
 special hostility to the Phoenician, and  
 were the *Kypria* forthcoming the early  
 friendship of Phoenician and 'Greek'  
 might be further apparent, but cp 2  
 117

οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας Beside the  
 Phoenician and the Greek elements there  
 was a third and perhaps a fourth in the  
 island The 'Ethiopian' must refer to  
 a negro, οἱ negriti stratum—whether  
 'Libyan' or 'Asiatic' Hdt does not  
 indicate, and such an element there  
 probably was in the island (cp case of  
 Kolchis c 79 *supra*), but the really  
 primitive stock, belonging to the 'Ana-  
 tolian' race, is completely ignored by  
 Hdt., unless we are to suppose that it is  
 here misrepresented

ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι the  
 citation of the authority, οἱ source  
 (authority rather than source), conveys  
 an indication of doubt The doubt is  
 presumably limited to the last item, the  
 existence of an 'Ethiopian' element in  
 the population By αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι we  
 cannot here understand the primitive or  
 autochthonous stratum, as distinguished  
 from Hellenic, Phoenician, or Ethiopian  
 elements, but simply 'dwellers in  
 Kypros'—without ethnic distinction—  
 'Kyprian authorities.'

In 5. 113 Hdt implies a similar  
 doubt as to the 'Argive' origin of the  
 inhabitants of Kurion (οἳ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι  
 λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργεῖων ἀποικοί), a tradi-  
 tion which fits in well enough with  
 'Arkadian' descent, properly understood.  
 Hence, too, Ἀχαιοὶ in Kypros (E. Meyer,  
 11. 78). The bearing of this c as a whole

Κύπριοι λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι 91  
 δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισθήια δὲ  
 εἶχον αὐτ' ἀσπίδων ὁμοβοέης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρινέους  
 ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω  
 τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν 5  
 Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς  
 Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα

91 2 δ' αὖ α· δὲ β 3 ὁμοβοέης ὁμοβοείης d ὁμοβοείης,  
 ὁμοβοείης ceteri ὁμοβοείους Eustath II. 570 || καὶ del Valckenaer 5  
 τῇσι Αἰγυπτίοισι V τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι S || μαχαίρησι om R (β) || οὗτοι  
 μὲν α, Stein<sup>1</sup>· οὗτοι β οὗτοι δὲ Stein<sup>2</sup> 7, 9 παμφύλιοι (bis) β

upon the problem of composition is not, perhaps, very obvious or important, but at least it is observable that there is no reference back to the story of the part played by the Kyprians in the Ionian revolt, nor to any other previous mention of Kyprios. The Kyprians, like all the other peoples named throughout the lists, are introduced as an unknown quantity. The presumption is in favour of the hypothesis of the prior composition of Bks. 7-9. Cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

91 1 Κίλικες furnish 100 ships. Kilikia in 3 90 forms a whole satrapy (iv) to itself, and pays besides its tribute of 500 T (only 360 of which actually reach the king) 360 horses, 'one for each day in the year.' A description of the Kilikian σκευή has already been promised (c 77 *supra*), and the promise is now redeemed.

2 κράνεα ἐπιχώρια. Either Hdt treats 'Kilikian' helmets as too well known for description, or more probably is not in a position to describe them.

λαισθήια· ὁμοβοέης. The *Iliad* knows βοείας Ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισθήια τε πτερόεντα, 5. 453 (of Achaeans and Trojans), 12 426 (of 'Danai' and Lykians). There is nothing 'Kilikian' in the word, L & S connect it with λάσιος (shaggy), others (better) follow Eustathios and connect it with λαῖος (laevus), thus Hesychios has λαίβα, Kretan for ἀσπίς λαῖβα, πέλγη λαίφα, ἀσπίς.

3 ὁμοβοέης. cp c 76 *supra* εἰρινέους, 'woollen', the word occurs 1 195, 2 81, 4 73. The Attic word (Plato) is ἐρεός. There does not appear anything very distinctive in the equipment of the 'Kilikies,' unless it is that they are swordsmen.

4 ἕκαστος· εἶχον ξίφος πεποιήμενα carries the *constructio ad sensum* to a point only permissible in a classical writer.

6. Ὑπαχαιοί it may not be unsafe to see in these Hypachaians a remnant of the Aquaiascha of the Egyptian monuments, and of the 'Achaians' of Kypros, cp previous c.

ἐπὶ cp c 83 *supra*.

Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος 'Kilix' is presumably the eponym of the people (Κίλικες), who may have had some admixture of Semitic or of Syrian (Aramaean) blood. Agenor has a thoroughly Greek name, but he appears in 4 147 as the father of 'Kadmos,' who is a thorough Phoenician to Hdt. The only man of the name known to Homer is a Trojan, *Il* 11. 59, who must be dismissed in this case, for he has no connexion with the Κίλικες, who, in *Iliad* 6 397, 415, dwell in 'Thebe' and the Theban plain (cp c 42 *supra*); but Hesiod had made Agenor father of Phoenix and grandfather of Phineus, *Fr* 56. Agenor, whether in Greece or in Phoenicia, is only a genealogical name; he plays no part in the myths or legends, but is the father of mythical and legendary heroes—Kadmos, Phineus, Phoenix. It may be that behind his name lurks a consciousness that old 'Greek' heroes had gone east, before the Phoenician came west. 'Agenor' was nothing if not a 'man' (here ἀνδρὸς Φ).

7 Πάμφυλοι supply thirty ships. The name is pure Greek (cp 5 68) and its bearers are armed in Greek fashion. They are included (3 90) by Hdt. in satrapy 1. Pamphylia lay on the coast between Kilikia and Lykia, nor is it likely that the population was

παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκευασθέντων ἅμα  
 92 Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντή-  
 κοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε ἔοντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα  
 κρανείνα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ αἰγὸς δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεῦμενον, περὶ δὲ τῇσι  
 5 κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ  
 καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης

10 <τε> καὶ Kallenberg, van H.  
 Holder, van H.

92 4 δέρματα et αἰωρεῦμενα B,  
 5 ἐστεφανωμένους B

pure Greek, but there were doubtless Greek colonies (Olbia, Side) and more or less Hellenized cities (Aspendos, Perge, Sylleion) in the region. It is this Greek element, the origin of which is here traced to a portion of the post-Trojan *Diaspora*, though in this, as in other cases, the relations of Aegean tribes with the Levant may be safely taken back before the Trojan epoch.

10. Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι Kalchas Θεστορίδης οἰωνοπόλων δὲ ἄριστος is well known to the *Iliad* (1. 69 ff., 2 300, 13 45). Amphilochos is named in the *Odyssey* (15 248), as son of Amphiaraios. The *Nostoi* enlarged and combined their adventures after the fall of Troy, and variants existed in regard to details. Thus, according to one story, Kalchas fared no further than Kolophon, where he met his superior in Mopsos, who then joined Amphilochos, and with him founded Mallos in Kilikia, while according to another story, which Sophokles apparently followed (Strabo 675), and Hdt in this passage, the scene of the *ἔρις περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς* between Kalchas and Mopsos was placed further east, in Pamphylia (meaning, as Strabo thinks, Kilikia). Amphilochos' career as founder was not cut short. Hdt reports him to have established Posideion, 'on the borders of Kilikia and Syria' (3 91), and his achievements in the east were apparently succeeded by a similar set of adventures in the west, the greatest of his foundations being Argos Amphilochicum. Thucyd 2 68 3.

92 1 Λύκιοι supplied fifty ships. The Lykian equipment is among the most remarkable. It is in strong contrast with the Lykian dress as shown on monuments, from which Rawlinson draws an argument for the late date of the monu-

ments (so as to give the Lykians time to change their dress): an alternative, however, is possible—the inaccuracy, or inapplicability of Hdt's description.

The Lykians wear breastplates and greaves (of metal presumably) their bows are of cornel-wood (cp c 77 *supra*): they use unfeathered reed-arrows they carry javelins they wear the *aegris* they have the most remarkable head-dress in the whole army they carry also daggers and sickles (Karian? cp c. 93 *infra*, 5. 112).

5 πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιστεφανωμένους on the importance of this head-dress cp W. Max Mueller, *Asien u. Europa* 362. Also H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilisation* p. 180 (1901): "examples of this feather headdress worn by tribes of the Aegean and southern coast of Asia Minor in the XII VIII VII V centuries B.C."

6. Λύκιοι δὲ τὴν ἑπωνυμίην. This passage is enlarged and rewritten in 1. 173, or else that passage is here reproduced in a compressed form: there is not much to show which passage is of earlier composition, except the omission here of all reference to the longer passage, in which the supposed facts are more fully set out, which, so far as it goes, supports the hypothesis of the earlier composition of this passage. cp. Introduction, § 8.

Τερμίλαι . . . ἐκ Κρήτης. The Kretan origin of the Termlai, or Tramlai, seems less probable than the hypothesis that they represented the indigenous population of the Anatolian main, and were in so far allied to the Karians, Lydians and other native stocks. Yet it would be bold to deny a connexion between early Krete and the Asiatic side and the 'Eteokretes' themselves.

γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον  
τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριεὲς δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τριήκοντα παρ- 93  
εἶχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὄπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ  
Πελοποννήσου. Κἄρες δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ  
μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἶχον δὲ καὶ  
δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. [οὔτοι δὲ οὔτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, 5  
ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων εἴρηται.] Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας 94

93 3 πελοποννήσου B (sic ubique)  
seclusi

5 οὔτοι . . εἴρηται glossema

may perhaps have been akin to the fundamental or indigenous population of Asia Minor. In 1.171 the Karians, too, are derived by Hdt from Krete in the teeth of their own belief, duly reported, that made them *αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας*. The decipherment of the Lykian inscriptions (*Titulæ Asiæ Minoris* vol. 1 *Titulæ Lyciae*, ed. E. Kalinka, Vienna, 1901) may throw light upon the etiological problem: it is at least clear that the Tiamilai were not Greeks. The poet of the *Iliad* is acquainted with Lykia and the Lykians though not with Tiamilai (notably 6.168 ff. story of Bellerophon, cp. also story of Pandaros. 4.86 ff.), and long before the days of Homer the Lykians (Lukka, Luka) figure in the Tel-el-Amarna letters and on Egyptian monuments of the Ramessid period. cp. Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, p. 88. 'Lykians' and 'Tiamilai' might be two names (Greek and Native) for one and the same people, or more probably (as 'Tiamilai' figures in Greek) represent two elements in the population of historic Lykia, the native and the foreign (Hellenic, or Hellenized). The presence of an Hellenic element is asserted in the eponymous hero's derivation from Athens. It is by no means impossible that the primitive, or 'Mykenian' inhabitants of Attika had relations with Lykia as with Ionia and Kypros, but 'Lykos son of Pandion' (a) is scarcely an historical person, (b) owes his position in the legend of 'Lykia' to the nominal correspondence. Pausan. 1.19.4 connects the name with the Lykeion (Lycæum) in Athens, which may have been in fact the temenos of the wolf-god (Apollon?).

93 1. Δωριεὲς from Asia, thirty ships: the first pure Greeks named in the whole list. Their contingent and origin is more fully bespoken c. 99 *infra* there

is, of course, no item in the list on which Hdt should be a better authority at first hand than the Dorians in Asia, yet he packs them curiously away in a parenthesis (cp. 1.144). As Halikarnassos appears to be included here (cp. c. 99), notwithstanding the excommunication recorded in 1.144, perhaps each city in the Hexapolis supplied five vessels. (Was that excommunication subsequent to this service? At least this passage is probably of earlier composition.)

3 Κἄρες furnish seventy ships nominally (perhaps one per city?), making with the Dorian colonies in Karia an hundred. The Karians had Greek weapons, partly because the Greeks had Karian (cp. 1.171) the *δρέπανον* was a characteristically Karian weapon, cp. previous c.

6 ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων the reference is clearly to Bk. 1 c. 171, where two views in regard to the origin of the Karians are reported (cp. c. 92 *supra*). The reference and the form of reference here are most remarkable. This is absolutely the first reference to an earlier Book which occurs in this section of the work, notwithstanding the frequent occasions for such references hitherto. To the form of reference there is but one precise parallel in the whole work, viz. 5.36 ὡς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων, i.e. 1.92. Cp. my note *ad l.* The reference there is to the first half of the first Book (as we have it): the reference here is to the second half of the first Book (hence, perhaps, the use of the plural). Nowhere else does Hdt refer back in this fashion either to the 'first' or to any other set of 'Logoi'. The question obviously presents itself, whether the reference is a gloss, or whether it is from the author's hand, and if so, whether it is an addition or belongs to the first draft of his work. The problem



παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιίην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Ἰούθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, 5 ὡς Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλῆες, ἐπὶ δὲ 95 Ἴωνος τοῦ Ἰούθου Ἴωνες. νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὠπλισμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος,

here is far more acute than in 5 36, for several reasons (a) The 'fifth' Book may very well have been composed, or redacted, after the 'first' on any theory of composition, but this reference here seems to destroy the hypothesis that Bks. 7-9 were the 'first' Logi compiled by Hdt. (b) The reference in the fifth Bk. is more easily accounted for, whether as a gloss, or as an insertion by the author's hand, than the reference here because throughout the (army- and) navy-list so far notes on the *Origines* or provenience of peoples and nations have occurred, and one might be expected in the case of the Karians, while in the passage of Bk. 5 the reference is, so to speak, purely fortuitous, and not required by the context. If now the reference here is to be regarded as authentic and of the first draft, it will follow almost of a certainty that Bk. 1, much as we have it, was in existence when Hdt. wrote this passage was Bk. 1 then the first portion of the work composed by Hdt. and if so, how much more of the work had he composed before coming to Bk. 7? The hypothesis of the priority in a first draft of Bks. 7, 8, 9—for which there is so much to be said—need not, however, be surrendered if this reference, or the whole context in which it occurs (army- and navy-lists), can be regarded as belonging to the second or third draft of this Book, or even as considerably touched up and revised by the author in successive drafts. As Bks. 7, 8, 9, even if the earliest section of the work projected and more or less accomplished, have certainly received additions down to the date of the Archidamian War, it is not obligatory to atheize this passage but there does remain the possibility that the words οὗτοι εἰρηται are a gloss modelled, perhaps, on the genuine reference in 5. 36, and occasioned by the glossators missing a note on the origin of the Karians or the gloss might be contained simply in the words ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοις τῶν

λόγων. The absence of a μοί here (cp. ὡς δεδῆλωται μοί 5. 36) rather strengthens the gloss impression.

94 1. Ἴωνες supply 100 ships the particular contingents are not given. Eight Ionian cities had contributed 283 ships to the fleet at Lade in 494 B.C., if Hdt. is to be trusted, 5 8, cp. my note *ad l.* (Chios 100, Miletos 80, Samos 60). That the Ionians are described as ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες, the Dorians as ἔχοντες Ἑλληνικά ὄπλα, need not be taken as a jibe at the expense of the Ionians compared with Dorians and Aiolians. The 'Hellenes' here are the national forces arrayed against the 'Barbarian'.

5 ὡς Ἑλληνες λέγουσι a very clear reflexion on his literary sources (cp. Introduction, § 10), here perhaps the *Γενεαλογίαι* of Hekataios. There is, however, no reference to the excursus on the Ionians and then antecedents in 1. 143-146, a passage hardly reconcilable with this, as Blakesley pointed out, for the genealogical purity of the Ionians is here recognized and there disputed. Blakesley accordingly suggests that the present passage belongs to the original draft of the work, while the other is an addition of a later period.

It may be noted that Danaos and Kouthos in this passage apparently arrive in the Peloponnesos at the same time, while in 2 98 Danaos is two generations later than Kouthos.

Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλῆες cp. 5 68 (and my note *ad l.*) The 'Pelasgian' character of the Ionians is most clearly asserted in 1 56-58, serious as are the difficulties in which that assertion involves Hdt., especially with regard to the Athenians, cp. 6 137 ff. (and notes).

95 1 νησιῶται. the term is ambiguous and obscure. Baehr refers it to the Kyklades on the strength of Hdt.'s usage, cp. 5 30, 6 49, Laicher specifies Keos, Naxos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Andros, Tenos. Stein, noticing the absence of the article, interprets "most

ὕστερον δὲ Ἴωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ  
δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα  
νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἑλλήνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι 5  
καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ  
πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνόισι γὰρ προστετάκτο ἐκ βασιλέος  
κατὰ χώραν μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ  
λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν  
νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἑλλήνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνων 10  
καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι 96

95 3 κατὰ . Ἀθηνέων del Gomperz || οἱ δυωδεκαπόλεις α αἱ δώδεκα  
πόλεις β 4 Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων secl Valckenaer, van H ἀθηναίων β  
8 φυλάκους van H. 9 <οἱ> ἐκ Wesseling 10 ἐσκευάδατο δὲ  
ὡς vult van H.

of the Aegean islands, especially the  
Kykklades." But the contingents from the  
Kykklades only joined the king's fleet  
after Artemision, probably at Phaleron,  
cp 8 66 *infra*, and five Nesiot states  
sent their ships to the national fleet,  
8 46. Leake (*Athens and the Demis*,  
Appendix II p 237) suggested Lemnos  
and Imbros, but they hardly corre-  
spond to the requirement of ex-Pelasgian  
Ionians κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ  
δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων  
Cp, however, App Crit. The Samo-  
thracians are spoken of as Ionians in  
8 90, but perhaps 'without prejudice.'  
On the whole Hdt. here probably means  
the Ionians of the Kyklades, but has  
thereby involved himself in an inconse-  
quence, valuable to us as betraying his  
methods. His navy-list is probably  
valid, so far as authentic at all, not for  
Doriskos, but for Salamis (cp. c 89  
*supra*), and it is a *tour de force* on his  
part to have shifted the scene.

4 Αἰολέες supply sixty ships. At  
Lade Lesbos alone (if Hdt 6 8 is to be  
trusted) had supplied seventy. 'Aiolis'  
was a 'Dodekapolis' (I. 149): it is  
noticeable that there is no reference  
back to that passage which might  
interpret the vague title here used

6 ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος cp c. 94  
*supra*

Ἑλλησπόντιοι . . οἱ ἐκ τοῦ  
Πόντου στρατευόμενοι supply 100 ships  
A curious title Stein explains Πόντος  
here as used in a narrower sense of

Bosporos, Propontis, Hellespont, and  
refers to c 36 *supra* where he takes  
Πόντος (τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας) as  
the Propontis (cp. notes *ad l*). This  
interpretation may stand, but would  
Hdt. have used Πόντος in this loose  
fashion after writing 4. 85, 86? This  
passage appears of earlier composition,  
and written previously to his own visit  
to that region, cp Introduction, § 8.

10. Ἴωνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι  
Ionian (Abydos), Lampsakos, Kyzikos,  
Prokonnesos, Perinthos, etc Dorian  
Kalchedon, Byzantion, Selymbria, As-  
takos Sestos was Aiolian (9. 115), and  
possibly helped the Abydeni to guard  
the bridge, of course under Persian  
superintendence

96 1 ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων  
τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι  
a startling statement to what purpose  
then the description of the armed men  
of the fleet if the *Epibatai* were Persians,  
Medes, and Skythians (Sakai)? In c  
184 *infra* the 'Persians, Medes, and  
Skythians' are reckoned thirty men to  
each ship in addition to the ἐπιχώριοι  
ἐπιβάται, but this does not solve the  
difficulties of the statement, for if there  
were thirty 'Persians, Medes, and  
Skyths' upon each vessel as *Epibatai*,  
what room was left for native *Epibatai* in  
the strict sense of the word? Moreover,  
why Persians, Medes, 'and Sakai'? Is  
*Sakai* used here for any 'archer'? Has  
Hdt. committed the absurdity of describ-  
ing the equipment of the various nations

καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας  
Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι ἐς  
τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις [αὐτῶν] ἐπήσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι  
5 ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίης

96. 2 τούτων· πάντων? Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H. 4 αὐτῶν secl. Stein<sup>3</sup>  
|| ἐπήσαν α. ἐποίησαν R ἐπήσαν SV 5 ἐξέργομαι. ἐξείργομαι  
codd. (ἐξέρχομαι Paris 2933)

which supplied ships when the Epibatai were all drawn from Persians, Medes, and Sakai? or rather is not the statement that 'Persians, Medes, and Sakai' served on all the ships as Epibatai (whether 'in addition to' or 'instead of' native Epibatai) a very doubtful assertion? Were these Persians and Medes and Sakai on each ship as Epibatai? or had some ships only Persians, others only Medes, and so forth? Again, were these *Epibatai* on the ships all along? or did they go on board (at Artemision, at Salamis) for battle? Lastly, are not the *Epibatai*, wherever they joined the fleet, to be deducted from the land forces, not reckoned in addition thereto? And if fighting men were shipped at Doriskos, did they not constitute one of the *corps d'armée*? Cp c 121 *infra*

2. τούτων . . νέας as τούτων must refer to *πασῶν τῶν νέων* the phrase is clumsy (It can hardly be referred, with Sitzler, to "the nations furnishing ships") Stein suggests *πάντων* instead of *τούτων*. I think *πασῶν* and *τούτων* might well change places

3 Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. The Phoenicians excelled all the other ships, and the Sidonian ships all the other Phoenician: cp cc 44, 100. The *ὑπέρκομποι τάχει* in Aeschyl *Pers* 342 are 207 in number the nationality is not specified, but as that figure was probably associated with the Ionian contingent the suggestion there is more favourable to Greek mariners Hdt. in this Bk shows himself no great admirer of the Ionians on the Persian side It may be that Ionian shipping had not recovered the disasters of the Ionian revolt on Phoenician skill cp. c 23 *supra*

τούτοις πᾶσι certainly seems vaguely put for *τοῖσι ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν τεταγμένοις*. Even vagner is the use of *αὐτῶν* just below, which could be very well dispensed with, but is quite Herodotean cp c. 14 *supra* It might

suggest referring *τούτοις πᾶσι* to Persians, Medes, and Sakai.

4 ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, 'each set, nation, had leaders from its own home' Whether these 'epichorion leaders' are limited to the Epibatai or command the ships severally and in squadrons, or, what the relation between the epichorion *hegemon* and the 'Persians, Medes, and Sakai' on board, does not appear. For the case of the *πεζὸς στρατός* cp. c 81 The matter is further explained in the immediate context here.

5 οὐ γὰρ παραμύνημαι cp c. 99 *infra* τῶν μὲν νῦν ἄλλων οὐ παραμύνημαι ταξιαρχέων ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος and c 139 *infra* ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι (I am compelled by necessity) The necessity lies in the argument or plan: it is a logical not a physical compulsion ἐξέργειν, literally 'to shut out,' 'exclude' (*τινὰ τινος*), may come to mean 'to shut in,' on the principle that *exclusio illius* is *inclusio huius*, or perhaps may more simply be taken as a strengthened form of ἐργεῖν (*εἰργεῖν*) meaning 'to compel' παραμυνήσκεισθαι, 'to mention (one thing) besides (another),' i.e. 'I have not mentioned the leaders beside their respective contingents' Sophokles uses the word (*παρεμνήσω*) *Trach* 1125, but no one else apparently

ἐς ἱστορίης λόγον Baeher quotes with approval Schweighauser's *quod ad huius narrationis rationem attinet*. Rawlinson has "for the course of my History", Stein, *in Rücksicht auf die Erzählung*, and remarks "this is the only place in which Hdt uses the word *ἱστορίη* in the later signification." Macaulay has "I am not compelled by the course of the inquiry," which hardly gives more than the sense of the words οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι, but the note which he adds "with regard to the inquiry," i.e. "by the plan of the history," leaves no doubt that he agrees with Stein and the others

But are we compelled to adopt this

λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιον ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλεις τοσούτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν 10 ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον 97

6 ἐπάξιοι Portus: ἀπάξιοι 9 δοῦλοι damn Valckenaer || τε α, Stein<sup>13</sup> γε β, Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder, van H. . οἷ τε τὸ <sup>1</sup> Stein<sup>2</sup> 10 καὶ ἄρχοντες del van H 97 1 ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε β, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder, van H.

interpretation of *ιστορίη* in a sense for which a parallel can hardly be produced before the days of Aristotle? Even if *ἐς λόγον* might mean *quod attinet ad rationem*, must *ιστορίη* mean *haec narratio*, die Erzählung, my 'History'? *ιστορίη* with Hdt (even l 1) means a process of inquiry, not the result, either as bare knowledge or as literary record. So here *I am not compelled by the necessity of my argument to give any account of my inquiries on that head*: i.e. I am not bound to tell all I know. I could say much in regard to the various native leaders, for I have inquired in regard to them, but I am not under any necessity to make known the results of my inquiries. Cp c 224 *infra* τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. He does not give the names, and might have added τῶν οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίη ἐξέρρομαι ἐς ιστορίας λόγον ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

6 οὔτε γὰρ Hdt gives three or four reasons for suppressing the names and achievements of the ethnic *ἡγεμόνες*. (1) As individuals they were not men of mark (*ἐπάξιοι*, mentionable), even when in command of a whole *ἔθνος* (ii.) They were too numerous, *quot civitates tot duces* (iii.) They had no independent command, they were in a servile position, οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλὰ δοῦλοι (iv.) The names of the real Strategoi and Archontes, so far as Persian, have already been given.

In this passage the Historian, methinks, 'doth protest too much'. Who will believe that Hdt could have supplied the names of all the Chiliarchs, Hekatonarchs and Dekadarchs in the Persian forces? The extent to which he gives the names for the fleet (c 98 *infra*) does not confirm his extravagant

claim. Hdt is not quite free from the scholar's foible, omniscience.

8 στρατηγοὶ c 82 *supra*

10 ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι the 29 ἄρχοντες named in the army-list, cc 61-89, to which are to be added Hydarnes c. 83, Pharnuches c 88, and the two sons of Datis, Harmamithras and Tithaios *ib*, who were Medes.

11. εἰρέαται μοι. A reference back, but merely to the context.

97. 1 τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον. There follow the names of the four Persian admirals of the fleet, and some hints, which if developed, might have rendered this chapter normative for the organization of the fleet, as cc 81, 82, 88 are for the organization of the army. Unfortunately, Hdt himself has not envisaged this problem, nor supplied incidentally, whether here or in the actual narrative of the campaign, data for a decisive reconstruction, nor can it be confidently assumed that even the items in this chapter are complete and accurate. The names of four admirals are given, but it is not clear whether the fleet under their command consisted of four distinct squadrons, or divisions, or of three such divisions, or even perhaps only of two. The doubt may also arise whether the arrangements for the command of the Fleet were not more analogous to those for the army. were there perhaps six admirals, divided into three pairs, and commanding on the analogy of the Strategoi, three columns, or divisions? In that case Hdt's list of the admirals is incomplete, though his sources for the naval department are generally superior to his sources for the army. Or were there only three admirals, on the analogy of the Hipparchs c. 88, and have we in the four names the name of a successor included,

Ἀριαβίγνης τε ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πηξιάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ  
Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν  
Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου τε  
5 παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεω θυγατρός· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε  
Ἀχαιμένης Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφούς, τῆς δὲ

2 ἀσπαθίνεω α. ἀπαθίνεω R. ἀσπαθίνεω S ἀσπαθίνεω cum ἡ  
supersc V 4 καρίης B 5 παῖς del van H. || γωβρύεω B,  
Holder || ἐστρατήγεε et ἐστρατήγεον del. van H 6 πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων  
Cobet

as we should there have had, had the successor of Pharnuches been named on the spot? In the following year, when the whole command of the fleet is changed, there are three admirals 8 130, of course over a fleet much reduced in numbers. On these and other cognate questions cp. Appendix II § 5

2 Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου an Achaemenid, immediately below 'the daughter of Gobiyas' is given as his mother. She was the first wife Dareios married (cp c. 2 *supra*), and had three sons, Artobazanes, Ariabignes, and one anonymous Ariabignes, here mentioned first among the admirals, fell at Salamis 8. 89.

Πηξιάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω this Aspathines is presumably the Persian noble of the Seven 3 70, who was wounded in the struggle with the Magi 3. 78 His is the one name of the Seven which does not appear on the Behistun Inscription iv. 18 Whether the Prexaspes who figures largely in the context of Bk 8 is any relation to his younger namesake cannot be determined

3. Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω Blakesley suggests his identity with the conqueror of Thrace (4 143 f. 5 *passim*, 6. 33, and cc 22, 67 *supra*), who is described simply as ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, and without his patronymic Hdt shows no sense of any such identity. An oversight in so frappant an instance were almost inconceivable, though fitting in well enough with the early priority of composition to be assigned to Bks 7-9. Anyway, the Megabates of this passage may well be identical with the Megabates described in 5 32 as ἀνδρα Πέρσων τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων and a cousin of Dareios. According to the story there told it would then be a sister of this Megabazos for whom Pausanias proposed, when "in love with the tyranny of Hellas" but *vide* my note *ad l.c.* Megabates must have

been a young man in 498 B.C. if he was satrap of Phrygia in 476 B.C. (Thuc 1 129), and his naval services against Naxos, if correctly reported by Hdt 5 83, were hardly of good augury for his son's appointment

Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου. an Achaemenid of the Achaemenids, full brother of Xerxes, satrap of Egypt c 7 *supra*, q v His plan of campaign is expounded in c 236 *infra*.

τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατιῆς the words if interpreted strictly and referred to the navy-list would give a squadron (στρατιή) of 100 + 70 = 170 vessels. If the Dorians (30) in Karia were added the number would be raised to 200, but if one item may thus be added, why not others, till we raise the total to 300, or 400, more or less: and so likewise with the other divisions Cp Appendix II § 5.

5 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ the number for the 'Egyptian' fleet is given as 200, the addition of the Cilicians (for example) would raise it to 300, or a different distribution (Egyptian + Kyrian 150 + Lykian 50) might give a nominal strength of 400, the fleet being named simply by the contingent, or ship, which flew the admiral's flag

6 τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο These words at first seem to mass all the rest of the fleet in one squadron or division, under two admirals, a curious inconsequence or, if the two had synchronously independent commands, still leaving each with a much larger number of ships than the two admirals first named, and Achaemenids, also an improbable arrangement. It might be suspected that by ἡ ἄλλη στρατιή is really to be understood the 3000 transports and service-vessels of various sorts immediately to be mentioned, and that the fighting fleet was really only in two divisions under the

ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ 98  
 συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια. τῶν δὲ ἐπι-  
 πλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἶδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι,  
 Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου,

8 μακρὰ α· σμικρὰ β del. Kallenberg 98 3 ἀλλήσου β ||  
 ματτὴν BCd ματγὴν Α μάπην β || σιρώμου α: σιρώνου β Εἰρώμου  
 Duncker vii<sup>5</sup> 205

two Achaemenid admirals, each division being named from its head or leading contingent, A Ionio-Karian, B Egyptian: the confusion in the text might favour this hypothesis, but the weight of argument is against it 1 *στρατιή* should mean rather a fighting unit than transports 2 It is not likely that the Phoenicians, who furnish 300 ships, were simply grouped under either the Egyptian or the Ionio-Karian division 3 The general analogies and probabilities, and to some extent the subsequent narrative of the naval operations, favour the view that the principle of tripartition underlay the naval organization in the campaign The other *στρατιή* here then is probably the Phoenician (300), with which, if the whole fleet amounted to 1207, the Kilikian (100) may have been combined, under the command of Prexaspes and Megabazos, either as colleagues, or in succession The Egyptian (+ Kyprios + Lykia) would furnish a nominal 400, and the Ionio-Karian with all the rest would account for 407 If each squadron amounted, even nominally, to 400, it seems probable that there would be two admirals in command of each (commanding 200 apiece), in which case the (subordinate) colleagues of Achaemenes and Ariabignes have been forgotten

7 τριηκόντεροι δὲ τρισχίλια either some words have fallen out after οἱ δύο, or (as Stein suggests) this sentence is not here in its original context This huge fleet, including horse-transport, was used presumably for the transport of horses, men, and supplies, and for despatch purposes and communications (*κέρκουροι* can hardly be derived from *Κόρκυρα*) Possibly one of the three army corps was brought to Doriskos by sea and if so, probably the one comprising the forces of Upper Asia, so far as they had not met at Kritalla, and

marched ἀμ' αὐτῷ Ξέρξης. Cp. Appendix II § 3

98. 1 τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων cp 5. 36 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς. 8 67 κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ἐθέλων. πυνθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνάμους. Once in Thucyd (2 66. 2) ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ Κνήμιος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος Generally ἐπιπλεῖν (with dative, or with ἐπὶ and accus, or absolutely) means 'to sail against,' in hostile sense

2 οἶδε ἦσαν ὀνομαστότατοι: there follow ten names of native leaders (three Phoenicians, one Kilikian, one Lykian, two Kyprian, three Karian), at first sight chosen at random the omission of Greek names is observable, but not inexplicable jealousy, or patriotism, might suppress them, Artemisia reigns alone (cp c 99). The omission of Egyptians is more striking, and confirms the suspicion that the so-called 'Egyptian' contingent was not navigated by Egyptians If the Egyptian formed one squadron (*στρατιή*) with the Lykians and Kyprians, the whole fleet (*ναυτικὸς στρατός*) was divided into three squadrons (cp c 97), we have then in the names preserved in this chapter memorials of the principal native commanders on board each of the three squadrons the first four names (Phoenician and Kilikian) may be taken from Squadron A, the next three names (Kyprian and Lykian) from Squadron B, and the last three names (all 'Karian') from Squadron C (the Karians being the only non-Hellenic factor in that division) This observation may be taken to confirm the hypothetical distribution of the naval forces finally proposed above

3 Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου Sidon recovers with Hdt to some extent its Homeric prominence, cp cc. 44, 96 *supra*, c. 128 *infra* Yet Tyre was in his own time, as in Alexander's, the

καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Σύννεσις  
5 Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι

4 ἀρίδιος B. ἀλαρόδιος d || νέρβαλος CP || ἀρβάλου B. corrig Ἀσβάλου  
sive Ἀγβάλου van H

leading city-state of Phoenicia (cp. 2 44) The King of Sidon sits next the king in council, 8. 67 *ἡγήα* (Diodor 14 79 gives the Sidonian dynast the precedence in the days of Konon, and possibly the Sidonian took precedence in virtue of the early primacy of Sidon, even when Tyre had eclipsed the elder state.)

'Tetiamnestos' has a curiously Greek sound. Baehr deprecates a Semitic etymology, but the Greek sound might be due to mere assimilation. The same remark applies to the father's name, Anysos (Cp Ἄνυσος as the name of an Egyptian king, 2 137, 140, and of a city in Egypt, 2 137, 160, 166)

Τύριος Μαρττὴν Σιρώμου 'Matten' is presumably the same name as 'Mattan' (the priest of Baal, 2 Kings 11 18). 'Siromis' may well be the same as 'Hirom,' Hirom (Cheiram in LXX, Heiram and Heiromos *ap* Josephum, Duncker, vii. 205, would read *Ἡρώμος* here)

4. Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου Arados, like Tyre and Sidon situate on an island strongly fortified, was accounted an independent colony from Sidon (Strabo 753, the *locus classicus*) and next thereto in importance, under the Persians, but destined in later times to eclipse Tyre itself (cp Strabo *l.c.*) Merbalos resembles the Carthaginian Maharbal (Meibal) and presumably contains, like the father's name, Agbalos (*v.l.* Aibalos) the name of the Phoenician deity.

(Besides Tyre, Sidon, and Arados, the only important seaports in Phoenicia would be Byblos and Berytos, cp. Kiepert, *Manual* § 97)

Κίλιξ Σύννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος A Syennesis of Kilikia appears in the year 585 B.C. mediating between Lydians and Medes (1 74), another, and it might be the one here mentioned, as about contemporary with the Ionian revolt (5 118) Xenophon reports the dealings of Kyros, the younger, with a Syennesis of Kilikia in 401 B.C. (*Hell.* 3. 1 1, cf *Anab.* 1 2 12-27) The word is either a frequently recurring name for the kings of Kilikia, or a royal title (*ἰσως σημιτικὴ λέξις* schdā nāsī =

*εὐγενὴς πρίγκιψ*. Wecklein-Zomariades). Aischylos (*Persai* 329-331) devotes three lines to the gallant death of this Syennesis at Salamis. Herodotos (9. 107) provides a Greek, and indeed an Halikarnassian successor.

Oromedon appears as a name or epithet in some mss of Theokritos 7 46 (*v.l.* for *Ὀρομέδοντος*), and is interpreted by the scholast as (1) a title of Pan, (2) the name of a mountain in Kos. But these are probably only scholastic sophisms.

5. Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα Kyberniskos has a Greek sound (*κυβερνήτης*, gubernare, govein), or at least an Hellenized appearance. A Κύβερνις, son of Kydias, of Athens, appears on an inscription not earlier than 277/6 B.C. Dittenbeiger, 149 (1<sup>1</sup> p. 232, 1<sup>2</sup> 330)

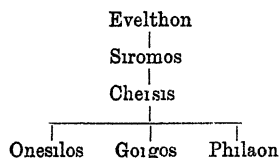
Sikas may perhaps be a shorter form of Sikinnos (3 75 *ἡγήα*), and likewise has a Greek tone, possibly deceptive. But Lykians might very well have Hellenic, or Hellenistic names. Σίκων is a not uncommon name in Athens.

Κύπριοι it is remarkable that Hdt. does not here specify the Kyprian states to which Γόργος ὁ Χέρσιος and Τιμαγόξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω respectively belonged. Timonax and Timagoras are thorough Greeks, and must have ruled one of the Greek states other than Salamis (perhaps Kuion or Soli<sup>2</sup>). But Aristokyprios, son of Philokyprios, was king of Soli in 496 B.C. (5 113). Gorgos, the son of Chersis, is incidentally established as king of the Salaminites in 8 11, but the absence here of any reference back to the notices of this Hellenized House given in 4 163, 5 104, 113, etc., is still more remarkable, except on the supposition that this passage is of earlier composition, or that Hdt. follows in various places various sources so slavishly as to surrender his rights of combination, and cross-reference.<sup>1</sup> Cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8, 10. Γόργος is good Greek, not to say Arkadian (Leake, *Inscr.* 1, Pape-Benseler). Chersis also may pass for Greek. He had at least three sons (Onesilos, 5 104, Gorgos, Philaon, 8 11), and was himself the son of a Siomios (cp. 1. 3 *συγγρα*) and grandson of Evelthon

Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν  
 Ἰστιαῖός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου καὶ Δαμασί-  
 θυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω. τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνηται 99  
 ταξιαρχῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ [τῆς] μάλιστα  
 θῶμα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός·  
 ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα

6 τιμωνᾶς B 7 πίγρησος σελδώμου B. Πίγρης ὁ Σελδώμου P,  
 van H 99 1 τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενος damn Stein nonne  
 legenda potius τῶν μὲν κτλ, τῆς δὲ μάλιστα κτλ, Ἀρτεμισίης deleto?  
 || δέ, τῆς Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder, van H 2 ταξιαρχέων B, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder,  
 van H. || τῆς del Stein

(5 104) The pedigree may be exhibited as follows.



6 Καρῶν The Karians enjoy a disproportionate notice from the Halikarnassian, as, besides the three leaders here specified, Queen Artemisia is coming in for a chapter to herself (99)

7 Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Τύμνεω is surely the tyrant of Termira, or Termiron, cp 5 37 (and my note *ad l*) Πίγρης ὁ Ὑσσελδώμου has a proper name shared by many persons more or less known to fame: (1) the Halikarnassian, brother or accord. to Plutarch *de Malig* 43, son of Artemisia, and no mean poet; (2) a Pigres who acted as interpreter for Kyros (*Anab* 1 2 17, etc.) may very well have been a Karian, (3) the Paionian mentioned 5. 12 *supra* and others. The patronymic forbids the identification of the first, and other obvious considerations, the identification of either the other two, with the son of Hysseldomos, or Seldomos (cp. App. Crit.). This last name, in either form, is scarcely of Greek origin; but the root of πίγρης is perhaps to be found in μικρός

Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω may fairly be identified with the King of the Kalyndians, run down by Artemisia, and presumably drowned, at Salamis, 8. 87. His own name is transparent Greek. His father's name, Kandaules, originally at least a native God's, 'the bound-

(wolf?) strangler' Hermes Ἐρμῇ κυνάρχα Μηονιστὶ Κανδαύλα, Hipponax, fr 1, Bergk n<sup>4</sup> 460 a title easily explicable from Indogem roots, and presumably of Phrygian extraction, see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p 388 f.

99 1 τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνηται: cp c 96 *supra*. ταξιαρχός of naval commanders, unusual, cp 8 67 ταξιαρχοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν The contingent led by Artemisia forms a τάξις Stein suspects the phrase τῶν μὲν . . ἀναγκαζόμενος and brackets τῆς just after My doubt would be confined to the words ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος in the one case, but would extend to the proper name Ἀρτεμισίης in the other, as its occurrence here discounts its solemn introduction five lines lower

3 γυναικός The position is emphatic. This new Amazon fills the soul of Hdt. with wonder (θῶμα ποιεῖν) "With Hdt (says Rawlinson) patriotism [civic?] triumphs over every other motive [!], and he does ample justice [!] to the character of one who, he felt, had conferred honour upon his birthplace" Was this testimonial to Artemisia written before, or after, Hdt's own expulsion from Halikarnassos? He seems here to bear the tyranny in his native city little malice.

4 τοῦ ἀνδρός. Suidas (*sub v. Πίγρης*) gives the husband's name as 'Mausolos,' a nomination obviously open to the suspicion of an exchange with the devoted Karian queen and author of the 'Mausoleum' in the fourth century, B C It may be observed that the name Mausolos occurs in Hdt 5 118, as the father of Pixodaros, one of the wisest leaders (according to Hdt.) in the Karian revolt of 497 B C, and though that Mausolos cannot have been the husband



5 καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης  
 ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. οὐνομα μὲν δὴ  
 ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ  
 Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα.  
 ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων τε  
 10 καὶ Καλυδονίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. καὶ συναπάσης  
 τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρεί-  
 χετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ  
 ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλῶν ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ

6 συνεστρατεύετο Cobet appr. van H || οἱ om. α || ὄνομα van H.  
 7 ἐξ om α 9 κῶων B 11 ἐνδοξοτάτας Wesseling 13 ἡγε-  
 μονεύειν αὐτήν secl. van H

of this Artemisia, I venture to suggest that Pixodaios was (cp my note to 5 118)

5 παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ. Stem takes νεηνίῳ to mean that the son was old enough to lead the forces. Suidas (σὺν τῷ Ἡρόδοτος) gives Πισινδηλὶς as his name (The word may be connected with Πισιδία, Πισιδαί, the termination -inda, -anda being locally characteristic) λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης. cp 9 62, 5 72, 111 for λῆμα, a poetical word, and cp Sophokl. *El.* 983 for ἀνδρεία of women.

6. ἀναγκαίης would here be physical compulsion, cp c 96 *supra*.

7 Ἀρτεμισίη the goddess of whom she has her name is of course the 'Ephesian' Artemis, i.e. a form of the Great Asiatic Mother. It is perhaps only her name which leads the scholiast to Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 876 to make her τὸ γένος Ἐφεσία. Her mother is a 'Cretan,' her father a Halikarnassian.

Λυγδάμιος. This Lygdamis, her father, was presumably dynast of Halikarnassos, and if Artemisia married Pixodaros, son of Mausolos, from Kindys, she may have brought him into the dynasty, on the principles of female succession, which were characteristic of the region (cp Radet, *Lydie* 121, Gelzer, *Abh. Mus.* xxxv 1880, 516 f.). The name Lygdamis occurs previously as that of the tyrant of Naxos, supported by Peisistratos (Hdt. 1 61, 64), and earlier still as the name of a chieftain of the Kimmeri, or Treres (if late authorities can be trusted, e.g. Strabo 61 Ἀλύδαμος δὲ τοῦς αὐτοῦ ἄγων μέχρι Ἀυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας ἤλασε καὶ Σάρδεϊς εἶλεν, ἐν Κιλικίᾳ δὲ διεφθάρη). It was borne by the grandson and successor

of Artemisia, under whom Herodotos was expelled from Halikarnassos, Suidas 1 c; Hicks, *Manual*<sup>2</sup>, No 27. The Greek origin of this name λυγδός, 'white,' οἱ λυγδῶν (λύζω), is anything but certain. The name occurs on Carian *tituli*, cp Radet, *Lydie*, p 180.

8 Κρήσσα leaves her exact *ethnicon* uncertain, whether Dorian, or 'Eteokietan,' or what not!

9 ἡγεμόνευε. Hdt. does not expressly locate the 'tyrannis' of Artemisia in Halikarnassos. She led 'the men of Halikarnassos and Kos, of Nisyros and Kalydna.' Four names supplied five ships, of the five, perhaps Halikarnassos (rather than the 'Kalydnai') supplied two. These five ships must all be included in the Dorian contingent, c 93 *supra*. Nisyros, Kos, and Kalydna are three islands (in order from S. to N.) off the promontory of Halikarnassos. Νισυρόν τ' εἶχον. καὶ Κῶν νήσους τε Καλύδνας, II 2 676 f. The form Κάλυμνα is also found (e.g. coins, inscrip. *CIG* 2671), and better distinguished the island (still named 'Kalymnos') from the Karian town Κάλυνδα, cp 8 87.

11. μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων cp. c. 96 *supra*. Her exploit recorded in 8. 87 is hardly sufficient to justify this extravagant praise, the excellence of her counsel is exhibited 8. 68 and 102, passages perhaps composed to illustrate this text.

13 τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλῶν. τὰς δὲ πολλὰς τῶν κατέλεξα ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, i.e. an attraction of πολλῶν, not of the relative τῶν. This seems preferable to taking πολλῶν as genitive after τὸ ἔθνος ('the nationality'). In any case the compound κατέλεξα, which suggests rather

ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροϊ-  
ζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ 15  
ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.

Ξέρξης δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, 100  
ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφῆας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίησε  
ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκαστον  
ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων

14 Τροζηνίους? idem 15 ἐς . εἴρηται glossema videtur  
100. 1 ἐπέτε? van H || ἡριθμήθη Schaeter ἡρίθμησέ Stein<sup>1</sup>, codd. || τε  
om. B 2 διεξελάσας secl van H 'requireretur saltem διεξελαύνων'  
idem 3 Num ἔθνος παρ' ἔθνος scribendum? παρ' B || ἐν om. B

the list (κατάλογος) of cities than the simple predication of leadership, is not quite strictly used. The reference back (only the third so far in the Bk, cp c 93 *supra*) is to the list in the last sentence but one. Rawlinson remarks that Halikarnassos had been excluded from the Dorian amphiktion, l 144, yet 'Kos is subject to the excommunicated city'. This would be an interesting example of the separation of Church and State in early times, but is it certain that the episode in l 144 is prior to 480 BC?

14. ἀποφαίνω, 'I (as born Halikarnassian) do declare', cp 2 16 (Stein)

πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν Hdt will not allow any impunity or miscegenation in the population of the Dorian Hexapolis; it all goes back to the Dorians of the Argolid, the Halikarnassians to Dorian Troizen, the rest (i.e. Kos, Nisyros, Kalymnos, or Kalymna, or Kalymnai) to Dorian Epidauros.

The doctrine of the purely Dorian character of these settlements—as indeed of the remaining Dorians both within and without the Hexapolis (cp c 93 *supra* and l. 144)—is anything but indisputable. (1) That the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesos could have spared sufficient drafts to colonize SW. Asia Minor is on the face of it improbable. (2) Nor is the purely Dorian character of the Peloponnesian Dorians itself to be admitted apart from the question of intermarriage, many passed for Dorians, as others for Achaeans, who had little right to the name. (3) The Homeric catalogue makes Kos (*Il* 2 677) Hellenic before the Trojan War, as also Lindos (656), Karpathos (676), Syme (671), etc. Rawlinson regards all that as anachronism,

so likewise the pre-Dorian date assigned by some authorities to the colonisation of Halikarnassos (cp Strabo 543, 939, Steph. B. *sub v*), but we must now be prepared to recognize that 'Peloponnesians' and others passed freely across the Aegean long before the days of the Return of the Herakleids. There are two possibilities to be reckoned with.

(a) The 'Dorians' were a much earlier and more primitive element in the Aegean population than the legend of the 'Return' recognizes, or (b), as is more probable, the 'Dorian' colonization in Asia was merely an *Εποικισμός*, the Dorian element small and nominal, confined at first perhaps to the leaders, or new *οἰκιστῆς*, cp story of Dorians, 5 42 ff. That it was, however, a real presence is proved by the appearance of the Dorian tribes in Halikarnassos, Kalymna, Kos (though late?), cp. Hermann-Thumser, i 110. How factitious, 'pragmatic,' or *tendenzios* such legends may be is illustrated by the stories of Thera and Kyrene; see Hdt IV-VI vol II pp 264 ff.

100 1 ὁ στρατός here ὁ πεζός (= ἡ ἕκτος καὶ ὁ πεζός)

2 ἐποίησε ταῦτα, sc αὐτὸς σφῆας διεξελαύνων ἐθελῶτο

3 ἔθνος. were the ethnic divisions, then, still visible under the arrangement κατὰ τέλεα, in myriads (c. 82 *supra*)? If so, each of the forty-six nations must have had a frontal formation!

4 ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί Heeren first suggested that Hdt had personal access to the documents drawn up on this occasion (*Asiatic Nations*, i. 441, E.T.). Heeren's idea was approved by Thirlwall. Rawlinson sees, in "the minuteness of description" a "proof

‘Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, 101  
μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δ’ αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε. “Δημάρητε,  
νῦν μοι σὲ ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν  
τε, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 5  
τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὗτ’ ἐλαχίστης οὗτ’  
ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπο-  
μενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω,  
οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης  
οἰκούντες ἄνθρωποι συλλαχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμέ 10  
ἐπιόντα ὑπομείναι, μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι. θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ  
ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυνθέσθαι.” ὃ μὲν  
ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὃ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθείη  
χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ;” ὃ δὲ μιν ἀληθείη χρήσασθαι  
ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδὲν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. ὥς 102

101 1 νεὼς B 3 ὃ Δημάρητε Sz 4 τι om B || τὰ <πυθέ-  
σθαι> θέλω van H. 6 ἀπικομένων R: ἀπικομένων SV ‘forsan recte’  
van H || οὗτ’: οὐκ B || οὗτ’ ἀσθενεστάτης om B 9 λοιποὶ οἱ α:  
οἱ om B 10 ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσι Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder, van H. 11 <μὴ  
τί γε> μὴ Tournier 12 ὁκοῖόν . . αὐτῶν del. Cobet περὶ αὐτῶν  
λέγεις α 14 χρήσωμαι B (Stein<sup>1</sup> app. cr. χρήσονται AB χρήσονται,  
id.<sup>2</sup> χρήσωμαι AB χρήσομαι) || χρῆσθαι B 15 φὰς om. B || ἢ  
πρότερον ἦν del. van H, Holder

101 2 μετεπέμψατο καλέσας  
εἶρετο τάδε, ‘sent for him (to come into his  
presence), (when he was come) called him  
to him, and questioned him as follows’  
Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος  
Xerxes and Demaratos (cc. 101-104),  
‘the son of Ariston,’ already one of the  
*diastatis personae*, cp c. 3 *supra*. But  
the patronymic is not sheer proof of  
obliviscence, or of independent sources,  
but may be used deliberately for effect.  
The bare name here would, indeed, have  
been ineffective, nor would the patronymic  
by itself have been sufficient introduction.  
Seneca, *de Benefic* 6 31, ruins  
the story by transferring to Demaratos  
the sentiments of Artabanos. Seneca’s  
lapse does not discredit Hdt., but neither  
does it enhance his authority, or the  
authenticity of this interview. On the  
sources cp. Introduction, § 10

4 νῦν, ‘now that we have reviewed  
all the forces of the empire’

6. πόλιος οὗτ’ ἐλαχίστης. Xerxes  
enlarges his view of Sparta c 135 *infra*.  
The days of crass ignorance (1 153) are

past! The king says nothing of the  
shameful barbarity of the Spartans, cp.  
c 133 *infra*

7. ὑπομενέουσι. cp. *infra* ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα  
ὑπομείναι

11. μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι, ‘unless they  
unite together’ (a participle conditional,  
cp c 38 *supra*). In that case the king  
admits that the united Greeks (πάντες  
Ἑλληνες), with all their fellow-creatures  
to the west (οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρ. ἐσ. οἱ  
ἄνθρωποι) in one levy (συλλογή), might  
have a chance of resistance (χεῖρας  
ἀνταειρεσθαι, 6 44, c. 209 *infra*). Blakes-  
ley would place μὴ ἔόντες ἄρθμοι after  
ἀνταειρόμενοι. For ἄρθμιος cp 9 9, 37,  
and 6 83 (neut pl). Even πάντες  
Ἑλληνες cannot be intended to include  
the Hellenic subjects of his Majesty.

14 χρήσωμαι. cp. App. C<sup>1</sup>it. Baehi  
defends χρήσεται, as χρήσεται for χρήσαιο  
in 5 12, where the mss show both  
forms. The subjunctive here seems  
more courteous

15. ἀηδέστερον. sc. μιν

δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. “ βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείῃ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη 5 μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστί, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἑλληνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρικούς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε 10 τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, αὐτὶς δὲ ὡς ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι,

102. 3 διαχρήσασθαι α χρήσασθαι B, Holder, van H δὴ χρήσασθαι Stob flor 7 58 || πάντως με B, Holder με om α, Stob, van H. 5 αἰεὶ α αἰεὶ κοτε B, Holder || σύνεστιν (sic) B, Stob, Holder || ἐστί sec. l. del. van H 6 ἢ Ἑλλάς secl idem 8 πάντας τοὺς B || κείνους BPz || Δωρικούς secl. van H 11 δέξονται α 13 πάντες post φρονέωσι B

102. 3 τὰ μὴ ἀλώσεται i.e. τοιαῦτα ὥστε μὴ ἀλώσασθαι, the relative sentence having the value of a final (Stein). Cp 4. 166 ἐπιθυμύοντα μνημόσυνον ἐνωτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἰη βασιλεῖ κατεργασμένον κτλ

4 τῇ Ἑλλάδι κτλ, grammatically speaking, forms the apodosis to the sentence introduced by ἐπειδὴ *supra*. Logically, a colon should intervene, as ἐρέω, or ἔρχομαι λέξων, or such like (φέρ' εἶπω). Rhetorically, the inconsequence is effective.

'Hellas' is here used in a narrowed sense of the peninsula.

The sentiment which follows is of the 'gnomic' order παθήματα μαθήματα cp Thuc 1 123 1 ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτλ εἶναι Eurip *Fr* 641 πενία δὲ σοφίαν ἔλαχε διὰ τὸ συγγενές Theocr 21. 1 ἂ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνον τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει Αὐτὰ τῷ μόχθῳ διδάσκαλος. Hdt however (for it is, of course, Hdt speaking), rather mixes his metaphors, and obscures his argument, as in other cases (cp cc 152, 162 *infra*). If poverty is indigenous (σύντροφος), how is it to be 'warded off,' like the outlandish 'tyranny' (δεσποσύνη)? To cease to be poor is to invite attack. This was the moral of the Lykurgian institutions (σοφίη, νόμος ἰσχυρός), which no doubt produced manly valour (ἀρετή, ἔπακτος), but aimed not at banishing but at nursing its elementary conditions. Historically, indeed (αἰεὶ κοτε), the time had

been when the wealth of 'gold Mykenai' attracted the poor but well-armed invaders. That is a point Hdt forgets. But there was something paradoxical, no doubt, in the wealthy and ill-armed Asiatics swarming to the invasion of hard-headed, hard-handed Hellas (for which moral cp further 9 80-82). The bearing of the Mykenian finds on the poverty of Hellas is noticed in Tsountas-Manatt, *Mykenian Age*, p. 217.

7. αἰνέω μὲν Demaratos talks like a sage and a patriot, not like a king in exile scheming for his restoration. Hdt drops the mask. The 'Dorian' also moves in him, and he proceeds to write the eulogy of Lakedaimon in terms which no Greek could ever have addressed to the Great King. It is the preparation for the legend of Thermopylai, to the glory of the Λακεδαιμόνιοι μούνοι. Hdt had probably not yet written the story of Athens, which with less gross injustice glorified the Ἀθηναῖοι μούνοι cp 9 27, c 10 *supra*. (If the story c 239 *infra* could be trusted, Demaratos had recently been in communication with Sparta.)

11 οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως = οὐδαμῶς (Sitzler)

13 τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι cp. 5 3, cc. 145, 172 *infra*, 9 99

ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι. Xeïxas has not manifested any intention of asking about the number. The time, however, will come for that, c 234 *infra*

μή πύθη ὅσοι τινὲς ἔοντες ταῦτα ποίειν οἰοί τε εἰσί· ἦν τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν 15 τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων, ἦν τε καὶ πλεῦνες.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας 103 Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη “Δημάρητε, οἶον ἐφθέγγαιο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχήσεσθαι. ἄγε εἰπέ μοι· σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι· σὺ δὲ ἐβελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ 5 πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιός ἐστί, σέ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῦτ’ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ 10 παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοί τε ἔοντες καὶ μεγάθεια

103. 3 μαχήσασθαι B || σὺν. οὐ B 4 αὐτὸς del. Cobet · post σὺν  
 ὦν transp van H. || θέλεις B 5 μάχεσθαι α: μαχήσασθαι R.  
 μαχέσασθαι S. μαχήσεσθαι V 6 διαιρέεις B 9 δέ α. om. B.  
 cp. Sitzler ap Bursian J.-B 86 59 10 ἀντάξιον α δίκαιον B, Holder  
 || ὀρθοῦτο ὁ B 11 σεῦ εἰρημένος B, Holder, van H

15 χῖλοι this figure was destined to play a fatal part in the story of Thermopylai, cp cc 202, 228 *infra*

103 5 τὸ πολιτικόν Stein understands, “your whole institutions”, Sitzler, “the citizen-body” Cp Aristot *Eth N.* 3 8 9=1116 b τὰ δὲ πολιτικὰ μένοντα ἀποθνήσκει (these contrasted with οἱ στρατιῶται) κείνων seems to support the latter, and the apodosis as a whole the former interpretation

6 οἶον σὺ διαιρέεις c 17 *supra*

8 κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους Rawlinson sees an allusion to the “double portion,” 6 57, and perhaps to the “supposed double vote,” *ib* Blakesley and Stein refer to the former, and Stein remarks that Xerxes shows himself here better informed than afterwards, in c. 234 *infra*, almost too well informed, for the argument is at best obscure Hdt could hardly expect his readers, or hearers, to have the passage on the γέρεα of the Spartan kings in mind so vividly as to take up this obscure allusion, even if that passage were of earlier composition than this, while, if the ‘double portion’ of the Spartan king was so notorious, it need not have been elaborately reported at all. Perhaps the reference here must be admitted as something of an artistic flaw, it being what Xerxes could hardly under any

circumstances have made, and what Hdt himself should not have made. To account for it is difficult, except on the supposition that the passage on the γέρεα of the Spartan kings was already ‘in type’ If so, the conversation with Demaratos must be of later compositional date, or must have been considerably retouched, in the retouching of these Books (7-9), cp Introduction, § 9.

9. σὲ δέ γε a strict δέ *in apodosis*, cp Index, σέ γε, c. 10 *supra*

δίζημαι, ‘requisite,’ ‘look for,’ rather than ‘inquire’, cp 4 30 προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο

10 ὀρθοῦτ’ ἂν ὁ λόγος=ὀρθὸς ἂν εἴη ὁ λ The construction, but not the sense, is parallel to Aeschyl *Choeph.* 773 ἐν ἀγγέλω γὰρ κρυπτός ὀρθοῦται λόγος

ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος: here strictly of oral communication without prejudice to the constant use of the terms by Hdt of written sources, cp. Introduction, § 10

11 εἰ δέ κτλ. ‘But if your Lakedaimonians are no better and no bigger than you yourself, and the other Greeks, who frequent my audience, yet use this proud boasting, look to it, if the word you have spoken be not mere idle brag.

τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σύ τε καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αὐχέετε τοσοῦτο, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ᾗ. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότηϊ κῶς ἂν δυναίαιο  
 15 χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσφδε ἀντιστήναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῖνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστου γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίαιτ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες  
 20 τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῖνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνιμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιόειεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλληνας Πέρσῃσι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν [μούνοισι]  
 25 τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ [Περσέων] τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐθέλησουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ  
 104 ἐὼν ἄπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρέεις." πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρητος λέγει

12 ὅσοι α οἶός β || τε om α || ἐμοὶ β 14 εἴη α || ἂν δυναίαιο β  
 15 ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι om. β 17 παρὰ Valckenaer  
 παρ' van H. 21 μάστιγι van H. μαστιγέες πλεῖνες β 22 ἐλευ-  
 θέρων α || ποιόειεν A. ποιέειεν B· ποιέειν β 23 ἀνισωθέντας β: ἂν  
 ἰσωθέντας α: ἂν ἰσωθέντας P, van H. 24 μόνους μούνοισι con  
 Stein<sup>2</sup>, appr. van H. || μὲν μούνοισι om. α. μούνοισι del. Stein<sup>2</sup> 25  
 μέντοι β, Holder, van H. 26 Περσέων del. Stein<sup>2</sup> 28 φλυηρεῖς  
 β, van H.

Since, come now, let me put the matter from a common-sense point of view.'

15. ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι presently shall Xerxes be 'hoist with his own petar.' Meanwhile he puts his finger on one of the weak points of Hellas, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω (II 2 204), a stock diagnosis! The despot Gelon sings the same tune to the Athenian, c 162, with a slight variation, τοὺς μὲν ἀρχοντας ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν Hdt. himself thought it a very good counsel—for Thracians, cp 5 3 (with my note ad l.) Xerxes has also the (apocryphal) γυνῶμαι of Dareios and his friends, 3 80-82, to support him, could he but have known it!

17 πλεῖνες ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. 'Five thousand' is the figure for the Spartiatai at Plataiai, 9 78 *infra* upwards of five million for his own men is the estimate of Xerxes in

this place, who thus anticipates the elaborate calculations which Hdt. institutes upon his own account, cc. 184 ff. *infra*, and commits the further absurdity of including the non-combatants. The oration of Xerxes appears to carry reminiscences of the speech of Agamemnon, II. 2 128 ff

21 ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι. on this libel cp c 56 *supra*

23 ἀνισωθέντες πλήθει, 'put on a par in respect of numbers,' here, 'levelled up': so, in respect of strength, Xenoph. *Cyrop* 7 5 65 ὁ σιδηρὸς ἀνισοῖ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ But Plato, *Polit.* 289 π ἔργα διακομίζοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀνισοῦντες, simply 'putting on the same level,' or 'reducing to the same level' of commercial values

25 τὸ σὺ λέγεις: i.e. ἦν τε τύχῳσι . . . πλεῖνες c 102 *ad fin.*

28 φλυηρέεις a word which Hdt. shares with Attic comedy and prose.

“ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχήθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείη χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω. σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι. καίτοι ὥς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους . . ., αὐτὸς 5 μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, οἷ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἀπολὴν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν, πατήρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἔδωκε. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι 10 οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυοῖσι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουνυμαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἡγών, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν

104 3 δὲ A || τοὺς λόγους B 4 τὰ om. α 5 τάδε del. Krueger ('iniuria' van H) || lacunam indic Stein<sup>1</sup>, δὲ μισέων vel δὲ ἀποστρυγέων propos. redarg. Cobet cf. comment. infra 7 ὁ σὸς Bekker 8 βίον B 10 ὑπόσχομαι B 11 οὔτε οἷσι A<sup>1</sup>: οὐ τοιοῦσι B· οὔτε οἷσι C οὐ τοιοῦσιν d οὔτε δυοῖ A<sup>2</sup>

Cp 2 131 ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυρήοντες.

104 2 ἀρχήθεν, 'from the start'; cp. 8. 142

4 τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι, "de iis quae pertinent ad Spartanos" (Baehi), concerning which Demaratos would be a good authority, and be able λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους

5 τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους the vulgate text, if left as it stood, must be taken as ironical. "for none knows better than thou what my love towards them is [likely to be] at the present time," Rawlinson so too Baehr, Blakesley, Cobet (*Mn* 12 256) *et al* τάδε is rather *de ti op* in this case. Stein<sup>1</sup> marks a lacuna after ἐκείνους, and would read ἐκείνους δὲ μισέων, but still appears to take τὰ νῦν τάδε as one phrase ("mit meiner jetzigen Lage hier zufrieden"), it would be better to separate τὰ νῦν (or τὸ νῦν) from τάδε in either case and refer it rather to τυγχάνω. Even so τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους δὲ μισέων is not a very happy or adequate antithesis τάδε μὲν ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους δὲ μισέων would mend the antithesis, but still, why should the one verb be in the perfect, the other in the present? The recurrence of the verb στέργειν just below, where the meaning is hardly disputable, favours Stein's suggestion at the same time words recur sometimes, in all but the most careful compositions, with

different senses at no great intervals (cp. A B Cook, "Unconscious Iterations" in *Class Rev* xvi 1902, pp 158, 256). Could τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους give a simple sense by itself? στέργειν means various things besides 'loving' 9 119 οὐτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρέοντα, 'they endured, put up with, the situation' Aeschyl. *Agam* 1570 τάδε μὲν στέργειν, | δύσλητά περ ὄνθ' So τάδε ἐστοργῶς might mean 'having endured these things' (at then hands), though ἐκείνους in this case must be corrupt, and ἐκείνων οἱ a more extensive emendation might be requisite: possibly a line has dropped out

6 τιμὴν so βασιλήην. γέρεα cp 6 57 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι takes double acc τινά τι. ἀπολὴν (cp. 8. 61) might have a special meaning for one who had fled ἐς βαρβάρους But cp next note.

8 βίον τε . καὶ οἶκον, and γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν to boot, cp 6 70

10 στέργειν . as the antithesis to διωθέεσθαι must mean 'to accept'. the sentence is 'gnomic,' as any abstract sentence about σωφροσύνη and εὐνοία is apt to be

11 ἐκὼν τε εἶναι as in c 164 *infra*, but not very elegant just after οἷός τε εἶναι

12 εἰ εἴη a purely hypothetical condition. The offer was rather risky: Xerxes, who had 'compelled' him to speak (ἠναγκάσας λέγειν *supra*), might have 'compelled' him to fight οἷ . . ἐκαστος φησί is a little abrupt.

- οὐ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. ὥς δὲ καὶ  
 15 Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἕνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίους  
 ἀνδρῶν, ἀλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ  
 ἔοντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσὶ· ἔπεστι γὰρ σφί δεσπότης  
 νόμος, τὸν ὑπερδαιμάνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ.  
 20 ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγη· ἀνώγει δὲ τὸν αὐτὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ  
 ἔῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας  
 ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι  
 ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τᾶλλα σιγᾶν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν· νῦν τε  
 ἀναγκασθεῖς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.”  
 105 “Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε  
 ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἠπίως αὐτὸν  
 ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἔλθων Ξέρξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον  
 ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστειω,  
 5 τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλανε τὸν

14 φασὶ Valckenaer || ἀντάξιος Naber 15 μαχόμενοι α || εἰσιν  
 ante ἀνδρῶν β 18 ὑπερδαιμάνουσι con1 van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> ὑποδει-  
 μάνουσι codd. Stein<sup>12</sup>. οὔτοι δαιμάνουσι con1 Naber 21 τάξει codd  
 22 τᾶλλα Stein. τ’ ἄλλα β ἅμα α ἄλλα Wesseling. φλυηρέειν πολλὰ,  
 σιγᾶν ἐθέλω Reiske. [τᾶλλα]? van H. 23 νόμον om. τοι β  
 105 2 οὐδεμίαν β 4 τούτῳ del. Krueger || μεγαλόστειω β 5  
 σταθέντα. ταχθέντα Naber

16 ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ. ἀπόλλυσθαι. No finer eulogy on Spartan discipline exists ‘freedom under the law’ and ‘loyalty to death’ for its watchwords. Dramatically the panegyric is ill placed in the mouth of Demaratos addressing Xerxes, and at this point, where it anticipates the story of Thermopylae, to which, no doubt, it rightly belongs. The principle of the absolute supremacy of the νόμος or νόος ἀνευ ὁρέξεως as the secret of the best State is more elaborately, but not more clearly, formulated in Aristotle, *Polit.* 3 16=1287 A, but as a moral maxim ‘the categorical imperative’ still falls short of the Platonic ideal.

20 μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. This is the maxim οὐκ ἔῶν. ἐκ μάχης ἀλλά the speaker’s gloss, which a little confuses the statement κελύων must be supplied out of οὐκ ἔῶν cp. 6 97 οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον προσορμίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ The anecdote of Amompharetos 9 53 ff. shows a misapplication of the maxim.

105 2 ἔτρεψε requires an object, see τὴν ἀμοιβήν (cp c 160 infra), out of

ταῦτα ἀμείψατο The sentence seems designed by Hdt. to illustrate the king’s occasional bonhomie and good humour (ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν· ἠπίως), and not to prepare the revenge, when the laugh shall be at the king’s own expense. But there is at least an ironical intention in the conversation.

3 ὑπαρχον perhaps more than commandant of the fortress, for many years there was a European satrapy in the Persian empire Cp c 59 supra

4 ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. the last mention of Doriskos is up in c 59. How much of the intervening matter is addition, at first or second revision, by the author? Cp Introduction, § 9

Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστειω The father’s name is interpreted in Rawlinson (iii 547) as = φιλόθεος, from *bagā* ‘God,’ and *daushita* ‘friend’ On the son see further below

5 τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα: Hdt. evidently does not know his name, it was not of moment in this connexion, and in Bks 4–6 Doriskos is only once mentioned in connexion with the fugitive



στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. κατέλιπε δὲ 106  
 ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα  
 πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἡ  
 Δαρείος ὑπάρχους, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ  
 Ἄρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέ- 5  
 στασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ  
 Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες  
 οἱ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν  
 Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίας  
 ἐξαιρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ κω 10  
 ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ

106 2 μούνῳ om α, Stein<sup>23</sup> 3 ἀρίστῳ ὄντι α 5 Μασκά-  
 μω conl. van H 6 τῇ τε<sup>2</sup> Stein<sup>2</sup> 7 πανταχῇ . . Ἑλλησπόντου  
 om BC 8 τοῦ om α 10 Μασκάμην del. van H. 11 δὴ  
 Stein . δέ

Paionians, in a way which suggests that there was no Persian there at the time Cp. 5 98, and notes below, c 106

106. 1. κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον 'He left Maskames behind him as governor, who (afterwards) proved himself a man of such quality that 'Maskames' heroism was exhibited subsequent to his appointment This chapter introduces us deep into the *Pentekontaetia*, and generates some serious difficulties both in regard to the history of that period and in regard to the composition of Hdt's *Logoi*, which can hardly be resolved except on the supposition that we have in this chapter strata deposited at various times, or else glosses inserted by a later hand Cp Introduction, § 9

3 πάντων the commentators (Wesseling, Baehr, Blakesley, Stein, etc) would restrict this to governors in Thrace and Hellespont, as I 185, § 160 show that annual gifts were received by others But Hdt here makes no such exception To bracket μούνῳ does not quite avoid the contradiction, but is Hdt incapable of inconsistency? Or must he have had in mind, or even have composed the passages conflicting with this statement, when this passage was first penned? Cp Introduction, § 8.

4 ὡς δὲ . . ἐκγόνοισι breaks the connexion, and is in any case very like a gloss, but might be a late addition from the author's hand. late, for though Artaxerxes came to the throne in 465 B C,

the statement presupposes not merely the death of Xerxes, but the death of Maskames, and the maintenance of the custom for some time

5 τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι: is this patronymic adjective an 'Aiolism'? Is it Herodotean?

6 ὑπαρχοὶ . . πανταχῇ They can hardly all have been 'satraps,' nor, if the Persian suzerainty was so widespread, can there well have been no satrap among them Doriskos may have been the Daskyleion of Thrace

7 πάντες . . . ἐξαιρέθησαν. At the time of writing all the Persian garrisons had been cleared out of Thrace by the Athenians and their allies (Ἑλλήνων), with the exception of the governor in Doriskos. Was there still then a Persian governor in Doriskos when this passage was written? or had he too cleared out, or been cleared out though not ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων? No set (οὐδαμοί) of Greeks (or men?) had as yet (κω) succeeded in turning out Maskames, the governor in Doriskos, though many made the attempt This κω suggests that Maskames is there in Doriskos still, so far as the writer knows If he had evacuated it, under pressure from Thracians (as has been suggested), why does not Hdt say so?

11 διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι looks as though Maskames were alive, and still in Doriskos, though Xerxes is apparently dead. ὁ βασιλεύων αἰεὶ, 'the king for the time being,' in any case can only cover Artaxerxes—if the

τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.  
 107 τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης  
 ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον τὸν ἐξ  
 Ἡϊόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέοντας  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιός αἶνον  
 5 μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων  
 καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδew, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελεῖν  
 καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε  
 περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὥς δ'  
 οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ τείχει, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην  
 10 ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ  
 τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 τὸν <τε> χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν

12 αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος? van H · αἰὲν B 107 1 ὑπ' B 3 δ' α  
 4 μάλιστα om. B 6 <τε> καὶ? Stein<sup>2</sup> 9 μεγάλην om B  
 10 τά τε? van H 11 ἔπειτεν van H. || δὲ om α 'recte si servato  
 ταῦτα pro ἔπειτεν legimus ἔπειτε' van H. ταῦτα del. van H. 12  
 τὸν <τε> χρυσὸν van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>

passage is from the hand of Hdt. If not, then indeed Maskames may be dead, or live only in his children, or descendants (ἐγγόνιοι), and the passage might be from the same hand as the sentence *ὥς δὲ . . . ἐγγόνιοι* above. In any case there is an awkward inconsequence between ἐγγόνιοι there and *οἱ* here—which supports the view that this chapter was not originally written once for all as it now stands, see Introduction, § 9.

107. 1. τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων cp Thuc 1 75. 2 τὰ ὑπολοιπὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου It would include the capture of Byzantium by Pausanias, Thuc 1 94 2

2 Βόγην . . . τὸν ἐξ Ἡϊόνος cp Thuc 1. 98 πρῶτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἰλόν καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος Thucydides gives no hint of the devotion of Boges (he will not repeat Hdt) Aeschines, c. *Ktesiphōn* p. 80, recites the three epigrams recording the heroism of the Athenians ὁ πολὺν ὑπομείναντες πόρον καὶ μεγάλας κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους (cp. Hill, *Sources*, iii 20, p 87), but no mention was made of Boges Pausanias 8 8 9 mentions a 'strategema' of Miltiades in diverting the river, and has the name of the Persian

commandant as Βογῆς, perhaps a corruption Plutarch, *Kimon* 7, reports (1) a battle and defeat of the Persians outside the walls, (2) operations against the Thracians, by which supplies were cut off from the garrison, (3) the firing and destruction of the place, property, his friends (φίλων) and himself by Βούτης, the king's general The *Ερμῆαι* at Athens, on which the epigrams were inscribed, kept the Athenian side of the story green. It was in Asia that the devotion of Boges was remembered, and it was not from Athenian sources Hdt drew this record, cp Introduction, § 10

3 τοὺς ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας presumably grown up, and not with their father and the τέκνα in Eion

8 βασιλείῃ of course with δόξειε, and δειλίῃ with περιεῖναι· an interesting juxtaposition of datives, (1) referential or objective, (2) instrumental or causal, cp 1. 121. The objective case with περιεῖναι would be the genitive, cp 3 146, for 3. 119 περιεῖναι τοὶ gives a *dativus commodū*, which would here be absurd

9. φορβῆς c 50 *surpra*.

12 τὸν χρυσὸν . . . καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον —great attractions of Thrace! 5. 7, 6. 46, 7. 112, 9 75 (Stein). Such acts of desperate devotion were not so rare 'Saidanapalos' Diodor 2 27, Kroisos

ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἑωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἡνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκίκα τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλιν τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλιν Στρώμη, διὰ

14 ἐπέβαλε C ἐπείβαλε? van H 108 4 μεγαβύζου B  
6 πρῶτον B 7 ἐσπέρης Stein ἐσπέρην δε ἐσπέρη B ἐσπέρη α

Hdt 1 86, Bakchyl. 3. 23 ff, Hamilkar cf c 167 *supra*, and doubtless others not a few supplied precedents and parallels

15 ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε *anno*? Could we supply the year we should have a light on the composition. Xeïxas apparently is dead (465 B.C.), and that some time Cp Introduction, § 9.

108. 1 ἐπορεύετο Hdt makes no attempt to estimate the length of the pause at Doriskos, which must have lasted weeks, or months, if the manoeuvres described by him actually took place there, cp c 59 *supra*.

3 ἐδεδούλωτο with temporal force, cp. c 119

ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται A curious jingle-jangle with ἐδεδούλωτο just before! The reference is, of course, to Bk. 5 and 6 43, and is probably the first genuine reference to any part of the work 'previous' to this Book, cp c 93 *supra*. The mere formula of reference might easily have been inserted in a final revise. The words Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφάμενου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου may still belong to the first draft, and even render the formula of reference more suspicious or gloss-like. The last three words are, indeed, somewhat awkward, as the interval of revolt is thus taken for granted. But the conquest by Mardonios (here, too, treated as a success) has been referred to earlier in the Book, c 9 *supra*. And the bald fact of the conquest by Megabazos 'and afterwards Mardonios' (presented as one continuous act *τε . . . καὶ*) might have been known to Hdt long before he could have written out the stories in

Books 5 and 6, the latter of which represents the expedition of Mardonios as a failure. Still less is there here any record of the conquest of Thasos (and the Peraea), which in Book 6 is treated as completely independent of, and subsequent to, the operations of Mardonios. This passage, then, rather confirms than disturbs the hypothesis of the earlier date for the composition of this section of the work, cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

6 πρῶτα μὲν is weakly answered by διαβὰς δὲ ἔπειτα δὲ or δεύτερα δὲ might be expected, cp c 42 *supra*.

τὰ Σαμοθρηκίκα τείχεα Samothrake had a tract on the mainland extending from near Doriskos to the Lissos, cp c 59 *supra*. Mesambria is the most westerly (not to be confused with the city on the Euxine 4 93, 6. 33). The τείχεα were fortified emporia or depôts, necessary in Thracian, for communication with the 'Rand'. (The Σαμοθράκες paid 6 T tribute to Athens pretty regularly, which was probably not all raised in the island itself.) Steph B cites Hdt as authority for 'Mesambria,' which does not prove it unknown to Hekataios.

8 ἔχεται, in geographical sense, 'succeeds'.

Θασίων πόλιν Στρώμη The Thasian 'Peraea' was of more importance than the Samothrakian (cp 6 46). After the thirty years' peace Θάσιοι pay 30 T tribute to Athens. The Peraea must have been again in their hands. At a later time there seems to have been a dispute between Thasos and Μαίονεια over the possession, determined

δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Λίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὃς τότε οὐκ  
 10 ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξῳ στρατῷ ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε.  
 ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαική, νῦν δὲ  
 Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη  
 109 Κικόνων. διαβάς δὲ τοῦ Λίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀπεξη-  
 ρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν  
 Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήιε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας

9 διαρρέει B· διαίρει α: διαίρει Holder· διαρρεῖ van H 10  
 παρέχων secl. van H 11 γαλλαική B. γαλδική α: χαλδική C  
 109 1 ῥεῖθρον? van H 2 πόλεις B || παραμείβετο α 3 ταῦτά α

by an arbitration imposed by Athens, ps -Phil ap Demosth Or 12. 17 Στρώμη is known to Steph. Byz, who quotes not Hdt but Androtion as his authority. The name seems to have the same root as the river Στρυμών, which was not in the neighbourhood.

Διὰ τοῦ μέσου = μεταξύ of space, as in 1 104, Thuc 4 20 1 (and of time, as in 9. 112, Thuc. 5 26 2 τὴν διὰ μέσου ξυμβασιν).

9 σφέων 'Mesambria and Stymne'? Λίσος ποταμός a river known to fame only by its failure on this occasion. The army drank it dry, and passed it by, cp c. 43 *supra*.

11. πάλαι μὲν Γαλλαική, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική, sc καλέεται. "Gallaica, not mentioned elsewhere [Γαλαῖοι in Attic trib-lists, C I A. 1. 243 f], suggests an original Celtic occupation," Rawlinson. Briantica reappears in the Campus Praetorius of Livy 38 41. 8, and the Priantae of Pliny, N H 4 18 2, *id.* Oberhummer (*ap* Pauly-Wissowa s v) connects it further with Biendice (a place in Thrace on the Via Egnatia), and with Briana, a (Thracian) town in Phrygia, coins BPIANON, Head, *Hist Num* 560 -bria in Thracian signified πόλις (Burg), Strabo 319.

12 ἔστι μέντοι . . καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. καί, 'as well as Doriskos,' c 59 *supra*. The Kikones are spoken of in the next chapter also as actually existing in *l c supra* as having lost Doriskos. It is not quite clear here whether Hdt means that the Kikones, a still existing tribe (cp next c), have lost hold on 'Briantike,' as they had lost Doriskos (c 59), or whether Kikones were still to be found in the country, though it bore an alien name.

τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων· cp τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, c. 104 *supra*.

The title of the Kikones might perhaps be based upon their recognition in Homer. Odysseus reports to Alkinoos (*Od* 9 39-61) as his first act on the return from Troy an attack on Ismaros, a place and city of the Kikones (cp c 109 *infra*), which ultimately proved a failure. And in the Catalogue (B 846) the Kikones are mentioned among the Thracian allies of Troy, between the Hellespont and the Aios (or between the 'Thracians and the Paionians'). A better title to the land they could hardly have had! In Homeric times the name of the Kikones is recognized as widespread between Paionia and Hellespont, and, though disappearing from history, naturally lasts on in literature, and even revives, especially with the Latin poets (Vergil, Ovid, Silenus).

109 2 Μαρώνειαν· πόλιν Κικωνίας Steph B *sub v.* with a long history. Pliny (4 11 18) gives an older name Ortageura. Μάρων Εὐάνθεος υἱός, | ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃς Ἰσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκει appears as a benefactor, presenting Odysseus with twelve amphorae of strong wine (*Od* 9 197 ff). It was a Chian colony, *Scymni Perieg* 678 (*Geogr min.* 1. 222), and a regular tributary of Athens in Hdt's time (paid 1 T 3000 Dr, raised to 10 T for a time after the Samian War, and afterwards fixed at 3 T). The constant importance of the place is attested by its coinage, cp Head, *H N* pp 215 ff. Marogna still preserves its name (The name Μάρων at Sparta, c 227 *infra*).

3 Δίκαιαν· probably the Δίκαια παρ' Ἀβδηρα which the Tribute-lists so distinguish from Δίκαια Ἐρετριῶν, also in Thiac (Chalkidike), the more important place of the two.

Ἀβδηρα (τά) figures occasionally in the history of the period from

λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρώμης  
κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ 5  
δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ  
Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὀνομαστὴν παραμείφατο  
Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ δὲ  
ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε, τῶν  
ἐν μῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει [ὥσει] τριήκοντα σταδίων 10  
μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ.  
ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μούνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι

4 μὲν <τε> van H 6 ἐσιεῖσι τὸ Schweighaeuser. ἐσιεῖσι τὸ  
α ἐσειεῖτο β ὕδωρ om β. ἐξιεῖσι [τὸ ὕδωρ] van H || στραυός ABCd  
(Stein<sup>1</sup> contra Stein<sup>2</sup>). 'fortasse Τραυός' Stein<sup>1</sup>. adopt Holder || κόμ-  
ψαντος ABd κόμψαντος CPdz. κόψαντος RS(V) Valla 8 μέστον β  
9 ἰὼν <Θασίων> Stein<sup>1</sup> Θασίων Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder || πόλις α. πόλεις β  
10 [ὥσει] Stein<sup>3</sup>. τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ὅση β 12 ἀνεξήρηνε R ἀνεξήρηνε  
S(V?)

550-350 B.C. Originally a settlement from Klazomenai it had been overwhelmed by the native Thracians (Bistones?), but was successfully re-established by the fugitive Teians in 546 B.C. (Hdt. i 168), Timaeus of Klazomenai still apparently being accounted heroic founder. Abdera was assessed at 15 T under the Athenian regime (lowered in 425 B.C. to 10 T). Its coinage in the fifth century, like that of Maroneia and other towns in the district, is on the Phoenician standard Head (p. 219) ascribes this fact to "the existence in early times on the site of Abdera of a Phoenician trading-station or factory." Might it not rather be connected with the Persian supremacy in Thrace and Makedon from 512-478 B.C.? Grassberger, however (*Gri. Ortsnamen* p. 233), is inclined to connect the name with 'the Phoenician *Abba* = silva' (?) τὰ περὶ Ἀβδήρου μυθενόμενα might show a connexion with Heiakles (Phoenician?), and Hdt. of course puts the Phoenicians in this neighbourhood, 6 47. On the Ἀβδηρίται cp. c. 120 *infra*.

5 Ἰσμαρίδα cp. Ἰσματος in note to c. 109, Strabo 331, fr. 44 "the lake does not exist now," Rawlinson.

Βιστονίδα cp. Strabo l.c. ἔκρησαν δ' αὐτὴν (Abdera) Βίστονες Ὀρᾶκες, ὧν Διομήδης ἤρχεν. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων (Abdera Δίκαια) ἡ Βιστονίς λίμνη κύκλον ἔχουσα ὅσον διακοσίων σταδίων.

6 Τραυός τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. only one river now runs into the lake (*Burw*), doubtless the Trave (Rawlinson).

8. Νέστον Livy 45 29, Nessus, Zonaras, *Ann* 9 28, Μέστος, cp. App. Crit. The *Mesto*, or *Kara Su*, now reaches the sea ten miles west of the supposed site of Abdera the river was apt to flood (Strabo l.c.) and its course may have altered. Thuc. 2 96. 4 places its sources in Rhodope.

μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε This sentence is not free from ambiguity. The commentators generally take it to mean 'after these places proceeding on his march he passed the main-land cities'. But (1) why ἰὼν? (2) why ἡπειρώτιδας? (3) why τὰς? Stein conjectures Θασίων τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις, which seems to resolve the difficulty. The only way to give sense to the vulgate would be to take it. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας (or μετὰ δὲ [ταύτας]) after passing these cities, χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας marching through mainland districts πόλεις παρήιε τῶν κτλ. which might be taken as a dim hint that Xerxes was marching with the centre column. So below we are told that Xerxes marched to the right (inland) of τὰς πολέας τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας. But χώραι ἡπειρώτιδες can hardly be used in distinction to παραθαλασσίας, and Stein's conjecture appears acceptable, though he has dropped it out of his own text.<sup>3</sup>

- 110 ταύτη οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος. ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλεις  
τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς  
ἀπέργων παρεξήιε. ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηίκων δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν  
ἐποιέετο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι Δερσαῖοι  
5 Ἡδωνοὶ Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι  
ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἴποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαίαν οἰκούντες  
καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες  
111 πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἴποντο. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων

13 πίστυρος RS, Stein, van H. πίστυρος ABV, Holder Πίσσυρος z  
110. 1 πόλις z 3 θρηίκων R· θρηίκων α. θρηίσκων SV || ὁδὸν om β  
4 Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαῖοι om. β 6 αὐτῶν secl van H

13 Πίστυρος, for which there is the  
v l Πίστυρος, cp App Cnt, can hardly  
be other than the city of the Κυστίριοι  
on the tribute-lists (assessed so far as  
we know but at 300 D1) That both  
forms occur in Etym Magn hardly  
disproves the identity Steph B has  
Πίστυρον, Hapokration Πίστειρα The  
name Pist-yros seems to have a con-  
nexion with Bist-ones, Steph B Βί-  
στιρος πόλις Θράκης ὡς Πίστυρος τὸ ἐμπόριον

110 2. ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς. The king  
did not pass through these cities, but  
had them on his left as he marched  
c. 121 *infra* shows that Xerxes was with  
the middle column of the army, which  
may explain this curious notice, though  
Hdt himself seems hardly to understand  
it

3. ἀπέργων c. 43 *supra*.

ἔθνεα. Xerxes passed not along  
the Greek littoral but further inland,  
through country occupied by native  
tribes, all with one exception (see next  
chapter) his subjects

4 Παῖτοι Arrian, *Anab* 1 11. 4,  
places Παιτική between the Hebros and  
the Melas Hdt here enumerates in  
order from E to W all the Thracian  
tribes through whose territory the king  
passed (Has the Latin *paetus* no con-  
nexion with this tribal name?)

Κίκονες cp c 108 *supra*

Βίστονες have been located above  
(c. 109)

Σαπαῖοι Steph B Σάπαι, ἔθνος  
Θράκης λέγονται δὲ Σάπαιοι καὶ Σάπιοι  
Appian, *B C* 4 105, 106, describes a pass,  
τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορίλων,  
as E. of Philippi (=Damos-Kienides),  
τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια διόδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε  
καὶ Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι· cp c 87 ἡ  
μόνη διεκθεὺς ἐστὶν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς

Ἀσίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. This is the  
pass over Pangaion

Δερσαῖοι mentioned by Thuc.  
2 101 3 among autonomous inland  
Thracian tribes E. of the Strymon,  
occupying 'plains'

5 Ἡδωνοὶ had been apparently driven  
by the Makedonians across the Strymon,  
cp Thuc 2 99 4 Myrkinos on the Stry-  
mon was in their territory in 512 B C,  
Hdt 5 11, 124, and so Damos (Kienides-  
Philippi) 9 75 *infra*, and *Ennea Hodoi*  
(Amphipolis) c 114 *infra* ('Hdwnid' αἶαν  
Aischyl *Pers* 498)

Σάτραι. As the Satrae disappear,  
while the Bessi (cp next c) become  
more and more important in later  
history, it is possible that (a) Hdt has  
reversed the true relations between  
Satrae and Bessi, or (b) the name of  
the religious order or clan gradually  
asserted itself as the national designa-  
tion The latter hypothesis does less  
violence to Hdt and also tides over the  
gap between the Satrae of this passage  
and the Bessi of the Roman empire more  
easily Neither name figures in the  
history of Alexander

τούτων must be taken to cover not  
merely the Thracian tribes just named  
but also the Greek cities on the coast

6 τὴν μεσόγαίαν οἰκούντες If the  
Thracian tribes inhabiting the Mesogaea  
joined the army of Xerxes under com-  
pulsion, a column must plainly have  
taken its way through their territories  
They were already, no doubt, in at least  
nominal subjection to the king

7. καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ. just  
immediately before the back reference  
being only over two lines. Hdt can  
hardly mean that no one had drawn up

ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεύσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔόντες ἐλεύθεροι μῦνοι Θρηίκων· οἰκέουσὶ τε γὰρ ὄρεα ὑψηλά, ἴδῃσι τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον 5 εἰσὶ ἐκτεμένον· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

111. 2 διατελεύσι α 6 κεκτεμένοι β 7 βισσοὶ β. βοσσοὶ δ  
8 θεοῦ Valckenaer || <γυνή> ἢ Stein (1859) test van H

a list of these seven Thracian tribes before him.

111 2 ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. here retrospective (οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο). The whole statement presents a standing formula (cp c 27 *supra*) in a slightly modified form

διατελεύσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔόντες ἐλεύθεροι μῦνοι Θρηίκων Rawlinson sees in these words a reference to the conquests of the Odysae (cp Thuc 2. 95-97, and c. 137 *infra*), but admits that the statement is overdrawn. The reference is obscure and unconvincing. In the list of Thracian tribes the Odysae are conspicuous by their absence: why are they not named here as in Bk 4? They are here implicitly placed among the conquered, not among the conquerors. Hdt knows of more than one conquest of Thrace: the Myso-Teukrian, c. 20 *supra*, in which all Thracians were conquered (in contradiction to this passage!), the Persian. This passage may have been written before the rise of the Odrysae, and confirms the hypothesis of the early composition of Bks 7-9. Cp Introduction, § 8 τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ cannot here be a birth-date (γενεγότος), and is almost superfluous with the present of the verb, unless, indeed, it be an addition by the author's hand to correct the exaggeration.

3 οἰκέουσὶ τε ὄρεα ὑψηλά. καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. These things go together in Hdt's philosophy, cp 9 122 *infra* ἴδῃσι συνηρεφέα is correct enough (cp 1 110), χιόνι σ seems rather bizarre. Hdt has also somewhat exaggerated the nature of the country, the mountains of which would hardly have extorted such a description from him at first hand. The next clause seems to show that the mountain in question is Pangaios.

5. τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον· spoken of as a thing notorious. Alexander is reported to have consulted this oracle (Suetonius, *Aug.* 94) and to Octavius, "cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Libei patris luco barbara caeremonia de filio consulenti infuso super altaria mero, tantum flammae emicuisset, ut superi gressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque feriretur" (The same portent had occurred in Alexander's case.) The holy place was transferred to the custody of the Odrysae by Crassus in 29 B.C. (Dio Cass 51 25). The site still awaits identification.

7 Βησσοὶ δέ cp previous chapter (as also for 'Satia'). Rawlinson connects the name with Βασσαρίς, Βασσαρεῖς (Βασσάρα, the fox, oi fox-skin worn by Bacchanals). cp Βασσάριον 4 192, Horace, *Od.* 1 13 11.

8 ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖσι. Hdt (if he wrote the passage) might have added Bianchidai, Patara, Argos, Dodona, and other sites to the list of places where a priestess, or female votary, was the *internuntia* of the deity. On the subject of 'sex in ancient religion' cp L. R. Farnell, *Athen f. Religionsw.* vii (1904) 70 ff.

9 οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον (1) *neque illa (oracula) magis perplexa*, Schweighauser, *modo minus perplexo minusque ancipiti (quam quo Delphus ista edi solebant)*, Baehr, "in einer nicht zweideutigen Sprache," *id.*; "her answers are not harder to read," Rawlinson, "the oracles are not at all more obscure," Macaulay. But these renderings all convey something very like a reproach to Delphi. It is one thing for Euripides to sneer at divination: ποικίλα δὲ θεὸς ὡς ἐφύ τι ποικίλον *Hel.* 711, ἐρμηνεύματα *Phoen.* 470; quite another for Hdt., cp 8. 77 (2). Perhaps for this reason Stein

- 112 Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποίεετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, 5 ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα 113 Σάτραι. ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας Δόβηρας τε καὶ Παιόπлас παρεξιὼν ἦιε πρὸς ἐσπέρην,

112 2 τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης Dietsch τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης Leopard, Gronov, Wessel, Gaist · τῶν δὲ ἐνὶ Φ. Schaefer. τῶν καὶ νιφάγρης (καινιφάγρης B) 3 παρὰ τὰ α 113 2 παιόπлас B ὀπлас α ὀπлас C. ὀπлас d

has given the words another turn "weiter ist da nichts, was uber das gewöhnliche hinausginge" = "beyond this there is nothing further of a remarkable character," Macaulay. But this interpretation puts a great strain on the words. (3) Lange's "eben so scharfsinnig" is also a *tour de force*. Is not the whole passage οὗτοι οἱ . ποικιλώτερον suspiciously like a gloss from a later hand?

112. 1 ὁ Ξέρξης the article unusual Cp c 45 *supra*.

τὴν εἰρημένην might be referred to τὴν μεσόγαιαν, c 110 *supra*. οἱ more generally, to χώραν or ὁδόν, understood.

δεύτερα τούτων, 'next', cp c. 80 *supra*.

2 τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων Pieria is the district between the Halakmon and the Peneios, c 131 *infra*. Pierians had gone eastwards, under pressure from the Makedonians, Thuc 2 99. 3 The two strongholds were named Φάγρης (see App C11) and Πέργαμος. Phagres was evidently the more important, and Steph B quotes Hekataios and Thucydides for it. For 'Peigamos' cp. c 48 *supra*.

3 ταύτῃ: locative. He had not marched παρὰ αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίας, c 110 *supra*.

4 τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος Xeixes leaves the Mons Pangaeus (Pliny i 18 1, mod. *Despoto Dagh*)—here apparently mentioned for the first time—well on his right i.e. he passes between the mountain and the sea. Perhaps one column of the Persian army took that route; but could it have been the centre one, with which the king himself was moving? cp. c 121 *infra* (Rawlinson too sees that some of the army must have marched

north of Pangaeus, iii<sup>2</sup> 93) There is no reference back to the mention of the failure of Megabazos to reduce the tribes on Mount Pangaeus in 5 16, the two passages are of course quite independent, and this one probably of earlier composition. Lake Prasias has not yet made its appearance in the Thias of Hdt.

6. μέταλλα τὰ νέμονται. These mines drew every one to Thrace. Hdt. allows the Pierians, Odomanti (who here drop from the skies), and 'chiefly the Satrai' to work, or run them (νέμονται). this passage is plainly written before the successful colonization of Amphipolis Cp next c.

Ὀδόμαντοι are described by Thuc 2 101. 3 as 'plain-men,' and 5 6. 2 'under monarchy' Leake, *N. G.* iii. 210, 465, puts them on Mount Orbelus. On the 'Satrai' cp c 110 *supra*.

113. 1 ὑπεροικέοντας would not by itself mean more than 'further inland dwelling,' so πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου is not *de trop*. ὑπεροικέειν, 4. 21, 37.

2. Παίονας· Δόβηρας· Παιόπлас. This is the only appearance of the Doberes in the pages of Hdt, for in 5 16 the name is athetized, but Δόβηρος ἡ Παιονική is mentioned by Thuc 2 98. 2, 99 1 on the inland route from Thrace to Makedonia, followed by Sitalkes in 429 B.C. Sitalkes may have 'made' or unmade the road, but it was doubtless an ancient route. The 'Doberes' can hardly rank ethnically with 'Paonians' and 'Paioplai'. Thuc seems to incorporate them with the former, Hdt to associate them rather with the latter. The Paonians and Paioplai are found associated together in 5 15—a passage of later composition than this one apparently, and supplying, *inter alia*, evidence



ἐς δ' ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἤρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιοῦμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος 5 καλέσται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμόν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι

4 ζωὸς ἐὼν secl van H ζωὸς B || περ . πέρι Sitzler  
8 τείνουσα secl van H

6 φυλλίς B

of the existence of two roads into Paionia, ἡ πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολή and ἡ ἀνω ὁδός. In this place the Paionians are placed by Hdt E. of the Strymon, but he apparently conceives them as not lying on the Persian route Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p 246) follows Tomaszek (*Thraker*, 1 13 ff) in regarding the Paionians as ultimately not of 'Thracian' but of 'Illyrian' origin 'the name of the Paionian stock, Παιόπλαι, has a genuinely Illyrian look' (ein echt-illyrisches Aussehen)

3 ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα: cp cc 24, 25, 107 *supra*, Leake, *NG* iii 181. The Strymon is the mod. *Stryma*. The complete silence of Hdt in regard to 'Amphipolis' may be significant of the time, place, and circumstances of his composition, cp Introduction, §§ 7-9

4. τῆς ἔτι . ἐποιοῦμην. The reference back is to c. 107 *supra*, and is somewhat clumsy 'as I have already recorded his death—which took place in 476 B.C.—I had better here mention that he was still alive and in command of the aforesaid Eion—in 480 B.C.' Stein too regards this sentence as "mehr als entbehrlich," and as a later addition. But if so, then the story in c. 107 is also a later addition. Cp Introduction, § 9

6 Φυλλίς Steph. B *sub v* cites Hdt *ἐβδόμη* for this name, and adds that there was also a river in Bithynia of the same name (Is the word here to be connected with the *παγτοῖαι* ἱδαί of the region, c. 111 *supra*?) (Cp *φυλλάς*, 8. 24)

τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, 'on the western (part's) side' (accusative of limitation or 'reference,' and virtually an adverb). Materially the orientation here is perplexing. The district Phyllis is bounded, according to Hdt, on the west side by the Angites, on the south side by the Strymon, into which the Angites

empties itself. He therefore conceives the Angites as flowing north and south, the Strymon as flowing west and east. The Strymon may be said to flow from north-west to south-east, the Angites may perhaps be said to flow from north-east to south-west, but Hirschfeld (*Pauly-Wissowa* i. 2191) quite naturally describes Hdt as extending Phyllis northwards to the Angites, which, moreover, falls, not into the Strymon, but into the Lake Kerkinitis. Of the existence of the latter Hdt seems ignorant. It is mentioned in connexion with Alexander's march in 334 B.C. (*Arrian*, *Anab.* 1 11 3), and it will probably have been in existence in 480 B.C., though even Thuc (2 98 1) only mentions *Κερκίνη* as an *ἐρημον ὄρος*. Hdt's topographical indications would be unmeaning unless the Persian army (οἱ one column) was marching on the north side of Mount Pangaeus

8 οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερéοντο The Magi mentioned cc. 19, 37, 43 *supra*. The construction here is observable. *καλλιερéεσθαι* as a middle is used also 6 82, *ἐς τόν* (relative) goes rather with *σφάζοντες* than with the final verb. The meaning of the word extends beyond "sacrificing with intent to ascertain the will of the gods" (Stein); it seems to carry always the suggestion of obtaining a favourable sign. The sacrifice of the horse to a river was a 'Trojan' rite, the animals were thrown in alive *ζωὸς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίερε μώνυχας ἵππους* (*Il* 21 132). Horses were offered to Helios in Sparta (*Pausan.* 3. 20 5), to Poseidon in Argos (*Pausan.* 8. 7. 2). The horse was especially a 'Skythian' sacrifice (4. 61, cp. my note *ad l.*) The 'Massagetae' worship only the sun, and sacrifice horses thereto, 'the swiftest creature to the swiftest god' (1. 216), while of the Persians Hdt. expressly asserts that they not merely sacrifice the horse, but con-

- 114 ἐκαλλιέροντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἑννέα ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον. Ἑννέα δὲ ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώντας κατάρυσσον. Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμνηστριν τὴν Ξέρξῳ γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ Περσέων

114 2 ταῦτα ἐς om van H  
7 Περσικὸν κατορύσσειν om α

3 τοῖσι α 6 ἐγχωρίων β  
8 γηράσαν Δ<sup>1</sup> γηράσαν Buttmann

sume the costly victim (1 133), and Xenophon, *Anab* 4 5 35, endorses at least the former statement. A more recent illustration of the rite in the same region (Tacit *Ann* 6 37) offers a horse 'placando amni' (Euphrates) Were 'the white horses' used on this occasion of the Nesaeon breed, cc 40, 55 *supra*? For the actual Persian ritual Rawlinson well quotes (and translates) Strabo, 732, 3. But if the description holds good for this earlier period, Hdt would not have correctly reported the procedure (σφάζοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν), which is just what Strabo's Magi will not do.

114 1. φαρμακεύσαντες Hdt seems to treat the Magi as mere 'medicine-men,' and not really good at that; cp c. 191 *infra*.

4. τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξευγμένον according to order: cp c. 24 *supra*. Hdt appears to know nothing of a bridge across Strymon in his own time, nor does he make mention of Amphipolis, cp 9 75 *infra* an important point in its bearing upon the date of composition; cp c. 113. The bridge here in question Hdt seems to locate at 'Nine ways' it was possibly higher up the river. He speaks here indeed of 'Bridges' perhaps conceiving one for the Army, and one for the Train, as at the Hellespont. Probably several pontoons were thrown across the Strymon.

6 ζώντας κατάρυσσον Περσικὸν perhaps Hdt was not aware, when he wrote this passage, that the horrible human immolation here described was more in accord with the religion and custom of the Thracians (ἐπιχώριοι) than with Persian ideas and practices. Cp. 4 93 (Getae), 63 (Skyths), 72 (*id.*). Nor is the argument by which he seeks to

establish the Persian observance of the practice of 'live-burial' conclusive. Even if the fact was correctly reported, Amestris in her old age may have been no very good exponent of the 'Persian' religion. Hdt here makes no reference to the performance of Kambyses, who on one occasion, as elsewhere, and probably afterwards, recorded, Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοις δυνάδεα ἐπ' οὐδεμὴ αἰτήν ἀξιοχρεῶν ἐλὼν ζώντας ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ κατάρυξε 3 35. Amestris was not content with a dozen but then, she had a good reason. Brutal punishments, and for political offences, were 'Persian' enough (cp Duncker, *E. Z.* vi 340 f), but it is not clear that human sacrifice was any part of the religion of the Achaemenidae, and if Amestris (c. 61 *supra*) ever put it in practice as a religious act, she was conforming to some primitive and savage revivalism. Ktesias, indeed, records her to have tortured Apollonides, a Koan physician, for two months, and then had him buried alive on the death of Amytis but that was an act of vengeance for a gross outrage, and abuse of his position (Ktes. *Pers* 42).

8 πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν the item looks like an addition, from a fresh source, doubtless oral, by the author himself. Ktesias (*l.c.*) appears to date the death of Amestris, *κάρτα γράβς γενομένη*, shortly before the death of Artaxerxes himself (425 BC), and after the death of the younger Zopyros; cp. 3. 160 (written perhaps before Zopyros' death, though after his desertion). This passage then belongs to the very latest additions by the author to his work, and may be dated after the outbreak of the Achaemenian War. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

παίδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν  
λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν. 10

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα 115  
πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένῃ Ἀργίλῳ  
πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης  
καλέεται Βισαλτὶ. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου  
ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἦε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, 5  
Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς

9 γῆς α  
ἔστι Rz  
corr van H

10 ζώντας post ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι desiderabam  
4 Ποσειδηίῳ Krueger

115. 2

6 Στάγειρον Stein<sup>12</sup>. ex titulis

9 τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ.  
what god was that? In Thrace it might  
have been Salmoxis (4 94), in Hellas,  
Pluton, or Haides, in Egypt, perhaps,  
Osiris: but in Persia? and at this time?  
It can hardly be Arimanes (Agiama man),  
whom a Persian would not have wor-  
shipped, nor have located thus Rawlinson  
thinks Hdt here speaks as a Greek.  
Stein thinks Amestis' act was a thank-  
offering for the great age she had  
attained: that can hardly be sound. If  
the act was 'religious' it was probably  
propitiatory: but the religious motive  
may be a gloss. The exchange, or  
return, implied in ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι may  
surely be prospective in such cases, at  
least, gratitude is an expectation of  
favours to come.

115 1 ὥς δὲ . . ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός,  
ἐνθαῦτα . . ἐστὶ αἰγιαλός a curious  
confusion of place and time and subjects!  
Stein cps 6. 43 ὥς δὲ . . ἀπίκητο ὁ  
Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον  
θῶμα ἔρεω.

2 Ἀργίλῳ. Steph. B cites not  
Hdt. but Thucydides (wrongly Bk 8),  
and Favoninus for the city, and adds that  
ἀργίλος is Thracian for mouse (ὁ μῦς)  
(cp. Herak Pont 42, F.H.G. 2 224).  
But this derivation is a little suspicious.  
the Gk ἀργος, ἀργίλλα lies nearer (Cp  
Grassberger, *Ortsnamen*, p 180). As a  
Greek city (πόλις Ἑλλάς) Argilos was a  
colony from Andros Thuc 4 103, 109.  
It appears among the tributaries of  
Athens with a moderate assessment (1 T.  
lowered to 1000 Dr) and figures *nominati-  
m* with Stagros, Akanthos, Skolos,  
Olynthos, in the Peace of Nikias, Thuc.  
5 18. 5 It is not heard of afterwards

3. αὕτη: as αἰγιαλός (a pebbly beach?)  
is masculine, the word must be taken to

refer vaguely to πόλις or Ἀργίλος ἡ  
κατύπερθε sc χώρα.

4. καλέεται Βισαλτὶ: of course from  
the Βισάλται, who in 8 116 are said to  
have made themselves scarce on this  
occasion (a passage evidently from an  
independent source, cp note ad 1).  
They were no doubt a 'Thracian' folk,  
included in the Makedonian sphere of  
influence, Thuc 2. 99 6 They lived  
on into Roman times, 'fortissimi viri,'  
Livy, 45 30

ἐνθεῦτεν δέ The natural course  
from Argilos to Therme would run  
straight across the neck of the Chalkidic  
peninsula, past Lake Bolbe: in all  
probability one *corps d'armée* on this  
occasion followed that route, though  
Hdt. says nothing about it

κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηίου. a bay,  
*cui Neptuni templum imminet*, Schweig-  
haeuser The site of this temple has  
not been identified. If Poseideion is the  
promontory south of Stagros, then the  
bay would seem to be the one generally  
called the bay of Akanthos, and Hdt.'s  
description would be at fault. He has  
no distinctive name for the water marked  
on maps as the 'Strymonic Sinus'  
and it is this whole stretch of water  
generally that he may here wish to  
denote

5 διὰ Συλέος πεδίου. nowhere else  
mentioned, but Thuc 4 103 speaks of  
an αὐλὼν through which the lake Βόλβη  
found its way to the sea (Baehr): and  
Stein accepts the suggestion Sylaus  
(cp συλέειν, συλᾶν), a son of Poseidon,  
was slain by Herakles for inhospitality -  
Apollod. 2 6 3

6 Στάγειρον. a colony of the Andrians,  
Thuc 4 88 2; paying 1000 Dr tribute

"Ακανθον, ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων <τε> ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκούντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους 10 ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήικες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται τε 116 μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθον ἀπίκητο, ξεινίην τε ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο

7 <τε> suppl. Stein<sup>2</sup>: καὶ τῶν . . οἰκούντων nuhi suspecta || ἐκάστων Reiske 9 ἔχων del. van H || οἰκνμένους del. Krueger 12 συγχούσι coni van H 116 2 ξεινήν B || πέροςης dz, van H.

to Athens, down to its revolt in 424 B.C., for ever illustrious as the birthplace of Aristotle. Its exact position is not yet, perhaps, determined, as Leake and Bowen differ in regard to it. The attitude of Andios in the Persian war (cp. 8.111) may have been determined by the interests of its colonies.

7 "Ακανθον like Argilos and Stagiros an Andrian foundation, Thuc. 4.84.1, and apparently the most important of the three (its constant tribute to Athens is 3 T down to its revolt in 424 B.C., it has also an important coinage, Head, *H.N.* pp. 182 ff.). It was situated just outside the isthmus through which the king's canal had been dug, and was plainly one of the principal depôts and magazines in 480 B.C. (cp. c. 25 *supra*), as it had been in 492 B.C., cp. 6.44 ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμώμενοι. It is apparently unnecessary for Hdt. to specify for Akanthos, as for Stagiros and Argilos, that the city is Greek.

ἅμα ἀγόμενος . . ἐπομένους. Hdt. apparently wishes to mark a second great addition to the king's forces on his way through Europe. The first great addition has been specified in c. 110 ἀλλ' οἱ (ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, a reference back, cp. καταλεχθέντες ὑπ' ἐμεῦ l.c.), and seems to include the native tribes and Greek cities from Doriskos, or even from Sestos, to the Strymon and Eion, the second, here specified, comprises those from the Strymon to Akanthos—a much smaller group. The words καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκούντων confuse the issue, for they are included in τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, and look uncommonly like a stupid gloss, from some one who

took ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα to refer to the whole army- and navy-lists. If that were the reference, the very obvious parallel between this passage and the passage in c. 118 would be unmeaning, and indeed misleading, for in that passage not merely οἱ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος have been enumerated, but all the Thracian tribes, from the Hellespont to the Strymon (so far as Hdt. knows). The text is anyway confused in this passage, ἔχων being either superfluous or displaced.

11 τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν . . τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, perhaps an addition from the author's hand, and among the last, cp. c. 111 *supra*. Was it religion that regarded the king's highway as sacred, or accursed? Was it utility that dictated respect for a good trade-route? This *vetus via regia* was still in use in 185 B.C., Livy 39.27, cp. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4.2.8, but is it likely that the king had done more than clear and improve an existing line of communication?

116 1. τὴν the article is a compliment to the city, and is followed by a ὁ for the king. Cp. c. 112 *supra* ἄρα. cp. c. 35 *supra*.

2 ξεινήν . . προεῖπε must here mean 'proclaimed friendship'. Cp. Valckenaer, *jus hospitii obtulit*, Blakesley, "offered alliance" (The king would not do that to subjects). Xerxes makes them a 'present,' he portions them 'praise,' he 'proclaims' them his especial friends (with or without swearing). Cp. ξεινόν τέ σε ποιῆμαι ἐμὸν κτλ. c. 29 *supra*, also 8.128. Baehr takes it *imperavit hospitium* (cp. c. 119), which is against the sense of the context here, so too L. & S.; cp. προειπεῖν l. 156.

σφέας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνειέ τε, ὀρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους  
 ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων . . . ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ 117  
 δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπε-  
 στεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ξέρξη  
 καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάλθι τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων  
 (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλῆϊων ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) 5  
 φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε Ξέρξην συμφορὴν ποιη-  
 σάμενον μεγάλην ἐξευείκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι.

3 ἐπαίνεισέ van H (Stein<sup>1</sup> com.) || ὀρέων . ἀκούων van Gent || καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 Stein<sup>2</sup> : αὐτοὺς B καὶ τοὺς α . ὀρέων καὶ προθύμους Stein<sup>1</sup> 4 ἀκούων :  
 ὀρέων van Gent lacunam Valla indicat *audiens fossam esse absolutam* :  
 ἤδη γενόμενον suppl Gale, εὐτρεπες εἶναι Schweighauser : σπεύδοντας ante  
 ἀκούων com Gomperz, ὡς ἔσπευσαν ὥστε γενέσθαι post ἀκούων com. Stein<sup>2</sup>,  
 προ γενέσθαι pos ἐπιτελέσθαι Stein<sup>3</sup> 117. 2 ὑπὸ νούσου post  
 διώρυχος B

3. ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ including no doubt the ἀναξυρίδες; cp c. 61 *supra* and 3. 84 for another instance.

4. τὸ ὄρυγμα the Canal, cp c 22 *supra*. As to the zeal of the Akanthians for the Canal, Blakesley first pointed out the commercial advantages of that undertaking. A lacuna is evident, cp App Crit.

117 2 τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην cp c 22 *supra*. This passage is evidently from an independent source. The various notices of Artachaias indeed show how little Hdt concerned himself to 'combine' the data of various sources into a single and self-consistent story (in the manner of Thucydides); cp. Introduction, § 10. Artachaias was a man upwards of 8 ft in height (ὁ β π = 27 δακτ or 20½ inches, cp 1 178). Valckenaer observes that the Greeks considered 4 (ordinary) cubits the ideal height for a man, Aristoph. *Frogs* 1046 Phya, who personated Athene in 556-5 B C, was three fingers short of 4 cubits, 1. 60. The skeleton of the Orestes found in Tegea was 7 cubits, 1. 68.

6. φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων cp 4 141. The Egyptian may have been dead by this time, but Artachaias and he would have been more or less contemporaries. Hdt has not thought of the Egyptian here, nor of Artachaias there. Moreover, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν is hardly needed to reduce the superlative here to a mere formula.

7. ἐξευείκαί θάψαι ἐτυμολογίαι He

was buried with all the honours of war. Never a Greek, much less an Akanthian, had seen such a funeral. But were not the proper Persian rites observed? οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσων ὁ νέκυσ πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὀρνίθου ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ, 1. 140, an abomination to a Greek! Hdt does not say that he had seen the tumulus of Artachaias, which is by some supposed to be still visible (Forschhammer, *J.G.S.* xvii 149). Rawlinson demurs to the identification. Forsch puts the mound E of the cutting, on S shore, near Sane: Hdt. (R argues) suggests a site near Akanthos, W of cutting, on N. shore. There are 'Phrygian' tumuli in Macedonia and Thrace (cp. c. 73 *supra*), and perhaps the σῆμα Ἀρταχάεω was one of these. Unless *Persici apparatus* were recovered, one might be sceptical as to the identity. But we shall do well to beware of seeing with Winckler, *Geschichte Israels* II (1900) 175, following the devious steps of Mücke, *vom Euphrat zum Tiber* (1899), in Artachaites (*sic*) a mythical figure, or of admitting that "Atrachaites (*sic*) the dead hero of Akanthos has a speaking likeness to the departing year, which was celebrated by the grand Banquet at the Saknen-festival." The Banquet here at Akanthos, by the way, depends on the misinterpretation of *ξενία* above, and is assumed to be the only meal the king had on his way to Greece ("an anderen Orten scheint er also nicht gegessen zu haben," cp c p. 177). Artachaias, though rather tall of stature, loud of voice, is

ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ  
θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἤρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ  
10 οὔνομα.

- 118 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίῳ ἐποιέετο  
συμφορὴν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ  
δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε  
ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν  
5 τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλῶν τῶν σφετερέων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω  
στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος  
. . . τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς  
119 τὸ δαῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. ὥς δὲ

9 ἀκάνθιοι θύουσι α 118. 1 nonne Ξέρξης secluseris? 3  
[κακοῦ]¹ van H. 4 οἰκίων β || ἐγένοντο β 5 σφετερέων Stein  
σφετέρων 6 ὀργέως α || <ὑποδοχεὺς> ἀραιρημένος Stein² lacunam  
indic Stein³

as real a man and an Achaimenid as Xerxes himself.

8 τούτῳ δὲ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἤρωι. The cult of Artachaias has nothing extraordinary in it, cp. 5 114 (Cult of Onesilos at Amathûs), 5. 47 (Cult of Philip at Segesta), etc. That a Greek city should have a 'barbarian' hero is perhaps less surprising than that non-Hellenic cities should worship Greeks. These colonies in Thrace sit rather lightly to their proper 'oikists'; cp. the well-known case of Amphipolis, Thuc. 5. 11 1. Was the θεοπρόπιον from Delphi, or of local provenience? With ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα cp. ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὔνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ κτλ. 4 35. There was perhaps a hymn at Akanthos in memory of Artachaias. This last sentence, on the hero-cult, has somewhat the air of an addition by the author, made perhaps after his voyage in those parts, cp. Introduction, § 9.

118 3. ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο. The pluperfect here has hardly much temporal but some rhetorical force. So, too, πᾶν κακοῦ rhetorically much more effective than πᾶν κακόν, cp. 8. 52 ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι, 9 118 ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν. The genitive is, perhaps, the 'genitive of measure,' cp. Madvig, § 49 d, Rem. 1.

οὕτω ὥστε . . . ἐγίνοντο purely indicative, narrative; cp. Index.

4 ὅκου Θασίοισι κτλ. Perhaps the whole passage (cc. 118-120) is an addition from the author's hand after his visit to

Thasos (cp. 6. 47), Introduction, § 9. With the use of ὅκου 'seeing that' (relat. adv. of place, used for 'cause' οἱ 'occasion') cp. 4 195, c 160 *ἐνθα*, etc.

τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλῶν Stryme, etc., c 108 *supra*.

6 Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος the leading citizen of Thasos in 480 B.C. and earliest bearer of a name afterwards not uncommon in the Greek world, and rendered famous by Philip's and Alexander's Macedonian friend and viceroy. The father's name may be connected with priestly or orgiastic functions in the family. Some of the coin-types of Thasos are "intimately connected with the orgiastic worship of the Thracian Bacchus," Head, *HN* p. 227. This passage is misunderstood by Athenaios 146 to mean that Antipatros defrayed the expenses himself. Antipatros had been formally elected or appointed (ἀραιρημένος) as chief commissioner (ἐπιστάτης, or with Stein ὑποδοχεύς), and his accounts, when audited, showed an expenditure of 400 talents.

8 τετελεσμένα = δεδαπανημένα (Baehr after Valckenaer). This amounted to considerably more than a year's income (6 46), at the best of times Thasos, which was in revolt from Athens 465-463 B.C. (Thuc. 1. 100 2) over the question of the Thracian markets and mines, was assessed at but 3 T. from 454 B.C. to the thirty years' peace. After

παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πόλιν οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες  
ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοῖονδε τι ἐγένετο,  
οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ <τε> χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ  
ποιεμένων· τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων  
τῶν περιαιγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σίτον ἐν τῇσι πόλιν οἱ  
ἄστοι ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιτα ἐποίησαν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας  
συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ κτήνεα ἐσίτεον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ  
κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφον τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τε  
οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ  
χρυσέα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο  
καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέσθαι πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν

119 2 παραπλησίως del Krueger 3 τοι ἐγένετο B 4 τε  
suppl. Stein 5 ποιούμενον Bz || τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων α: τῶν κηρύκων  
μάλιστα B· τῶν κηρύκων τάχιστα van H. 7 ἐπὶ om. B 8  
σιτεύεσκον B, Holder, van H. 9 τε om α 12 τὰ ἄλλα α ||  
τίθεται B, Holder, van H || παντὰ μὲν ταῦτα B πάντα ταῦτα μὲν διή

that doubtless the Thracian Peraia was again in Thasian hands, and the assessment stands at 30 T, a dekaτή or 10 per cent of the maximum income

119 1 ὥς δὲ παραπλησίως cp ὥς δὲ αὐτως, c. 86 *supra* οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες sc oi ἀραιρημένοι ἐπιστάται ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον, 'proved' then accounts (on a similar scale) before the auditors. Heralds had been sent forward from Sardes to the Greek cities *en route*, προερέοντας δέπναι βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν, c. 32 *supra*. Those words were perhaps inserted in c. 32, at the same time as this addition (cc 118-120) was made here.

4 προειρημένον, 'bespoken', 'commandeered', 'requisitioned', cp προερέοντας, c. 32, and conti. c. 116. The change to the genitive absolute ποιούμενων is rather abrupt; πολλῶν or πάντων would soften it

6 δασάμενοι σίτον· at the general expense. In c. 121 *infra* δασάμενοι is used simply in an active sense

7. ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιτα, 'wheat-flour and barley-meal' (force of plural), cp Plato, *Rep* 372 B ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἄλφιτα σκευαζόμενος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρα cp Xenoph. *Anab.* 1. 5. 6 (famine prices!) Xenophon was mightily surprised to find villagers in Armenia everywhere living on the best, including wheat and barley bread. *ibid* 4. 5. 31 οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν

αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἀρνεῖα, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὄρνιθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις.

ἐποίησαν· ἐποιεῦντο, l. 11 *infra* the different force of the active and middle illustrated by the different relation of the population at large (πάντες) to bread-making and metal-work.

8 ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς The verb plainly refers here to what already exists before it is sought out and found (cp. 4. 79), τιμῆς is a market term (sc. μεγάλης) and 'genitive of the price' (Madvig, § 54 b) or value, in which sense τιμή is common in Attic (fourth century), e.g. Plato, *Laws* 917 B δύο εἰπεῖν τιμὰς 'to name two prices' The use is not Homeric, but an 'honour' soon degenerates into an 'honorary', an ideal into a material *amende*. And τιμή comes to mean both 'penalty' and 'price' (*Hymn to Demeter* 131 f φεύγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας θόρα κε μὴ με ἀπριάτην περάσαντες ἐμῆς ἀποναίῃας τιμῆς) (τιμή as an 'office', c. 36 *supra*)

10 λάκκοις λάκκος, an artificial pond or reservoir, cp 4. 195

ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ, 'for the entertainment of the forces' In Thuc. 7. 74 (ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος) of hostile reception. The plural is here significant, not of successive receptions by several cities, but of the multifarious character of the guests at each reception.

αὐτῷ τε βασιλεί καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσιτέουσι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο,  
 τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως  
 15 δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς  
 τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιέσκετο Ξέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ  
 ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος. ὥς δὲ δείπνου ἐγένετο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι  
 ἔχεσκον πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν,  
 τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα  
 20 πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἄλλα  
 120 φερόμενοι. ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος  
 εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτεσι πανδημί,  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι  
 ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφί ἀπαμύνειν  
 5 τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν  
 σφί μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης  
 ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτεσι,

13 ὁμοσιτέουσι Stein<sup>3</sup>. ὁμοσιτέουσι 15 ἔσκε om α. 'fort μένεσκε'  
 Stein<sup>2</sup> 17 γίνονται B, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder, van H 18 διαγάγοιεν  
 Naber 19 ἐν τῇ α 20 πάντα post ἄλλα transp van H  
 120. 2 ἐλέγετο van H || συνεβούλευσε α || πανδημί B, Stein<sup>1 2</sup> 3  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας suspecta mihi. an αὐτοὺς τε? 6 Ξέρξης del. van H

13. ὁμοσιτέουσι cp. ὁμοσπράττοι, 3. 132, and App. Crit.

ἐπεποιήτο the pluperfect has its temporal force. φορβήν: c 50. ἄλλῃ: cp. ἄλλῃ, l 16 *infra*, idiomatic and superfluous (in English)

15. ἔσκε ποιέσκετο ἔσκε ἔχεσκον· almost too much of a good thing, cp App. Crit.

16. σταθμὸν (ποιεῖσθαι), 'made his abode,' 'took up his quarters'

17 δείπνου ὥρη, 'dinner-time,' presumably by day-light. On ὥρη cp. 8. 14.

18 αὐτοῦ, 'on the spot,' where they had had their meal. νύκτα ἀγαγεῖν, or ἄγειν, not a common expression, and doubtless more significant than νυκτερεύειν they made a long night of it, cp. Propertius 1. 11. 5 (equid te) Nostra cura subit memores ah! ducere noctes?

20 οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, 'they would never take their departure from a place until they had torn down (up) the tent and laid hands on all the furniture'—the rapacity of the Persians is half ludicrous, and perhaps wholly fabulous. The king's tent and its equipment were presumably the ones carried with him,

cp 9 70, and not a new one daily supplied by the fresh locality.

120 1. Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω Megakreon is a rare name. Did he belong to the same family as Nymphodoros and Pythes, c 137 *infra*? He is the author of a *bon-mot* (ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, almost an Herodotean formula, cp Introduction, § 10). Abdera was the birthplace of Demokritos, 'the laughing philosopher' (b circa 460 B.C.), of Protagoras (b circa 480 B.C.), and of other brilliant wits, yet its name became proverbial for stupidity and folly (so Cicero, on Pompey's plan for sending him to Sicily in 50 B.C., *id est* Ἀβδηρικόν, *ad Att* 7 7 4, and again on a previous occasion, of 'a very bedlam' (Tyrrell) in the Senate: *rem ad senatum rettulerunt*. Hic Abdera, non tacente me, *ib.* 4. 16 6, cp. Martial 10. 25 Abderitanae pectora plebis habes). The usual physical explanation was given of this, the *crassus aer*, cp. Juvenal 10. 50 Wieland made use of the *motif* in his comic Romance *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* (1774).

7 παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν κτλ. The ἔπος would be more pointed and smarter without the added explanation Blakes-



εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ δέλπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

Οὐ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. 121  
Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκήμενῃ, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· 5 ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ

10 ἐκτριβῆναι unus Paris., van H.

121 1 ὁμοίως codd : *tamen*

Valla 3 τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν codd. Stein<sup>1</sup>, corr Stein<sup>2</sup>, appr van H. || ἀπ' . ἐπ' Cobet 5 ἔχει· ταύτῃ : lacunam suspicor, cf comment 6 συντομώτερον B

ley, indeed, puts this sentence down purely to Hdt. (not to Megakreon, but the grammar (*orat. obliq*) seems to bar that interpretation, unless we might suppose Hdt running his own superfluous explanation right on to the original *bon-mot* 4 144 supplies a parallel instance In c 162 *ἡγήνα*, the point of Gelon's *ῥήμα* is saved by the *oratio recta*.

8. ὅμοια . adverbial, cp c. 118

10 διατριβῆναι hardly seems so happy a word as ἐκτρίβειν, cp 4 120, 6 37, 86 Thuc 8 78 (*κινδυνεύσειν*) διατριβῆναι is interpreted by the schol διαφθαρῆναι Poppo, however, gives *periculum esse ne paulatim attererentur*, more in accord with the usual meaning of the word.

121. 2 τῆς Ἀκάνθου: cc. 116 f. *supra*.

τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι c 97 *supra* Xerxes appears in this chapter (which contains some curiously belated information that might at least have been given in or before c 108 *supra*) throughout as exercising the supreme command, and not as a mere figure-head.

3 ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ might seem to imply that hitherto the ships had been in touch with him, which was not strictly the case, see below But they had been advancing in the same direction, whereas now the fleet takes a course of its own. Hdt.'s statement is, however, explicit that only at Akanthos, not for example at Argilos, fleet and army parted company (cp. c 58 *supra*).

4. Θέρμῃ δὲ . τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει . a geographical note somewhat loosely tacked on, after the main sentence, but thereby marked all the more clearly as no part of the king's orders but a pure

deliverance of the writer Hekataios apparently mentioned both Therme and the gulf named after it, cp *Fr.* 116 (= Steph B *sub v* Χάλαστρα) Therme, originally perhaps a Greek colony, but a Makedonian town at the date when Hdt. was writing, and doubtless in 480 B C, was only in Athenian possession for a few months in 432-31 B C (cp Thucyd. 1 61 2, 2. 29 6) Its position and its harbour must have given it importance always, but only with the foundation of Thessalonike on the spot by Kassandros (Strabo 330 21) were the possibilities of the place fully appreciated, and only with the Romans did Thessalonike, as the capital of one of the Makedonian regions, and at the very middle of the Via Egnatia, reach its full destiny, albeit thereafter to be supplanted by Constantinople It was by no accident that a Christian church early flourished here (cp. the two *Ἐπρ* ascribed to St Paul), for the place was frequented of the Jews, and *Salonika*, still the seat of an aichimandite, is largely in the hands of a Jewish population (cp Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, 1 143 ff.).

6 ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι . one may suspect that a sentence has dropped out before these words, which appear to give the reason why Xerxes and the land-army here parted from the fleet *αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ (τῆς) μεσογαίης τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμελλε ποιεῖσθαι (ἐποιετο?)*, οι words to that effect, are necessary to render the argument coherent.

μέχρι Ἀκάνθου . ἐκ Δορίσκου the organization and separate advance of the three *corps d'armée* or columns (*τρεῖς μοῖραι*) probably did not cease at Akan-

- Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ  
 10 ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἑτέρα δὲ τεταγμένη ἦε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργης· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρῶν, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, ἦε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, στρατηγούς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά  
 15 τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.  
 122 Ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθῃ ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῶ γενομένην, διέχουσαν

9 στρατόν om B, Holder, van H 15 τε om S || μεγάλυζον R(S ?)·  
 μεγάλυζον αV 122 2 διέπλωσε B

thos (cp τριτημορίς c 131 *infra*), though Hdt. does not specify it clearly for any part of the march except that between Doriskos and Akanthos, and, indeed, only for this part here as a belated explanation of a new departure or development at Akanthos (if it was at Akanthos, and not at Argilos). But did the arrangement only date from Doriskos? The land-forces that marched from Sardes to Abydos, and from Sestos to Doriskos, must have had some good organization, and definite tactical dispositions, but it is possible that a new departure, a new development, was effected at Doriskos, especially if (as I have ventured to suggest) at least one-third of the forces reached Doriskos by sea, with probably the greater portion of the fleet, cp. notes to cc 44, 59 *supra*. It may then have been at Doriskos that the full tripartition, or rather the triplication, of the land forces was effected, and from that point to Akanthos the army may have marched, on three approximately parallel routes—left, middle, and right—by coast-line, inland and between, the fleet remaining in touch at least with the left column. Hdt. leaves no doubt here as to his own conception of the order of march from Doriskos to Akanthos; but in his actual narrative of the march (cc 108–117), though incidentally implying the existence of two distinct marching columns, he is nowhere betrayed into implying the existence of a third. Is it possible that after all there were only two actually on land, the third μοῖρα being conveyed by the transports and fleet? In that case

Xerxes himself would probably have marched by the coast route, with a *corps d'armée* on his right, on the inland road (via Krenides, and north of Pangaeon), and the fleet on his left (carrying a large number of soldiers, perhaps more than a mere third). Several points confirm this conjecture. (1) At Akanthos Xerxes ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας. (2) There are two routes plainly traceable from Doriskos to Akanthos, but a third is not indicated, nor easy to suggest. (3) The arrangement provides some work for the immense host of transports, which may have advanced to Therme. (4) At least a very large number of Persians and Medes and Sakai are supposed to be on the war-ships as *Epibatai*. These probably represent men taken from the πεζός, cp c 96 *supra*. (5) The arrangement appears reasonable in itself, and eases the difficulty of the advance of the huge forces. (6) If the right column crossed from Argilos to Therme direct (cp c 115 *supra*), and Xerxes with the middle column reached Akanthos, what becomes of the left column, unless we have shipped it somewhere *en route*?

8 ὁ Ξ δασάμενος. cp cc. 36, 119 *supra*, and on the article c 45 *supra*.

τὸν πεζὸν στ must here include τὴν ἵππον: cp c 60 *supra*.

10 ἐστρατήγεον on the generals see c 82 *supra*, and on the whole question raised by this c Appendix II. § 5

14 τὸ μέσον. cp. cc. 108 *supra*, 129 *infra*

122 2 διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῶ γενομένην a clear record that the canal was not merely projected,

δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσα τε πόλις καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκηται, ἐνθεύτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον 5 κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παρ- αμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ

3 πῖλωρος BΔ<sup>2</sup>. πι(λ)δωρος A litt erasa πῖδωρος Bpdx πιδωρds C  
4 σάργη B 5 ἀπικόμενος B ἀπειμένος Kiueger secl. van H 6  
κορωναίην α 7 γε Stein τε || πόλεις B

and made, but actually used, it may nevertheless not be an express tradition but a just assumption. Hdt nowhere says anything of the subsequent disuse and collapse of the canal, which was used apparently once and only upon this occasion a point specially remarkable on the supposition that he himself ever visited those parts. Cp. cc. 23, 37 *supra*.

ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ is not happy, cp. c. 22 *supra*. The isthmus is here subsumed in the mountain.

γενομένην is a curiously weak word in this connexion πεποιημένην or ἐξορυγμένην might have been expected, it can hardly be taken to imply that in the writer's time the canal no longer existed διέχουσιν as in 4.42 τὴν διώρυχα. τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον.

3. ἐς κόλπον anonymous to Hdt Σιγγυτικός κόλπος Ptol 3.13.11, between the promontories or peninsulas of Akte and Sithonia.

Ἄσσα Steph B *sub v.* cites Hdt for Assa, πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἄθῳ, but has just below Ἀσσηρα (neut.) πόλις Καλκιδέων with reference to Theopompus. Forbiger, *alt. Geogr.* iii. 1065, identifies the two. The site is to be found at the head of the gulf, and the army must have passed by it as well as the fleet (or instead). The Ἀσσηρῆται appear on the Athenian quota-lists as paying half a talent, or less, tribute. Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* 3.12=519A asserts that in the district of Asseutis (ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίτιδι sic) waters (ὁ καλούμενος ποταμὸς Ψυχρός) existed which produced black wool in sheep.

Πίλωρος, though described by Steph B as πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἄθων (probably from this passage), is placed by the geographers following Leake, *N. Gr.* iii. 154, not on Akte but on Sithonia. It appears on the quota list for 437 B.C. (*C. I. A.* i. 243; Hill, *Sources*, p. 75) under

the rubric Πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν, and paid 600 Dr tribute.

4. Σίγγος Steph B. (following this passage<sup>1</sup>), places it περὶ τὸν Ἄθων. Pliny 4.17 mentions it with Ampelos and Torone, Leake (*N. Gr.* iii. 153) finds it on the east side of Sithonia. The Σιγγαῖοι appear in the text of the treaty of Nikias 421 B.C., Thuc. 5.18.6, and have a long previous record on the quota-lists (Σιγγαῖοι) paying tribute varying from 4 to 1 talent.

Σάρτη Steph B as above. Assa (Assera, Assyra), Piloros, Singos, Sarte appear to be regularly named here from N to S as they would occur upon the route of the fleet; Leake *op. cit.* iii. 154 places Sarte on the SE side of the point of Sithonia. The Σαρταῖοι appear on the quota-lists (paying 1500 Dr tribute, the record imperfect). Sarte appears as a Thracian name, cp. Σάρται 111 *supra*, and Blakesley suggests that none of these cities were Greek (cp. next list); their names at least were not. Ἄσσα· κόμη Σκυθίας Steph. B. Σίγγος *singulus*. ὕγγια=eis Hesych (cp. Grassberger, *Ortsnamen*, p. 267). Even Πίλωρος may be 'Thracian' or northern.

5 ἀπιέμενος, 'direct,' i.e. released from hugging the shore, but cp. App. *Crit.*

6 κάμπτων, '(in) rounding Ampelos passed . . .', an impossibility, says Blakesley, and would therefore alter the text, but a pres. part followed by a narrative verb, to describe two successive acts, is good Herodotean grammar; it is not the time-index in the participle which is most essential.

Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην: Ampelos, a not unusual name for promontories, Steph B besides this one mentions one in Samos, the east point of Krete bore the name, and it was found elsewhere (cp. Hirschfeld in Pauly-Wissowa i. 1381 f.)

στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε, Τωρώνην Γαληψὸν Σερμύλην Μηκύ-  
 123 βερναν Ὀλυνθον. ἡ μὲν νυν χώρα αὕτη Σιθωνίη καλεῖται,  
 δὲ δὲ [ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω] συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου

8 γαληψὸν B || μηκύρεναν R · μηκύρεναν SV (μηκύβενναν V ap  
 Wesseling) 123. 1 σιθωνίη α 2 ναυτικὸς · Ξέρξεω secl Stein<sup>2</sup>

8. Τωρώνη· already mentioned c 22 *supra*, in a way which makes it pretty obvious that Hdt did not know on which side of 'the Toronean promontory' the city was situate the name is still attached to the site Torone is a 'Chalkidic' town (cp. 8. 127) and specifically a Greek city "named from the daughter of Proteus or Poseidon and Phoinike" (Steph. B.) The assessment of the Toroneans was doubled in 425 B.C. (from 6 to 12 T., cp. *CIA* 1 p. 231) by Athens, which helps to explain then relation to Brasidas, and the part played by them in 424 B.C. Cp. Thuc 4. 110 ff

Γαληψὸν Thuc 4 107 3, 5 6. 1 appears to place Galepsos near the Strymon; Strabo 331, *fr* 33 places it east of Strymon, between Phagres and Apollonia, Livy 44 45 15, Plutarch, *Aemil Paul.* 23 support Thucydides and Strabo, Blakesley sees that Hdt. is in error; Rawlinson supposes two places of the same name Steph B. indeed distinguishes the Galepsos of Thucydides from a 'Paxonian' city, mentioned by Hekataios, but they may be the same The record of the Γαληψοὶ on the Attic quota-lists is constant (Tribute normal, 1½ talent) Hdt describes it as a Greek city, Thuc as a Thasian colony Had there been two cities of this name in Thrace at one time Thucydides would probably have indicated as much Hdt can scarcely here be writing from autopsy

Σερμύλην. Steph B. Σερμυλία· πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἀθων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος The Attic inscrip show the two forms Σερμυλῆς, Σερβυλῆς (cp. Hill, *Sources*, Index p. 414 a) Thucyd 5 18. 8 (treaty-text) Σερμυλιῶν, where the city shares the fate of Torone and Skione The Sermyleans had paid from 8 to 5 talents previous to the *τάξις* of 425 B.C., wherein no doubt their assessment was at least doubled The position of the city is fixed by Leake at mod. 'Ormylia' on Sithonia: *N. Gr* iii 154.

Μηκύβερναν In the text of the

treaty of Nikias the Mekybernaeans are classed with Sanaeans, Singaeans, Olynthians, Akanthians Thuc. 5 18 6 Thuc. 5 31. 1 (Μηκύβερναν Ὀλύνθιοι Ἀθηναίων φρουρούντων ἐπιδραμόντες εἶλον) shows Mekyberna to have been in the neighbourhood of Olynthos Steph. B. *sub v* πόλις Παλλήνης, τῆς ἐν Θράκῃ Χερρονήσου Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ Philip of Makedon in 348 B.C. seized Torone and Mekyberna as a preliminary to obtaining Olynthos Diodor. 16 53 2 The position of the town has been identified (*Molivo*, Leake *N. Gr* iii 154) it stands to the Toronean gulf as Assera to the Singitic. The Μηκυβερναῖοι or Μηκυπερναῖοι figure constantly on the Attic lists with a tribute of 1 T or less, their assessment for 425 B.C. is unfortunately lost.

9. Ὀλυνθον· Olynthos was a Greek city at the time when Hdt was writing, but not yet in 480 B.C., cp 8 127 *infra* The name is rather 'Phrygo-Thracian' or prae-Hellenic (-*νθ*-, cp Πέρωνθος etc.) It was destined to the greatest and most eventful history of any of the Greek colonies in Chalkidike, and became one of the chief 'objectives' of Makedonian, Athenian, and Spartan policy in the north region. Thucydides 1. 63 2 places it 60 stades from Potidaea; Hdt here seems to put it inside Sithonia, Steph B. more correctly *πρὸς τῇ Σιθωνίᾳ*. The position is identified (Leake iii 154) The Olynthian tribute to Athens was fixed (so far as we know) at 2 T. (Its greatness was yet to come)

123 1. Σιθωνίη The Latin authors, Ovid, Lucan, Pliny, are acquainted with 'Sithōnu' on the Pontus, Vergil (*Ec.* 10 66) and Horace (*Od.* 3 26. 10) with 'Sithonian snows', but these may be literary freaks Cp. App. Crit

2. συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναιστραίν ἄκρην. Hdt. marks the 'Kanaistraian' promontory as the furthest projection of Pallene. A postern-gate in Torone apparently bore the title, or might be described as ἡ κατὰ Καναιστραίων πόλις Thuc. 4. 110. 2. The

ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραίην ἄκρην, τὸ δὲ πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης  
ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε  
ἐκ Ποτειδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ 5

3 καναστραίον B, Holder, van H || ἄκρην secl van H 5 Ποτειδαίης  
Stein<sup>12</sup> · e titulis corr van H, Stein<sup>8</sup> || ἀφύστιος B

geographers all agree. Steph B gives the form Κάναστρον the *Etym Mag* has Κάναστρα οἱ Κανάστρα, which alone explains the adjectival form (*Etym* *κάναστρον* a basket?)

The statement here made implies that the fleet crossed direct from the point of Sithonia to the point of Pallene. This agrees exactly with the statement in the previous c *ἐπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον*, but it contradicts the statement which there immediately follows, that the fleet visited Torone (Galepsos), Seimyle, Mekyberna, Olynthos, and it contradicts also the statement here following, which appears to make the fleet sweep round the east side of the Pallene peninsula. Rawlinson solves the difficulty by the supposition that only a portion of the fleet made the circuit of the Toronean gulf "the main body of the fleet sailed across the mouth of the bay." Hdt does not make this distinction. Blakesley brings out the Herodotean inconsequence in the remark "It is not conceivable that the whole fleet should make the circuit of the Toronean gulf, and afterwards return to Point Ampelos in order to cross it at the narrowest part" Olynthos cannot have been visited by the fleet, for it was not a port Mekyberna need not, for it lay on the route of advance for the army. Hdt. owing to his ignorance of the exact topography of the region has, presumably, in these chapters mixed up places visited by the army with places visited by the fleet.

3. τὸ ἀνέχει · the relative refers loosely to ἄκρη, cp 5. 92 τοῦ ('a thing than which') referring to *τυραννίδας* (*sic*), 4 23 τοῦτο referring to *καρπὸς ἀνέχει* probably ἐς τὸν πόντον, cp 4 99 (not 'out of the water') The observation is made from the land side.

5 Ποτειδαίης described by Thuc 1. 56 2 as ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης, and a colony from Korinth. Already in 480 B.C. it must have been a strongly fortified place, for it successfully stood a siege in the following year, 8. 127 *ὑψῆα*, but not the slightest hint is given either

there or here of the events in 432 B.C. (such as would probably have been given if the whole narrative were being written about that time, cp. Introduction, § 7) Potidaea was the richest and most important city of Chalkidike in the fifth century, and the rise of its assessment from 6 to 15 talents in 436 B.C. (cp Hill, *Sources*, p. 77, *C.I.A.* 1. p. 230) may have had a good deal to say to τὰ Ποτειδαιατικά (Thuc 1. 56 ff., though Thuc. does not say so). In natural order the fleet would visit Potidaea not next after Olynthos, or rather Mekyberna, but after Skione, Mende, Sane, and before Lipaxos and the rest below mentioned

Ἀφύτιος. mentioned in Thuc 1. 64 2 as Phormion's base in his operations against Potidaea Leake locates it at *Aphysto* (*N. G.* iii 156) Lysandros is reported to have laid ineffectual siege to it (403-2 B.C. (?) Pausan. 3 18 2) and Agesipolis died in it 380 B.C. (Xenoph *Hell* 5 3 19). It was assessed at 3 T. tribute by the Athenians (which was not raised in 425 B.C.). The coinage (of the fourth century) attests the worship of Zeus Ammon (Pausan. 1 c) and of Dionysos (Xenoph 1 c), but the former was presumably not older than the Lysandrian siege. Steph. B gives the city an oracle of Ammon

Νέης πόλιος Αἰγῆς Θεράμβω Neapolis and Aige are nowhere mentioned in the texts, but a Νεάπολις Μενδαίων οἱ ἐκ Παλλήνης appears on the Attic lists, with a constant assessment of half a talent (*C.I.A.* 1 230) (in distinction to the Thasian Neapolis παρ' Ἀντισάρας), and perhaps the Αἰγάντιοι in the same region, with the same assessment, represent this Αἰγῆ? Steph. B. notes many cities of the name of Αἰγαί (Αἰγῆ) including the Makedonian (On the etymology cp. Grassberger, *Gr Ortsnamen*, 88 ff., Tozer, *Highlands*, 1 157.) Therambos, Θεράμβω (cp Ἄθως) appears in Steph. B. as Θράμβος ἀκρωτήριον Μακεδονίας This latter form accords with the Attic lists in which the Θραμβάιοι (of Θραμβή) appear, at times as an

Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὐται γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων 10 πόλιων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουμεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Λίπαξος Κώμβρεια Αἷσα Γίγωνος

7 νῦν <μέν> van H 10 τῇ Παλλήνῃ om B || ὁμουμεουσέων B  
11 κωμβρία α || Αἷσα Stem<sup>2</sup> λισαί codd, Stein<sup>1</sup>

appanage of Skione, and paying but a sixth of a talent (It is evident that Hdt's nomenclature is not based on the Attic lists) Perhaps Thiambe was a dependency of Skione near the Kanas tiasan headland

6 Σκιώνης Μένδης· Σάνης. These three, with Aphytis, are the four 'cities' of Pallene, recognized by Strabo (330, *f* 27), Potidaea being on the isthmus, and Neapolis, Aige, Thiambe unknown or insignificant dependencies

Σκιώνη, reputed a Peloponnesian colony (to 'Pallene' from 'Pellene'?), founded on the return from Troy (Thuc 4. 120 1), was a place of some importance in the fifth century (assessed on the Attic lists with considerable fluctuations, from 6 to 15 talents in 425 B.C. 9 T), joined Brasidas in 424 B.C. (Thuc *l.c.*), three years later the Athenians (Thuc 5 32 1) put the male population (Ionians though they were) to the sword, and reduced the women and children (who had been conveyed to Olynthos, 4. 123. 4) to slavery, and settled the dispossessed Plataeans on the land

Μένδη πόλις ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ Ἐρετριῶν ἀποικία Thuc 4 123 1, only second to Skione in importance (with a normal tribute of eight talents on the Attic lists), joined Brasidas in 423 B.C. and barely escaped the same fate as Skione. The *Lakritas* of Demosthenes suggests that wine was the staple of Mende, and the coinage (Head, p 187) bears out the suggestion (Silenos and the Ass).

Σάνη were there really two places of this name in Chalkidike, one hard by the King's Cut (c 22 *supra*, Thuc 4. 109 3 Ἀνδρίων ἀποικία), another on Pallene, between Mende and Potidaea? The *Σανατοί* of the Treaty of Nikias (Thuc 5 18. 6) might dwell anywhere in the three-pronged peninsula, and equally the *Σανατοί* of the Attic lists, with their modest tribute of 1 T. or less.

Strabo 330, *fr* 27 reckons a 'Sane' as one of the four cities of Pallene, but perhaps only on the strength of this passage (and is that αὐτὸς Στράβων?) Steph. B. seems to hedge, *sub v* πόλις Θράκης μεταξὺ Ἀθῶν καὶ Παλλήνης Blakesley showed his frequent acuteness in denying the existence of a Sane on Pallene. The absence of any notice of Sane in Thucydides' account of the operations against Skione and Torone, and the fact that he only names the one by the canal, strongly supports that negative

7 τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην Aischyl *Eumenid* 295 (Orestes, invoking Athene) Φλεγῶν πλάκα | θρασὺς ταγοῦχος ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐπισκοπεῖ—obviously referring to Pallene, (not to the Phlegraean field in Campania, as Paley *ad l* supposes) L & S seem right in identifying it with the scene of the victory ὅταν θεοὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Φλέγρας Γίγαντεςσιν μάχην ἀντιάσωσι. Pindar, *N* 1 67, *op. Is* 5 (6) 33 (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 824 f., has his jest on it) Γίγωνις ἔκρη appears ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ Ptolem 3 13 13 Stein suggests that καλεομένην means 'so called in poetry'; but Hdt. seems to think Φλέγρη a genuine name νῦν at the time of writing. *anno*?

8 τὸ προειρημένον, 'appointed by the king' (not 'aforesaid'), *op. cc* 119, 120 *supra* προειρημένην *infra*.

9. προσεχέων i.e. they were outside the isthmus, between Potidaea and Therma, but most of them hardly deserving the title of πόλις

11 τῇσι οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε· one might wish to believe that this list of trivial villages were a gloss from a local pedant! Why should Hdt. stud the few miles of Krossaean coast with this heptarchy of hamlets? It is out of all proportion to the importance of the spot, or his methods elsewhere. It can hardly be an otiose reminiscence of his own coast-

Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἰνεία· ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε καλέεται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην, 15

12 Κάψα Steph. B. titl (van H) || αἰνία α || καὶ om α 14  
πόλεις β 15 ὁ reddidit Schaefer

ing voyage, for he is not acquainted at first hand with the Thermaic gulf, or Chalkidike (cp. l 12 *ἡφα* and c 122 *συρρα*) Is he the mere slave of the Log of one of the Halikarnassian vessels? Or does he simply parrot Hekataios?

Δίπαφος Steph. B. *sub v* πόλις Θράκης· Ἐκαταῖος. Thrako-Phrygian or Makedonian name? Its supposed occurrence on the first quota-list (453 B.C.), *C.I.A.* 1 226, is hardly acceptable: the name might as well be read Δίσαι or Λιμναῖοι or what not.

Κώμβρεια ἀν ἄπαξ λεγ Is the termination the Thracian -δρια? Cp. c. 108

Αἰσα: Stern's bold emendation for λισαί in the codd. The name occurs on the quota-list for 437-6 B.C., *C.I.A.* 1 243, with Γίγωνος, Σμίλλα, Βύσβικος, and some other oddities under the rubric πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν (its quota obliterated)

Γίγωνος cp previous note, and l 11 *συρρα*. The place is mentioned by Thuc. 1. 61 5 (two days, by slow marches, from Strepsa) Steph. B. derives the name ἀπὸ Γίγωνος τοῦ Αἰθίοπων βασιλέως δὲ Διονύσῳ ἡττήθη (But this defeat cannot be connected with the army of Xerxes!)

12 Κάμψα as a city-name ἀν ἄπαξ λεγ. The Καμψιανοί or Καμψανοί of Strabo (291, 292), a German tribe, do not help us. κάμψα is a 'basket' (vid L. & S.), cp. κάναστρον, note to l 2 *συρρα*.

Σμίλα appears on the inscription cited above as Σμίλλα and assessed at half a talent. Steph. B. *sub v*· πόλις Θράκης· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ μετὰ δὲ Σμίλα πόλις. Otherwise unknown

Αἰνεία: probably the most important name in this list. The Αἰνεῖαται or Αἰνιάται (Hill, *Sources*) or Αἰνεῖαται (Kirchhoff, *C.I.A.* 1; Steph. B. gives this and Αἰνεύς and Αἰνεῖος as ἐθνικά) were good for 3 T. tribute to Athens (reduced in 425 B.C. to 1000 Dr.). Strabo (300, fr. 21, 24) records its incorporation,

with about five-and-twenty other πόλιστα (including Therme), by Kassandros to form Thessalonikeia, or Thessalonike. Steph. B. *sub v* gives Theon *in Lycophronem* as authority for the foundation by Aineias after the sack of Troy: this was already the tradition in the fifth century, if, as Head (*H. N.* p 189) observes, the oldest representation of a Trojan myth (*sic*) is a Euboic tetradrachm of Aineia, dated before 500 B.C. with an obverse representing 'Aeneas carrying Anchises, preceded by his wife Kleusa carrying Ascanios' Cp c 58 *συρρα*.

Κροσσαίη. Strabo (330, fr 21) says that Kassandros founded Thessalonike καθελὼν τὰ ἐν τῇ Κρονσίῳ πόλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ περὶ ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ συνουκίσας ἐς ἐν Thuc 2 79. 4 speaks of the Athenians, at an engagement between Spartolos and Olynthos 429 B.C., having τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρονσίδος γῆς καλουμένης. Steph. B. *sub v* Κρονσίς μοῖρα τῆς Μυγδονίας· Στραβὼν ἐβδόμη, Μυγδονικῆς Κρονσίδος (the seventh Book is fragmentary), *sub v*· Κρόσσα πόλις πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ· Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσία τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κροσσαῖος. It looks as if Hdt had made a slip in naming the district—further evidence that he is not writing from autopsy, whatever the date of ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε may be and whatever the point of the remark (The word κρόσσα occurs 2 125)

13 ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, 'the last named in the list of cities just given' a curious reference back, over but one short sentence; a curious emphasis on the position of Aineia in the list, to be followed by the precise indication of the geographical position of Aineia at the very entrance of the Thermaian gulf, or bay, proper (αὐτὸν τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον)

15 γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην. Thuc. 2. 99 4 seems to apply the term to the whole region between the Αἰχίος and the Strymon (πέραν Ἀχαιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἡδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται, but in c. 100 perhaps

πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδον  
τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξίου ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει  
χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ  
παρὰ θάλασσαν στεῖνόν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα.

16 Σίνθον Steph. Byz Σίνον ex titulis van H  
ἦς β 19 πόλις β || ἰχνη α

18 βοττηνίδα β ||

in a less extended sense) Steph B  
Μυγδονία μοῖρα Μακεδονίας καὶ ἑτέρα  
Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης—another item for  
the Mysio-Phrygian migration, cp. c. 73.  
so Strabo has a Mygdonia, or Mygdonis,  
on the Rhyndakos (cp 550, 576, 588) as  
well as in Makedonia, or Paionia (331,  
fr. 41). That there was a Mygdonia in  
Mesopotamia is no crux, for the name  
was introduced there in historical times  
by the Makedonians (747) Cp Ἰχναί  
below.

16 ἐς τὴν προειρημένην, cp. l. 8  
supra.

Θέρμην, c 121 supra

Σίνδον Steph B sub v Σίνθος  
πόλις παρὰ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ Ἡρόδοτος  
ἐβδόμη But also Σινδοναῖοι Θράκιον ἔθνος,  
ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ Hdt. himself has  
Σίνδοι, 4 28, and Σινδική, 4. 86, east  
of the Kimmerian Bosphoros (Can Σίνος,  
C.I.A. 1. 243, an Athenian tributary in  
Thrace, assessed (437 B.C.) at 1500 Dr.,  
'belong' here?)

17. Χαλέστρην Steph. B Χαλάστρα  
πόλις Θράκης, περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον  
Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ εν δ' αὐτῷ Θέρμῃ  
πόλις Ἑλλήνων Θρηίκων, ἐν δὲ Χαλάστρῃ  
πόλις Θρηίκων Στράβων δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῃ  
Μακεδονίας αὐτὴν καλεῖ (The ref. is  
to Strabo, 330, fr 21, where Chalastria  
is one of the πολισμοὶ absorbed into  
Thessalonike) Χαλαίστρα is mentioned  
by Plutarch, Alex 49, as the birthplace  
of one Limnos (Dimnos, Diod 17. 79),  
a Χαλαίστραϊος ἄνθρωπος, who was in the  
plot which cost the life of Philotas.

τὸν Ἀξίου ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει  
κτλ Thucyd 2 99 3f also makes the  
Axios the frontier between Βοττία (with  
Παιονία) on the one side and Μυγδονία  
on the other. The Paionians, who  
appear in the Homeric Catalogue among  
the allies of Troy, come τηλόθεν ἐξ  
Ἀμυδάνας, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺν ρέοντος, Ἀξιοῦ,  
ὃς κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἶαν, B  
850, cp 16 288, a description un-  
favourably criticised by Strabo, 330, fr  
21, ὅτι ὁ Ἀξίος θολερὸς ρεῖ κτλ The  
Ἀξίος reappears in Homer (Il 21 141-3)  
as εὐρυνέεθρος ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης The

modern name is the Vajdar (mediaev.  
Βαρδάρης, Βαρδάρης), which Oberhummer  
(ap Pauly-Wissowa, II. 2630), following  
Kiepert, thinks may be a revival of the  
oldest name, against the Greek Ἀξίος (sic)  
It is the principal river of Makedonia  
Strabo (330) places the exit "between  
Chalastria and Thyme", but the lower  
course of the river appears to have  
undergone some variation.

18 Βοττιαίς is the Βοττία of Thuc.  
2 99. 3, Βοττιαία 2 100 4, on the  
right bank of the Axios, and extending,  
according to c 127 infra, to the (Lydi-  
os and) Haliakmon, ubi v a region which  
Oberhummer (ap Pauly-Wissowa) dis-  
tinguishes from Βοττική, the district east  
of Axios, and adjacent to Chalkidike,  
occupied by Bottiaei on their expulsion  
by the Makedonians (cp Thucyd.).  
Aristotle is credited with a Βοττιαίων  
πολιτεία (cp. V. Rose, Aristot Pseudop.  
p 463, Fragmenta, p 308), in which he  
told a strange story of the origin of the  
Bottiaei, tracing them back through  
Iapygia and Delphi to Krete and Athens  
(an etiological fable to explain (1) the  
refrain of the Bottiaean maidens, ἴωμεν  
εἰς Ἀθήνας, (2) some analogies in Kretan  
and Makedonian place-names) So also  
Strabo, 330

19 Ἰχναί τε καὶ Πέλλα Ichnai  
appears to be almost unknown to his-  
tory Steph B sub v cites Hdt. Bk 7  
for it, and adds that Eriosthenes called  
it Ἀχναί (and Philetas Ἀχνη?) Strabo  
435 has in Thessaliotis Ἰχναί ὅπου ἡ  
Θέμις Ἰχναία τιμᾶται The article in  
Steph perhaps confuses the two, but  
adds that there was another Ἰχναί in  
the east This would be the Ἰχναί of  
Dio Cass 40 12, the Ἰχναί (or Ἰσχναί)  
of Plutarch, Crassus 25, in the neigh-  
bourhood of Carrhae, and probably a  
Makedonian foundation The Ichnai  
here named will have been in the  
neighbourhood of Pella

Pella has a greater name, as the later  
residence of the Makedonian kings, the  
birthplace of Philip and of Alexander the  
Great Thucyd 2 99 4 τῆς δὲ



Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξίου ποταμὸν 124  
καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιν τούτων περιμένων  
Βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς

124 2 πόλιν β || τουτέων codd. τούτων Stein<sup>(1)2</sup> 3 ἐστρατο-  
πεδεύοντο β

Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν  
τινα καθήκουσαν ἀνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης  
καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτῆσαντο (sc Ἀλέξανδρος  
ὁ Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ).  
In 382 B.C. it is described by an orator  
from Akanthos as *μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακε-  
δονίᾳ πόλεων* (Xen. *Hell* 5. 2. 13), though  
it is reduced by Demosthenes, *de Cor*  
68, to a *χωρίον ἄδοξον καὶ μικρόν* before  
Philip's birth (cp Stabio 330, *fr.* 23).  
Livy 44. 46 gives a description of it as it  
appeared to the eyes of Aemilius Paulus  
in 168 B.C. "Sita est in tumulo ver-  
gente in occidentem hibernum Cingunt  
paludes inxsuperabilis altitudinis aestate  
et hieme, quas iestagnantes faciunt amnes.  
Arx Phacis in ipsa palude, qua proxima  
urbis est, velut insula eminet, aggeri  
operis ingentis imposita, qui et murum  
sustineat et humore circumfusae paludis  
nihil laedatur Muro urbis conjuncta  
procul videtur. Divisa est intermutali  
amni et eadem ponte juncta, ut nec,  
oppugnante externo, aditum ab ulla parte  
habeat nec, si quem ibi rex includat,  
illum nisi per facillimae custodiae pontem  
effugium." The position was, of course,  
an inland one ἀπὸ δὲ Λουδίου εἰς Πέλλαν  
πόλιν ἀνάπλους στάδια ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιν  
(Stabio 330, *fr.* 22), i.e. a day's march.  
Hdt. here places it on the coast appar-  
ently, just as Pliny, *N.H.* 4. 10 (prob-  
ably following this passage) places  
Ichnae *in ora*—clear evidence that  
neither Pliny nor Hdt. was writing  
from autopsy.

The name Grassberger (*Orisnamen*, p.  
163) interprets 'rock' (πέτρα), Hesychius  
*s.v.* πέλλα λίθος

124 1 αὐτοῦ· local (Sitzler) Were  
the ships drawn up on land as at  
Doriskos? Apparently (ἐστρατοπεδεύετο).

3 Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς  
Hdt. apparently conceives the advance  
in three divisions, which he predicates  
for the stage from Doriskos to Akanthos,  
now abandoned, and the forces on land  
all advancing with the king on a single  
route. This conception is in itself  
absurd, and it conflicts with the topo-  
graphical indications appended. The  
route is described as lying through

Paionike and Krestonike to the river  
Cheidoros (and then apparently down  
the latter to its exit in the bay of  
Therme) Παιονική is presumably the  
country immediately west of the Strymon  
(cp 5. 12-16). Κρηστονική is not very  
clearly located in Hdt. (8. 116, 5. 3, 5),  
but is apparently next or near Paionia,  
and, as this passage would show, west of  
Paionia and on the Cheidoros. This  
agrees well enough with Thucyd. 2. 99.  
6 τὸν τε Ἀνθεμόντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ  
Βισαλτίαν, and 2. 100. 4 τὴν τε Μυρδονίαν  
καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμόντα (cp. also  
4. 109. 4 Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν  
καὶ Ἠδῶνες) Hekataios had mentioned  
Κρηστώνες in his *Europe* Steph. B. s. v.  
Κρηστών. (Hdt. 1. 57, as emended, is  
not to the point.)

The Χείδωρος (or Ἐχειδωρος) is men-  
tioned by Skylax, *Periplus* 66, as between  
the Axios and Therme, and by Ptolemy  
3. 13, 14 as between Thessalonike and  
the Axios, it is therefore identified with  
the *Gallike* Leake, *N. Gr.* iii. 439,  
Tozer, i. 386.

The route thus indicated is entirely  
different from the route expressly re-  
corded by Hdt. between the Strymon  
and Therme, or rather is confounded  
with it in his narrative.

The route through Krestonike is prob-  
ably identical with the route from  
Lake Prasias over Mount Dysoros into  
Makedonia, described in 5. 17 (which  
may represent later knowledge than this  
passage).

It is inconceivable that Xerxes, having  
reached Akanthos, cut inland to Lake  
Prasias, crossed Dysoros, and descended  
upon the Echeidoros; but it is more  
than probable that one of the army  
columns pursued this route from the  
Strymon to the Axios.

Xerxes himself may have gone down  
to Akanthos to view the canal, and then  
returned to Argilos (cp c. 115 *supra*)  
and crossed Chalkidike, with a *corps  
d'armée*, by the direct route via Lake  
Boibe.

The third corps may have gone by a  
coast route from Akanthos via Sane,

ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ,  
 5 βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι. ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς  
 Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χεῖδωρον, ὃς ἐκ  
 Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἐξιεῖ  
 125 παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ. πορευομένων δὲ ταύτῃ  
 λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι. κατα-  
 φοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ  
 σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου  
 5 οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραίζον μούνας. θωμάζω  
 δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπε-  
 χομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μῆτε  
 126 πρότερον ὁπώπεσαν θηρίον μῆτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ. εἰσὶ δὲ  
 κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι,

6 Ἐχεῖδωρον Isaac Voss, Holder, van H. . cp. c. 127. 8 125. 2  
 καταφοιτῶντες α 3 οἱ λέοντες secl van H || καὶ λείποντες : ἐκλιπόντες  
 van H. 6 τὸ ἀναγκάζον secl Gomperz, appr. van H

Assera, Mekyberna, Olynthos, perhaps Aineia, to Therme, unless indeed it was on ship-board.

8 τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ is a genuine trait, no doubt, but not beyond the possibilities of report or tradition. On the unhealthiness of the neighbourhood cp Tozer, i. 151.

125. 1 ταύτῃ by the route over Dy-soros οἱ is surely something better here than a mere substitute for the possessive it is an 'ethical' dative

2 καταφοιτέοντες down from the mountain heights—their usual haunts (ἤθεα) Did it really happen more than once? τὰς νύκτας temporal accusative, not of duration, but of frequency. ("Hdt uses νύκτα, τὰς νύκτας, instead of νυκτός," Madvig, p. 29 n)

4 ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς . οἱ δὲ on this reintroduction of the subject in a pseudo-antithesis cp. c. 13 *supra*. The fact here asserted is hardly credible, unless by some accident these camels happened to be in such a position in the Laager as to be especially exposed Pausan 6. 5 4 is, of course, taken from Hdt and cannot be cited as confirmation of the fact. κερααῖζεν is remarkable as used of lions It is a common word with Hdt. (rare in Attic), and had quite lost any etymological force; but cp 8 71.

5 θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον τὸ ἀναγ-

κάζον It science be only *rerum cognoscere causas*, Hdt here shows a laudable wonder, or curiosity, but science is also the ascertainment of 'facts,' and the previous question is whether the fact was really as Hdt believed. He seems to suppose that there was some intrinsic or natural reason why the lions went for the camels, when they had their pick of the whole lot of sumpter animals, though he does not venture to assign as the cause the novelty and outlandishness of the camel in the eyes of a Macedonian lion. Perhaps the camels were the last of the train, or were spent and lagging, or dropped by the way. Perhaps the non-appearance of the camels in Greece had to be accounted for. This is the last we hear of them on the march, cp. c. 86 *supra*, but cp 9 81 *infra*. The use of αἴτιον here for a physical 'cause' is observable. Even δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι 1. 1 is not quite so strong. With the expression ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν τὸ αἴτιον cp Demosth 8 56 τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον, ὡ ἀνδρες Ἀθ κτλ.

126 2 βόες ἄγριοι τῶν . ἐστὶ τὰ ἐκ Ἑλληνίας φοιτέοντα. The wild ox (βόνασος) of Aristot. *Hist. An.* 9. 45 = 630A there located in Paionia. The notice of the trade in horns is suggestive. The Greeks bought them rather for use than for ornament (*inter alia*, as drinking vessels? cp. Aristot. *l.c.*). φοιτέον of commercial imports, 3 115.

τῶν τὰ κέρεα ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ 5 πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπῖκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἔδρυσεν αὐτοῦ 127 τὴν στρατιήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσύνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδῖά τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκ-

126 5 ῥέων om. B. secl. van H || ἀχελῷος B || οὔτε α οὐδαμού R : οὐδαμου οὔτε V(S) 9 <μούνῃ> γίνονται van H 127. 3 ἀπό <τε> Kallenberg 4 Λοιδιέω Cobet

4 οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι. Hdt's geographical limits for the lion are interesting. He does not of course deny the existence of the lion in Asia and Libya (4. 191). He is dealing here simply with the European lion, which he confines to the area between the Nestos and the Acheloos. How far south the lion wanders he does not clearly say, but he seems vaguely to think of the Nestos and the Acheloos, of Abdera and Akarnania, as due E. and W. of each other, or, we might say, in the same parallel of latitude. Perhaps they were so represented on the Ionian maps of Hekataios and Anaximandros (cp 5. 49). The eastern term of Europe, beyond the Nestos, is here problematic. Hdt can hardly be thinking of a Europe extending indefinitely to the East, as in 4. 42 (probably a later passage in composition). Stein suggests the Pontos as the limit, but why not the conventional limit of the Ionians, viz the Tanais?

δὲ Ἀβδήρων (= διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν Pausan 1 c) does not contradict c 107 *supra*, where the Nestos flows κατὰ Ἀβδῆρα. The city name may stand for the district. Stein cps. ἐς Μιλήτον ἐσέβαλε 1 15 Cp 9 17

6. τῆς ἔμπροσθε Εὐρώπης indicates, as Rawlinson remarks, that "this part of the work was written in Asia," or taken from an Asiatic source (Hekataios)? The former inference would point to its early composition.

7. ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα it was long since Peloponnesian Tartarins had seen

live lions in their own land. Even the Mykenesian lions and wild oxen may be 'Thracian'. One need not suppose from this formula, or phrase, that Hdt had been looking for lions, or had even been in European Greece, before writing

127. 1 ὁ Ξέρξης impressive article; cp c. 45 *supra*.

ἔδρυσεν as in 4 124, 203, of an army, otherwise rather a strong term for laagering

αὐτοῦ · locative, cp. c. 124 *supra*

3 ἀπὸ Θέρμης · west of Therme

4 Μυγδονίης c 123 *supra*.

Λυδίῳ the Lydias (*Karasmak*, Leake, *N. Gr* iii 270), only here mentioned by Hdt. Strabo, 330, fr 20, brings it from the lake by Pella (to which he gives the same name as the river), and connects it with the Axios, of which it is, as a matter of fact, now a tributary. Skylax, *Periopl* 66, puts Aloros on the Lydias, which is distinct from the Haliakmon and from the Axios, and affords a waterway up to Pella. Ptolemy (3 13 14, 15) distinguishes the ἐκβολαὶ of the Axios, Lydias, and Haliakmon. The lower courses of these three rivers have doubtless altered from age to age, but it seems probable that Hdt is here in error in giving the Haliakmon and the Lydias one and the same outlet (ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες). Cp. also Eurip *Bacch* 565 ff.

Ἀλιάκμονος · a considerable river, the modern *Vistritza* (Injé-karâ-su, Turkish, cp. Leake *N. Gr* i 303). Its

5 μόνος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα,

5 τὴν om. α

name first occurs in Hesiod, *Theog.* 341, in a catalogue of rivers. Strabo 330 places the outlet between Dion and Pydna, which can hardly be right. Caesar, *B. C.* 3 36, makes it the frontier between Macedonia and Thessaly. Its lower course, in fact, lies parallel to the range of the Kambunian mountains, on the north side. Its upper course, however, forms a right angle thereto. Hdt. in making the river the frontier between 'Bottians' and 'Makedonis,' seems to be in error, as in uniting the Haliakmon with the Lydias.

5. *Μακεδονίς*, which ought surely to denote 'Makedonia proper,' occurs only in this passage, and appears to imply (as Stein suggests) an intentional contrast to *Μακεδονίη* (γῆ), Hdt.'s usual term for the land ruled by Amyntas and Alexander.

Under this contrast there lurks a problem and a self-contradiction. Hdt. and Thucydides both face the problem, and both succumb to the self-contradiction, but with a difference, which is to Hdt.'s credit. The problem concerns the origin and rise of the Makedonian monarchy, the inconsistency lies between the location of the true Makedonians, inland, up country, away from the sea, and the Peloponnesian, i.e. transmarine origin of the reigning house. This problem, especially in regard to the gradual extension of Makedonian sway, Thucydides faces more deliberately than Hdt. and answers more systematically, with this result, that he departs more completely than Hdt. from the historical order of events, and involves himself in an ethnological sophism to cover that departure. But Hdt., too, has recourse (in this passage) to what may be called a geographical sophism to rationalize his history, cp. Thuc. 2 99 and 8 138 *infra*. Hdt. and Thuc. agree (1) in accepting the foundation legend of the Makedonian monarchy, [which represented the kings as Temenids from Peloponnesian Argos, (2) in admitting that the *habitat* of the true Makedonians was far inland. But Hdt., notwithstanding the legend (1), traces the spread of the power of these adventurers from Lebaia, and the parts about Mount Bermios, within measurable distance of Argos Orestikon, while

Thucydides, notwithstanding the site (2), makes the conquest start from the sea-coast, so that any truly Makedonian land is among the last of the acquisitions of the Makedonian kings. Thucydides, indeed, with characteristic lucidity, marks six stages in the process of conquest or expansion: (i) Pieria, (ii.) Bottia, (iii.) Paionia, between Pella, originally a Paionian stronghold, and the sea, (iv.) Mygdonia, (v) Eordia and Almopia; (vi.) Anthemis, Grestonia, Bisaltia, "and a large part of the land of the Makedonians themselves." Makedon is the last place reached by the Makedonian conquest! Such a process could hardly have resulted in the establishment of a 'Makedonian' monarchy. Thucydides has to a greater or less extent reversed the order of the Makedonian conquests in the interests of the hellenizing legend of the Royal House, while acknowledging that the true Makedonians, Lynkestai, Elimiotai and other tribes, were to be found far inland. He covers this inconsequence by the sophistical substitution of *οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι* for his first subject, 'Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ,' as the heroes of the conquest. Hdt. recognizing the start of the supposed 'Temenids' at Lebaia has preserved the true perspective of Makedonian expansion, though that perspective constitutes a fatal bar to the hellenizing legend of his Makedonian patrons, 8. 137-139.

None the less in this passage Hdt., coming perilously near the Thucydidean fallacy, plainly identifies *Μακεδονίς* or Makedonia proper with a district on the sea-coast; in a word, Pieria (cp. cc 131, 177 *infra*), surely the least 'Makedonian' of all the Makedonian lands, and thereby tends to disown admission (2) *supra*, in the interests of admission (1).

Blakesley's ingenious idea, according to which *Μακεδονίς* here is the land enclosed by the fork of the rivers Lydias and Haliakmon (having therefore no part to the sea) and Bottia, or *Bottiaids*, the part outside the rivers, will hardly do in any case. If Hdt. had meant that *Μακεδονίς* was inclosed by the two rivers, he would have said so, and the discovery of a 'Makedonis' on the sea coast is rendered a fatal necessity for Hdt. by the Legend of the Makedonian

ἐς τῶντὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο  
μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ  
καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν [ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων] Χεί-  
δωρος μῦνος οὐκ ἀνέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος ἀλλ'  
ἐπέλιπε.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὀρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὄρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, 128  
τόν τε Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, μεγάλῃ τε ὑπερμήκει  
έόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος

6 ῥέεθρον del Kallenberg 8 ὁ ἐκ Valckenaer ἐκ . . ῥέων secl  
Stein<sup>3</sup>. κρηστωνοίων β κρηστωνέης α κρηστωναίης C Κρηστωνέων z ||  
ἐχέιδωρος β 9 ἀπέχρησε Madvig, van H 128. 1 ὀρῶν α,  
Holder 2 τε sec. 1 om. β

Royal House. Grote in 241n is mistaken in saying that Hdt gives no intimation that the Pierians had once dwelt south of the Halakmon, he overlooked the passages last cited, and has misled Blakesley too into misconceiving and mistaking the points at issue between Hdt and Thuc. Hdt attempts to solve the common difficulty by identifying 'Pieria' with 'Makedonia,' Thuc. by substituting 'Makedonians' for 'Tememids'

8 Χείδωρος μῦνος ἐπέλιπε cp c 21 *supra*  
128 l. Ξέρξης δὲ ὀρέων . . έόντα, the neuter mountain, further south (τὸ Ἠήλιον, c 129), he could not see. Rawlinson (after Leake) asserts that "in clear weather Olympus and Ossa are full in view" though the latter from Saloniki is more than 70 miles distant. Mr J. A. R. Munro assures me that Olympus at least is visible. Olympus is 10,000 feet in height (Tozer, *Highlands*, n. 6; 9750 feet, Kiepert, *Manual*, § 132). Ossa (feminine) is of lesser height (5-6000') but "of even more striking appearance." For Xerxes, his views, his inquiries, his visit to the scene, his researches, his theories, his criticisms, one is tempted in this passage (cc 128-30) to substitute Herodotus himself. The proceedings of Xerxes are too absurd! His desire to inspect the Peneios finds, indeed, a parallel in Darius' inspection of the Pontos, 4 85, but with this difference, that Xerxes was bound for Thessaly, and was naturally going through Tempe (*pace* Hdt!) or at any rate within easy reach of it, while Darius took his only chance of viewing the sea. But that is the least of Xerxes' absurdities. Not

content with visiting Tempe in his Sidonian yacht (cp c. 100 *supra*) with a decent convoy, he takes the whole fleet with him on this voyage to Thessaly and back an unlikely proceeding, even if there had been any opposition in Thessaly to his landing. Other irrational points in the narrative (noticed *ad II*) seem further to discredit the story, which appears to be introduced in order to give Hdt an opportunity of airing his own knowledge and ideas about Thessaly. That Tempe is further described c. 173 *infra* (from another source) only confirms the hypothesis that we are here in the presence of a later addition from the author's hand. It does not follow that Hdt visited Tempe from Therme, and by sea, or at least from Makedon, as M. Hauvette, p. 35, suggests. There is, indeed, an obvious contrast between the character and tone of this passage on Thessaly and Tempe, and the geographical obscurities or incongruities of Hdt's previous descriptions of Makedonia and of the route through Thrace. But that this difference arises from Hdt's autopsy in Thessaly as compared with hearsay or letters in Thrace and Makedon is perhaps too much to infer. He is here following southern sources. In Athens, in Sparta, and elsewhere he might find many who could describe Tempe or Thessaly from having taken part in one or other of the expeditions northwards. See further, Introduction, §§ 9, 10.

3 αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος the pass of Tempe (τὰ Τέμπεα, c 173 *infra*) here anonymous (perhaps just because — already — named there), it could not of course be seen from *Saloniki*.

εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε ταύτη εἶναι ὁδὸν  
 5 ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν  
 ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλθαι διὰ  
 Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἕστε Περραιβοὺς παρὰ  
 Γόννον πόλιν· ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλέςτατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι.

7 ἕστε α. ἕς τε d ἕς BP ἕς τετταραιβούς C (περαιβούς dP). ἕστ' ἐπὶ  
 Περραιβούς? Stein 8 γόννον BA<sup>2</sup> γόνον A<sup>1</sup>B

The primary meaning of the word αὐλὼν is (presumably) a pipe, or pipe-like channel, or conduit, which can only be applied metaphorically to a narrow defile, straits, or such-like, so αὐλὼν Μαιωτικός Aischyl *Pr* 731, πόντιοι αὐλῶνες Soph *Tr* 100. Hdt himself applies it to a built and covered aqueduct or conduit, 2 100, 127; and so here of the long narrow ravine, or gorge, through which the Peneios makes its way to the sea. It is from 5 to 6 miles long, and at places barely wide enough for river and road. For descriptions cp. Wordsworth's *Greece* (ed Tozer) p 296 f, Tozer, *Highlands*, II. 66 ff, Leake, *N. Gr.* III 384 ff.

4. ταύτη εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, 'there was (is) a road there leading into Thessaly'—one, of several, here treated as a secondary one (for the sake of the argument), but in c. 173 *infra* (presumably a passage of earlier composition) treated as the principal and practically the only one.

5. τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ the exit, or outlet, of the Peneios, ἐκβολή (a word of many meanings) must here cover not merely the mouth but the whole gorge, οἱ αὐλῶν, cp 9 38, 39.

6 τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν . διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἕστε Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν the passage recognizes the existence of a second pass into Thessaly, distinct from Tempe, and described as (a) leading from Upper Macedonia, (b) coming into Perrhaibia, (c) by the city of Gonnos. The description of this second pass appears in even more explicit terms (in c. 173 *infra*) and might have been transferred from that passage (if of earlier composition). Neither the Perrhaiboi nor the city of Gonnos are precisely located by Hdt. The Homeric Catalogue, B 748 ff, places the folk, with the Ἐνείηδες, περὶ Δωδώνῃν δυσχείμερον, and ἀμφ' ἱερτὸν Τίταρῃσιον (The Titaesios is the great northern tributary of the Peneios, flowing down

from Olympos and the Kambunian range) Strabo 441, commenting on the passage, puts the Perrhaiboi on τὰ δρεινότερα χωρία πρὸς τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ τοῖς Τέμπεσι, but also extends them into Hestiaiotes (ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς Ἑστιαϊώτιδος ἐπειληφότες). This agrees generally with the location of the Perrhaiboi in other authorities (Thucyd., Polyb., Livy). Perrhaibia, though never an officially recognized district of Thessaly, corresponded to the mountainous northern portion of the country. Strabo mentions Olosson (sic) and Gonnos as Perrhaibian cities.

8 Γόννος, οἱ Gonnoi (celebrated as the birthplace of Antigonos Gonatas), is located by Polybios 18. 10. 2 close to Tempe (Philip retreating after his defeat at Kynoskephalai προελθὼν εἰς Γόννον ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Τεμπῶν, halted to collect fugitives and afterwards proceeded διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ib 18. 16. 1). This location is confirmed by Livy (42 54. 8) "utraque oppida (Elatia et Gonnos) in faucibus sunt, qua Tempe adeunt, magis Gonnos" Cp 38 10 11 (= Polyb 1 c), 36 10 11 "oppidum Gonni viginti millia ab Larisa abest, in ipsis faucibus saltus, quae Tempe appellantur, situm" 42 67 6 "ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniae claustra tutissima praebet et in Thessaliam opportunitum Macedonibus decursum" Cp 44 6. 10 (in the celebrated description of Tempe) "unum (praesidium) in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat." It is quite obvious that Gonnos is itself a part of Tempe, and not a separate pass. A path by which the gorge might be circumvented may have led from, or down to, Gonnos (like Anopaea at Thermopylai), but nothing more. Such a path in fact there was, cp c 179 *infra*. Xerxes could never have rejected Tempe in favour of a pass by Gonnos, nor would such a route have led to or from 'Upper Macedonia' Hdt has fallen into a serious error and contradiction, over and above the absurdity of supposing that

ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅπως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, <sup>10</sup> ἀνέδεξε σημήιον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθέησατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν. τὴν δὲ <sup>129</sup> Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ

10 ἐνέβαινε α || τοι β 12 ἐπέιτε vel ἐπειδὴ? van H. 13  
Ξέρξης secl van H. ὁ ξέρξης β 14 ἡγεμόνας β, Holder 129 2  
γε om α 3 συγκεκλημένην Bekker · συγκεκλημένην α · συγκεκλη-  
σμένην βz

there was any better or safer pass from Macedonia into Thessaly than by Tempe

There were (and are) three main passes between Macedonia and ancient Thessaly I Tempe, which Hdt describes, but treats as 'unsafe,' and not used by the Persians II The Pass of Petra, further west, leading from Oloosson (in Perrhaibia) across to Dion, and therefore joining there the route through Tempe It was probably by this pass that Brasidas crossed Olympos in 424 B.C., Thucyd 4 78 6 III The Pass of Volustana, still further west, likewise starting from Oloosson and debouching into the upper valley of the Haliakmon, the only pass which could be described as leading into 'Upper Macedonia'

The superiority of Tempe lies in its piercing the mountain barrier once for all A force coming from Macedonia to Ellassona has still to traverse the lower passes of Perrhaibia (which figured largely in the Turkish invasion of 'Thessaly' in 1896) It is more than possible that the Persian columns in 480 B.C. used all three routes into ancient Thessaly; and if Xerxes marched still with the centre (cp c 121 *supra*) he may have crossed by Petra, and visited Tempe (if he did visit it) from Larisa or the neighbourhood

ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλίστατον ἐπὶν- θάνετο εἶναι cannot mean that Tempe was garrisoned, or held against him, for the Thessalians have by this time medized and the Greeks have abandoned Tempe Yet apart from such opposition, Tempe was the easiest and probably the safest natural pass The horrors described by Livy 44 6 partly belong

to a time when the pass was strongly fortified, are stated without reference to the other passes, and did not prevent Tempe being the most frequented of the routes between Thessaly and Macedonia. If there is not here a confused reminiscence of actual or anticipated resistance at Tempe, it must be regarded as a bit of bad motivation to account for the tradition that the king himself entered Thessaly, not through the pass of Tempe, but by another route.

13 ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο · cp 8. 135, 9 37

14. τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. evidently on land Hdt may suppose that the king had landed from his yacht, but he involves himself in the further inconsequence that the king proceeds to survey the pass, though he had determined not to use it

15 ἐστὶ=ἐξεστὶ or πάρεστι

129 2. λόγος seems here to be 'theory' rather than 'tradition.' Cp. λέγεται l 17 *infra*

ὥστε=ἄτε · cp 6 44

3. τὰ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα· the orientation of Thessaly in this passage is only approximate, as compared with the true points There is a more serious difficulty arising from the fact that Hdt puts Pelion and Ossa in line on the east side, and Olympos by itself on the north, nor does Rawlinson's suggestion, that Olympos here covers the whole Kambunian range, fully meet the difficulty Hdt is not quite at home in Thessaly, in l 56 he makes Histiaiotis the part of Thessaly under Ossa and Olympos.

μέν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν περικληϊόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στενωπὸν ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμι-  
 σγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τῶντ'· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμειχθέωσι 15  
 τάχιστα, ἐνθεύτερ ἦδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων  
 ἀνωσύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται,  
 οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς  
 τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηίδα

12 νυν secl van H || ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο α. ἐκ τῶν πεδίων β 13  
 περικληϊόντων περικληόντων β. περικληόντων α: περικλειόντων C  
 15 συμμειχθέωσι α, Stein<sup>12</sup> συμμειχθῶσι β 17 πάλαι β

by Forbiger, identified it with a small stream terminating in Lake Boibeis, named Onchestos (Ὀγχηστός) by Polybios and Livy; but Rawlinson argues well that the Onochonos must have been a tributary of Peneios, in proximity to the Enipeus and Apidanos, and would identify it with the *Sofádhos* Cp c. 196 *infra*.

Ἐνιπέος irrequietus Enipeus (Ovid *l c*), the principal tributary of Peneios from the south, known to Homer (*Od* 11 238) and Thucydides (4 78. 3), where Brasidas reaches it at Meliteia before he comes to Pharsalos and the Apidanos, a fact explicable by the much longer course of the Enipeus (mod *Fersalitis*) The Apidanos, Onochonos, and Pamisos are indeed all represented (Kiepert, *Forma xv*) as tributaries of the Enipeus, as well as the Kuralios (Strabo 438)

Παμίσσιον occurs also in Pliny's list, and is synonymous with the principal river of Messenia, and one or two other streams of Peloponnese Leake, *N Gr* iv. 514, identifies it with a "considerable tributary of the Peneus, now called the *Blúris* or *Pilúris*," which joins the *Salamoria* 'not far from the bridge of Keramidhi.'

οἱ μὲν demands an antithesis ὁ δὲ Πηνειός, but Hdt. anticipates the predicate, which materially belongs to the Peneios, and transfers it to its tributaries, with the result of confusing his antithesis. He starts as if to say, 'The five rivers which have separate names have not separate exits, the Peneios receives all their waters and carries them into the sea' He actually says, 'The five streams have an exit, but four of them lose their names in the Peneios.' (1) The omission of the Titaresios, (2) the failure to distinguish the northern and southern

tributaries, (3) the omission of the line of hills dividing eastern and western Thessaly, (4) the restriction of the tributaries to the streams round Pharsalos, (5) the stylistic confusion of the passage, all confirm the view that Hdt. is not really describing at first hand.

12. τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο Hdt. is not aware of the existence of more than one plain in Thessaly. The existence of the mountain-range Kynoskephalai, dividing eastern and western Thessaly, is unknown to him. As Stein has rightly observed, this passage is wanting in clearness, and does not bear the impress of autopsy, or personal inspection

13 δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος Hdt. plainly refers to Tempe (c 128 *supra*), but there is a previous αὐλῶν, through which the Peneios, already enforced by the waters of all the rivers named by Hdt., flows from upper western Thessaly into the lower plain of Larisa to the east, and so on to Tempe and the sea

17 λέγεται this could only refer to 'theory,' not 'tradition,' and in any case is a clear reference to geographical discussions, no doubt in prose works. Cp λόγος l. 2 *supra*.

19 τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην: named by Homer, *Il*. 2. 711, as near Pherai, Boibe, Glaphyrai, Iolkos, the land of Eumelos, son of Admetos and Alkestis. Pindar, *Pyth* 3. 34, has the form Βοιβιάς, found also in the later writers, the lake having a long literary record. The town Boibe (*Il*. 2 712) is located on the SW shore. The identification with the modern Lake *Karla* is indubitable. The lake drains into another to the north (Nessonis, Strabo 430 makes it larger than Boibeis, probably in error), and so into Peneios. Hdt.'s knowledge here too seems at fault



20 λίμνην, οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν  
 ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιέειν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος.  
 αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν  
 αὐλῶνα δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες. ὅστις γὰρ  
 νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεσπῶτα ὑπὸ  
 25 σεισμῶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη  
 Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμῶ ἔργον, ὥς ἐμοὶ  
 130 φαίνεται εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν ὀρέων. οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι,  
 εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ  
 Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον " βασιλεῦ, ποταμῶ

21 ἢ νῦν del van H.  
 ἐφαίνετο B, Holder

22 αὐτὸν Naber

24 διεσπῶτα B 27

21 τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος the theory of tradition of a time when 'all Thessaly was under water' appears to be scientifically acceptable, subject perhaps to some reservations or corrections. Hdt. treats 'Thessaly' as a single plain, or hollow basin, rimmed round with mountains, and filled with water, until the formation of the cuttings (τέμπεα) drained the waters off. The structure of Thessaly is not quite so simple as that (cp notes *supra*), and the history of the landscape is also more complicated. That at any date worth thinking of, in an historical connexion, the whole of Thessaly was under water is hardly credible, but the eastern portion was liable to floods at all times, and the lakes there no doubt represent a diminished survival of the primitive condition. The myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha may be located in Thessaly, but is there specially associated with Phthiotis (Hdt. I 56), while the actual flood (ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός) is by Aristotle *Meteor.* I. 14=352a fixed at Dodona on the Achelooi—perhaps in connexion with his theory of the proper site of ἡ Ἑλλάς ἡ ἀρχαία. The story of the flood, unfortunately, in any form now recoverable is late (Apollod. *Biblioth.* and Ovid). In the *Iliad* (20. 478) one Deukalion is a Trojan, slain by Achilles; another (13. 451) is a Kretan, son of Minos, and father of Idomeneus (cp. *Od.* 19. 180 f.). Had Hdt. been acquainted with a story associating his Thessalian Deukalion with the flood, he would hardly have omitted all reference to it.

22. αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασί·

this formula cannot be taken to prove (a) an actual visit of Hdt. to Thessaly (for he might have discussed the matter with Thessalians elsewhere), nor (b) an actual discussion with a Thessalian or Thessalians anywhere (for Hdt. might report 'Thessalian' theories on the authority of non-Thessalian informants), nor even (c) an oral source at all (for the formula is applicable to written sources) Cp. Introduction, § 10.

23 ὅστις γάρ. The 'Posidonian' origin of the Tempe gorge refers it to seismic action. Seism., oi volcano, may perhaps have started the crack, but, as in other river gorges, however narrow and however high, the greater part of the result is, presumably, the work of erosion and of the river's action.

26 ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι by no means asserts Hdt.'s autopsy, which is rather suggested by ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν just before ἐφαίνετο or ἐφάνη would have been more difficult to explain away, for which reason the change has been made in the inferior class of mss. Cp. App. Crit. What "appears to Hdt. to be" is obvious: τὰ διεσπῶτα ὑπὸ σεισμῶ φαίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι.

27 ἡ διάστασις, 'the standing apart,' separation φάραγγες καὶ δ. τῆς γῆς Aristot. *Meteor.* I. 13=350b. 36. Cp. διεσπῶτα just above.

130 I οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι=οἱ κατηγεόμενες τῆς ὁδοῦ c. 128 *supra*; κατηγήσομαι c. 8 *supra*, in a different sense.

2 εἰρομένου κτλ.: not a very wise question under the circumstances! perhaps only asked for sake of the answer. The king, however, was accustomed to rivers with many mouths.

τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτή· ὄρεσι γὰρ περιστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη." 5  
Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα "σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοί. ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσι-  
μαχέοντες καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώραν ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρήγμα ἂν ἦν μούνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλώονος 10 ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥέεθρον,

130. 5 αὐτή Abresch αὐτή codd ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτή Matthiae 'haud peius ἀλλ' ἢ δὴ αὐτή Stein<sup>1</sup> 7 ἐφυλάσσοντο B 11 ῥέεθρων CP: ῥέεθρον

4 ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα ἐξήλυσις is used in 3 117, in a passage which might, perhaps, have suggested this criticism on Thessaly and its possibilities as a colossal reservoir, cp. ἀποκεκλημένον δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδὶον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαιος γίνεται ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. the passage on Thessaly and this anecdote of the king belonging to the second or third draft of this book, cp Introduction, § 9.

κατήκουσα cp ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκον of Mount Athos, c. 22 *supra*, and κατήκουσα of an ἀκτὴ, c. 33 *supra*

ἀλλ' ἦδε αὐτή, "nisi hic solus," Baehr, cp. αὐτὰ 5 68, αὐτόν 5 86.

5 περιστεφάνωται "tanquam montium corona," Baehr

6 λέγεται: by whom? (cp λέγεται, c. 129 *supra*) Is this really a genuine anecdote (from Demaratos, or some of the Greeks in the king's train, or from αὐτοὶ Θεσσαλοί), or is it a *façon de parler* introducing a critique by Hdt himself, suggested to him, perhaps, by the hydraulic works described in 3. 117?

σοφοί, 'no fools,' 5 23

7 ταῦτ' ἄρα. ταχυάλωτον a sentence not devoid of obscurity, to what do ταῦτα and τᾶλλα exactly and respectively refer? Stein takes ταῦτα as equivalent to the sentence ὅτι χώραν ἄρα κτλ, viz "the natural disadvantages of their country," and τᾶλλα, "my power." Sitzler takes ταῦτα to cover καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι κτλ, meaning "on this account" (*deshalb*), τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι meaning "on all other grounds as also because . . ."

πρὸ πολλοῦ, sc χρόνου The 'Thessalians' as such had only declared

for the king a short time before (c 172 ff. *infra*), Hdt. has therefore to explain subsequently that the king fell on this occasion into the mistake of supposing that the Aleuadae had been speaking (c 6 *supra*) in the name of the Thessalians as a whole. But this inconsequence, by which a fact not recorded till c 172 *infra* is yet necessary to the comprehension of this passage, helps to mark this passage as a later insertion. The inconsequence would not be removed by understanding πρὸ πολλοῦ *preti*.

γνωσιμαχέοντες is a disputable word. Stein takes it to mean "coming to a better mind," "changing their mind for the better" (*sich eines Besseren besinnend*), and cps. 3. 25, so too Rawlinson, "to change their minds in time"; and Schweighaeuser, "laudat eos quod mutassent sententiam et melius sibi consuluissent", others (e.g. L & S.), there and here, take it simply to mean 'submit,' 'give way.' But in 8 29 *infra* it appears to have the sense of 'admit,' 'confess,' 'recognize,' constructed with infin. It might therefore here go with what follows γν καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι (that) ταῦτα in that case would go with ἐφυλάξαντο and refer not to ὅτι, nor to καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι κτλ, but to what has gone before, οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν, or if to what follows, then to what follows in the next sentence, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν κτλ

9 πρήγμα ἂν ἦν μούνον, 'one would merely have had to', πρήγμα εἶναι (slightly different), c. 12 *supra*

10 ἐπεῖναι cp c. 176 *infra*, 9. 49 Aristoph. *Frogs* 133 τόθ' εἶναι καὶ σὺ σαυτὸν

- ὥστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὁρέων ὑποβρυχέα γενέσθαι.”  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐκαστοὺς βασιλεί, δοκέων  
 15 ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην.  
 εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.  
 131 Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ  
 γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίας,  
 ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίη ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβοὺς. οἱ δὲ δὴ  
 κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν  
 132 ἀπίκατο οὐ μὲν κεινοί, οὐ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τῶν

12 ἔξω Schaefer || ὑπόβρυχα B, Holder, van H.: ὑποβρύχια Kallenberg  
 14 ὄντες Ἑλλήνων B 15 ὁ Ξέρξης del van H || ὑπὸ B, Holder  
 131. 3 διεξίη B: διεξι α || πᾶσα B || δὴ om. α

12. ἔξω is not locative but exceptional, cp., however, App. Crit

ὑποβρυχέα ὑποβρυχῆς, an Hapax-  
 legomenon. L & S do not recognize  
 this form at all. Abicht reads ὑπόβρυχα,  
 and understands it as adverbial neut.  
 from ὑπόβρυχος, as in Homer. (So too  
 L. & S.) Cp App. Crit

13 ἔχοντα. ἐς, 'referring to'; cp  
 c. 143

τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας. cp 6 *supra*,  
 9. 58, 5. 49. Rather epic than logo-  
 graphic style

15. ἀπό, 'on behalf of'

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, c. 1 *supra* α

131. 1 Πιερίην: cp. c. 177 *infra*.  
 It seems here to equal Μακεδονίς (or  
 nearly), c. 127 *supra*, the country from  
 which the Πίλεες (c 112 *supra*) had been  
 expelled. Methone, Pydna, Dion were  
 the principal towns (Forbiger, iii 1062)  
 It seems odd that the king should be  
 spending his time in Pieria (under  
 Olympos) when he has just sailed back  
 to Therme. The inconsequence, οἱ  
 hiatus, is fresh evidence that cc 128-30  
 are an insertion.

διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. the  
 Hellenes meanwhile occupied Artemision  
 —Thermopylai, c 177 *infra*

τὸ . . ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικόν. a  
 rather vague term, which might here  
 cover all the Kambunian range at least,  
 though that is hardly the Makedonian  
 mountain proper (Beimios? 8. 138, or  
 the mountains further up the Haliakmon  
 and the Erigon).

2. τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίας the signi-  
 ficance of this 'third' Hdt himself does

not appear to appreciate, but incidentally  
 he enables us to do so, cp. c. 121 *supra*

It is quite absurd to suppose that the  
 whole army (ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιή) crossed  
 into Thessaly by one pass, especially if  
 it was an army counted by myriads,  
 it is uncritical to cite this statement as  
 proving that the army must have been  
 a small one, or that only one column  
 penetrated Thessaly and Central Greece  
 If the tripartition of the forces obtained  
 throughout, as is probable, the three  
 columns doubtless crossed by the three  
 main passes (cp c 128 *supra*) which  
 would all equally lead ἐς Περραιβοὺς  
 (ἰδιὰ), and particularly the Petra and  
 Volustana.

3. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες cp c 32 *supra*.  
 ἀπίκατο. the pluperfect has little proper  
 temporal force. κεινοί. Stein happily  
 quotes *Il* 2. 298 αἰσχρὸν τοι δηρὸν τε  
 μένειν κενέων τε νέεσθαι.

132 1. τῶν δὲ δόντων, 'of those  
 who gave' The list which follows, then,  
 does not profess to be complete. It does  
 not, for example, contain the 'Argives,'  
 nor the 'Delphians,' though the tribes  
 it does contain are all members of the  
 Amphiktyonic League, the twelve con-  
 stituents of which, excepting the  
 Dorians, Ionians, and Phokians (who  
 finally medized), are all in this list here  
 Nor is it clear how Hdt. came by these  
 names. Was there a complete list of  
 'traitors' from which he made a  
 selection, with due regard to the  
 susceptibility of time and place? Or  
 did he draw up this list himself, as an  
 inference from the story of the campaign?  
 Or is it a list of those tribes against

δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἶδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐνιήνες  
Περραιβοὶ Λοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται

132 2 διδόντων *d* || ἐγένετο *B* || αἰνιήνες *B* 3 μάγνητες *B*

whom the vow of vengeance was afterwards declared by the patriotic Greeks (ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον) and whose names were officially specified at the time? Or was there a list of tribes against which the 'Amphiktyons' issued a bill of pains and penalties after the war? (cp Plutarch, *Themist.* 20). The tense and the order of the narrative suggests that these surrenders were announced by the heralds to Xerxes in Pieria. This implication can hardly be correct for all the tribes, notably for the Thebans, who can scarcely have openly medized before Thermopylai. Diodoros 11. 3 professes to know that the Ainaeans, Dolopes, Malians, Perrhaiboi, and Magnetes had joined the 'barbarians' before the abandonment of Tempe by the Greeks, while the Achaeans, Lokrians, Thessalians, Boiotians, 'inclined to' the 'barbarians' after its abandonment. On the date of the patriotic oath see below. The chronology here as a whole is far from clear or consistent. The passage seems to belong to the insertions at second or third hand, cp Introduction, § 10. The actual list of medizers given makes it improbable that the heralds despatched ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησὶν had been sent forth from Sardes. If sent at all, they had perhaps only been sent forward from Thermopylai, cp c 32 *supra*.

2 Θεσσαλοί, not here of all the inhabitants of Thessaly, nor in the official sense of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν (which might include some of the other names mentioned), but of the 'Thessalians' in the stricter sense; cp c 176 *infra*.

Δόλοπες reappear c 185 *infra*, with Perrhaiboi, Enianes, Magnetes, and Achaeans, as furnishing contingents to the infantry; but are not otherwise definitely placed by Hdt. In the *Iliad* 9. 484 they are located ἐσχάτην Φθίης. (Δόλοψ appears among ἡγεμόνας Δαναῶν slain by Hektor 11. 302, and another Δόλοψ on the Trojan side, 15. 525 ff.) Thucyd. 1. 98. 2 places Δόλοπες in Skyros, in 2. 102. 2 Δολοπία appears to be on the upper course of the Acheloos, and under Pindos; in 5. 51, 1 they are associated with Αἰνιᾶνες, Μηλιῆς, Θεσσαλοὶ (just as in this passage, cp. c. 185 *infra*).

Ἐνιήνες (Ion for Αἰνιᾶνες) in the

Homeric Catalogue (B 749) associated with the Περραιβοὶ (cp. c 185 *infra*), and more definitely located upon the upper Spercheios, c 198 *infra*.

3 Περραιβοὶ cp c 128 *supra*.  
Λοκροί. The geographical order of the list is here disturbed, and also its merely ethnical character modified. The folks hitherto named are all north of Othrys, but the same observation holds of the Magnetes and Achaeans to come. The Lokrians may also signify a more distinct political, or military, union than the other peoples named. Thus c 203 Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι appear on the national side, πανστρατιῇ, and in c 207 resolved on resistance, while in 8. 1 they furnish a contingent to the Greek fleet at Artemision. Hdt. does not distinguish 'Epiknemidian' from 'Opuntian' Lokrians (any more than Thucydides), but he once mentions the Ozolai (8. 32 *infra*). It appears, therefore, that where he speaks of Lokroi simply, he lumps the Opuntian and Epiknemidian Lokrians (c 216 *infra*, 8. 66, 9. 31). They must here be in view, and obviously they did not 'medize' until after Thermopylai (cp 8. 66). 'Lokris' as so conceived (the term is not used by Hdt.) succeeds 'Malis' and begins at Alpenoi, cp c. 216 *infra*.

Μάγνητες takes us back to Thessaly, in the general sense. Μαγνησίη χώρα is located cc. 176, 183, 188, 193, as the strip of coast under Ossa and Pelion (from Tempe to Cape Sepias), cp *Il.* 2. 756 f. (Only in 1. 161, 3. 90, 122, 125 does Hdt. happen to mention Magnesia and Magnetes in Asia.)

Μηλιέες. Their territory (Μηλίσ γῆ) is nicely located in c. 198 *infra* (between Achaia and Lokroi), as generally by the story of Thermopylai; cp also 4. 33. They only joined the king's army after Thermopylai 8. 66. Thuc. 3. 92. 2 divides the Μηλίσ into three parts, Παράλιοι Ἴριος Τραχίνιοι.

Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται, 'the Achaeans of Phthia,' no doubt to distinguish them from the Achaeans in Peloponnese (cp. c 94 *supra*); their territory located cc. 173, 196-198 *infra*, cp. 1. 56, they, if any, should be Hellenes of the Hellenes, Homer *passim*.

καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιδέων τε καὶ  
 5 Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ  
 βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, ὅσοι

4 πλὴν α τῶν R τὴν V 6 ἀειράμενοι CPd αἰράμενοι αS  
 ἀράμενοι R εὔράμενοι V ἀνταειράμενοι Nabe appr van H

4. Θηβαῖοι καὶ cp 8 66, from which, as from the story of Thermopylai, it is clear that Thebes and Boiotia only 'medized' after the abandonment of Central Greece by the 'Hellenes'

5 ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλ. ἔταμον ὄρκιον. ἐπὶ ἀδυνεργίᾳ Baehr, cp c 148 *infra* The phrase τάμειν ὄρκιον (ὄρκια) is Homeric *Il* 2 124 ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμύντες, etc ὄρκιον is best taken as an adjective, to which *ιερεῖον* (or such a word) must be supplied. The slaying or cutting of the sacrificial victim marks the act of solemn agreement, cp 9 26 *infra*, 4 201, and especially 4 70 (where ταμνομένων is middle). The words might imply that the names previously specified were actually documented in the sworn agreement. The terms of the oath which follow are more general, and do not quite bear out this impression. The exact date of the drafting of this oath is also open to discussion. Even if the list above given were official, not historical, the covenant might be of one date, the black list of another. Stein argues that the tense *ἔδοσαν* in the formula itself implies that the vow was retrospective, not prospective (ὅσοι ἂν δώσι); but the historian might here be accountable for a change of tense, and the terms of the oath are in *οἶατο* *ὀβλιναι*, and not exactly quoted. Hdt. does not clearly mark either time or place of the oath, but the earliest occasion on which such a solemnity could have taken place was at the meeting of the πρόβουλοι at the Isthmos in 481 B.C., cp c 145 *infra*, where Diodoros (i.e. Ephoros) seems to place it, 11. 3 (though after relating the evacuation of Tempe). The latest date at which it could be supposed to have taken place would be on the field of Plataia. It is placed there and then by Lykourgos c. *Leokrat.* 80, before the battle, as an article in a more general oath (ταύτην πίσυν ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πάντες οἱ Ἕλληες ὅτε ἐμελλον παραταξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἑρέου δύναμιν), but the words of the oath, § 81, are certainly spurious, and Lykourgos is not a very

convincing authority for the place and time

Such, indeed, was the view of Theopompus, *Fr* 167 Ἕλληνικὸς ὄρκος καταψεύδεται δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φασιν οὐκ οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸς τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους Spartans, or others, might also take one-sided views of this oath, the Akarnanian orator in Polybios 9 39 5 treats it as an oath taken against the Thebans alone by the Lakedaimonians Diodor. 11. 29 repeats this oath, locates it at the Isthmos on the way to Plataia, and omits the titling clause!

Suidas (*σὺδ* v δεκατεύειν) gives no indication of place or time (except the words εἰ νικήσειαν). Rawlinson (*ad l.*), whose note is not free from inaccuracies, seems to think the story of the oath grew up in consequence of the punishments inflicted by the Amphiktyonic Council afterwards (c 213 *infra*). But the oath is required to justify setting the Council in motion and what folk did the Council punish? See further, Appendix III § 5

οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι, one of Hdt.'s many titles for the confederate Greeks (cp c 148), implies the formation of the Alliance. The story is plainly 'proleptic,' and is somewhat out of place here. It belongs to a highly composite passage (cc 128-37) which was inserted, perhaps not all at the same date, into the previous draft of the work Cp Introduction, § 9

6 τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε the words of the solemn vow of vengeance follow in *οἶατο* *ὀβλ* (ὅσοι θεῶ) Hdt. seems to regard this agreement as a separate and subsequent act, distinct from the original or general agreements of the Confederates, a point on which, of course, he may easily be mistaken. Diodoros, 11. 3. 3, gives the terms as a resolution (ψήφισμα) of the Syntedrion. τοὺς μὲν ἐθέλοντι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλομένων τὰ Περσῶν δεκατεύσαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσωσι. The omission of Delphi here speaks for the date, and is in other obvious ways significant, otherwise the

τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἔόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί εἰς τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

10

## 8 σφίσι? van H

oath is substantially the same Lykurgos gives it as a clause in a more extensive oath καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τῶν μὲν μαχεσαμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων οὐδεμίαν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσω but the oath as given by him is open to grave suspicion as to form and substance. Diodoros 11. 29 3 gives substantially the same oath as taken at Plataia, but without this clause The Herodotean form is in *oratio obliqua*, Hdt in fact does not profess to give the exact terms of the oath (ὧδε εἶχε, not τὸδε ἦν or simil.) The oath is remarkable *inter alia* as implying (1) a test of Hellenism, (2) a test of 'necessity' Thessalians and others might plead the latter (cc 139, 172 *infra*), perhaps Macedonians, and others, the former!

7 ἔδοσαν, 'had given', but not necessarily before the date of the oath, for (1) it is in *oratio obliqua*, (2) the penalty would not be confined to those who had medred before the outbreak of hostilities, (3) if the oath was taken by the Probouloi at the Isthmos, to whom could it apply, if merely retrospective? Not certainly to all the names above given

8 καταστάντων σφί εἰς τῶν πρηγμάτων is this an Atticism? cp 6 105.

9 δεκατεῦσαι (a) Abicht follows Baehr in taking as 'to tithe' for a god, a tenth being handed over, but no further penalty exacted, and cites 1 89 in favour of this interpretation This view is supported by the Scholiast to Aristeides, p 224 τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀνελεῖν A further problem would arise, whether the dedicated tithe was to be handed out once for all, or was to be a periodical rent-charge; *ihre Grundstücke zinspflichtig zu machen* so Baehr, following Boeckh (*Staatshaush* 1<sup>2</sup> 444=1.<sup>3</sup> 399) Cp. Xen *Anab* 5. 3 9 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὠραία θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ But that was not a case of penalty, ἀεὶ is expressed, and everlasting punishments are hard to enforce in this world (b) Stein understands δεκατεῦσαι to be used as

equivalent to καθιεροῦν (Harpokration *sub v*), and to mean here that the medizers were to become *mit Leib und Gut*, the god's property But Harpokration (*idid*) also interprets δεκατεῦσαι as simply τὴν δεκατὴν εἰσπράττεσθαι, and the cases where it is equivalent to καθιεροῦν (as of a virgin, ἀρκεῦσαι οἱ μνήσαι) are not cases of penal action (c) The simple and obvious meaning of δεκατεῦσαι is to tithe, to dedicate a tenth, it retains this meaning in this place, and implies, not wholesale dedication, but wholesale spoliation, a tenth of the spoil is to be given to the god, but what of the nine-tenths? They are to remain in the hands of the spoilers. This is the sense which suits the anecdote, 1 89 Thus the word is used as a *meiosis*, euphemistic or ironical

τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ the most suspicious feature of the whole story It is significant that in Diodoros (11. 3), where this oath is recorded, τοῖς θεοῖς is substituted, so too Polyb 9. 39 5 At the Isthmus-meeting at which Diodoros (Ephoros) dates the oath, a promised dedication to Delphi was not yet quite out of the question was Delphi still hesitating? was the vow a bid for the favour of the Oracle? or was not Delphi itself 'medizing,' or soon to medize; cp c 140 *infra*, and Appendix III § 7. It is still more doubtful whether, at Plataia, the Greeks would have promised dedications to Delphi, the rehabilitation of the national Holy of Holies had hardly yet begun This phrase might therefore be cited as evidence of the fictitious character of this oath, and the whole story in which it is embedded. But is it necessary to carry scepticism so far? The form in which Hdt reports the oath may belong to the period of Delphi's rehabilitation, and exhibit the tendency of the time, but the form is not strictly authentic, and need not be taken to discredit the fact of a solemn vow of vengeance, registered by the Greek representatives at the Isthmos prospectively, and repeated, it may be with express enumeration of the culprits, at Plataia,

133 Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτούντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ 5 τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα

133 1 ξέρξης SV, Valla, ap Gaisf πέρσης (ὁ Πέρσης Schaefer)  
2 κήρυκας om S 'fortasse recte' Kallenbeig 3 αὐτέων α 4  
ἐσβαλόντες α, Holder || τε om β 6 τοῖσι om α

whether before or after the battle. In connexion with this covenant was undertaken the siege of Thebes (which lived on in men's minds as the special fulfilment of the vow, cp Xen. *Hell* 6 3 20, 6 5 35, Polyb 9. 39), as also the campaign against the Thesalians, the disastrous conclusion of which (6 72) helped no doubt to stay further attempts to fulfil the vow, to which perhaps opposition on political grounds was added, cp Plutarch, *Themist* 20.

133 2. πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος cp 6 48, where, however, not a word is reported of the outrage on the Persian heralds, much less of the wrath of Talthybios. The whole story (cc 133-7) must be an addition, and, at least the end of it, one of the latest from the author's hand, cp. notes *infra* to c 137. and Introduction, § 9.

It is remarkable that in 6 48 nothing is said even of heralds having been sent to Athens, or to Sparta. It is possible that heralds were sent to Sparta by Dareios, as to their treatment cp my notes to *l c*. But were any heralds ever sent by Dareios to Athens? Certainly not (1) Artaphrenes (son of Hystaspes) had demanded earth and water of Athenian ambassadors in Sardes, c. 509 B.C., 5 73, and (2) again—if the story be not a doublette—the Athenians having sent ambassadors to Sardes warning Artaphrenes to give no heed to Hippias, Artaphrenes had demanded the tyrant's restoration, 5 96. After that (3) the Athenians had declared war (!) against the Persians, *ibid.*, and (4) went to Sardes, in 498 B.C., and burnt it. (5) This act greatly angered the Persians, 5 102, and Dareios, who took a solemn vow of vengeance, 5 105. This story, and indeed the whole sequence of events, is inconsistent with the notion that Dareios, in 492 B.C., afterwards despatched heralds

to Athens, of whom moreover (6) nothing is said in 6 48. Further, (7) the idea is inconsistent with the story of the mission of Mardonios in 492 B.C., 6 44, 45, and (8) if Dareios sent heralds to Athens, against whom was he at the same time levying a fleet? 6 48. Lastly, (9) the occurrence of the record here, instead of in 6 48, is very unfortunate for its historical character, showing, as it does, that (a) when Hdt wrote 6. 48, either he did not know this story about throwing Persian heralds into the Barathron in 491 B.C., or he had already inserted it, or the major part of it, in this place, or he preferred, for some reason, to insert it here, (b) the story is a rider on the *Wrath of Talthybios*. It is possible that we should never have heard of Persian heralds thrown into the Barathron in 491 B.C. but that Spartan heralds were put to death in Athens in 430 B.C. We must, therefore, conclude that no Persian heralds were ever sent to Athens by Dareios, much less thrown into the Barathron.

Why, then, was such a crime fathered on the Athenians? Heralds had been sent to Sparta, they had, perhaps, been badly treated, outraged, possibly even slain (though that seems unlikely), but the Spartans certainly had something on their conscience in this matter, or we should hardly have had the story of the *Wrath of Talthybios*. It was deserved, then, to tar Athens with the same brush. The rough jest has quite a laconic ring in it! But critics should not swallow so easily the notion that heralds had been sent to Athens and thrown into the Barathron, if they would have us believe that Persian heralds at Sparta had been thrown into a well.

6 ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθ. συνήνεκε ἀνεθάρτων γενέσθαι Pausanias (3. 12. 7) supplies Hdt's omission, and explains

ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι [τι], πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηνιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι. τοῖσι 134 δὲ ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίου Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. 5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ

8 εἶπαί τι Stein<sup>12</sup> τι om B || ἡ <τε> van H 134 2 ἐγκατέσκηψε  
van H. || Ταλθυβίου om. α 5 δίδονται B 6 ταῦτα secl. van H.

that in the case of Athens the vengeance fell on Miltiades, author of the proposal. Was this an original hypothesis on the part of Pausanias, or had Miltiades been already made the scapegoat in 430 B.C.? Hdt has another crime to punish Miltiades for, cp 6 185, and could not have endorsed it. Hdt. will not see the *τίσις* or *δίκη* in the case of Athens in the destruction of the city and the devastation of the country, perhaps for two reasons (i) a want of congruity between the supposed offence and the punishment, (ii) the congruity of those sufferings with the crime at Sardes, though he does not actually or expressly relate the two together (but cp. 6 102).

7 ἀνεθέλητον cp c 88 *supra*

9. αἰτίην might be translated 'cause,' or 'reason,' but has not at all the full force of *αἰτίον*, c 125 *supra*

134. 1 τοῖσι δὲ ὦν Δ For the force of the particles cp Madvig, § 266.

2. μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου the manifestation of 'the wrath' appears to have been that all sacrifices proved unfavourable, but Hdt does not say how it was known to be the wrath of Talthybios. If the existence of the wrath, and the occurrence of prior manifestations, are anything more than inferences from the fate of the Spartans in 430 B.C. (c 137 *infra*), it may be that something untoward occurred in the temple of Talthybios in Sparta, or, as Stein suggests, that Delphi interpreted a sign. Hdt. indeed seems to discriminate the first manifestation from the unfavourable sacrifices (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), but this may be simply stylistic inconsequence. It is, however, remarkable that a long while elapses (χρόνον συγχρόν) between the unfavourable sign and the first attempt at reparation. What the exact

date of the latter, and what the interval between the outrage and the first sign of wrath, are points left uncertain

3. Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν Pausan 3 12 6 apparently mentions this temple (Ταλθυβίου μνημα) near the 'Hellenion' (cp. p. 196a *infra*). It affords a clear instance of hero- and ancestor-worship, and of the adoption, or tolerance, by 'Dorian' Sparta, of the prae-Dorian cults and traditions, cp. c 159 *infra*. Hdt may or may not have seen this Heroon, but the end of the *menis* must date after his visit to Sparta.

4. Ταλθυβιάδαι τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκῆαι κτλ Doubtless in Sparta there were many families of prae-Dorian extraction enjoying full privileges (so too the Αἰγείδαι, 4. 149), the Royal Houses themselves, or the elder one (cp. 5. 72). It is curious that Hdt. when describing the hereditary heraldry of Sparta (6 60) has not given the name of the clan (6. 59 f looks like an addition, but perhaps when Hdt made it he was not acquainted with the clan names).

5 δέδονται from δέδομαι an anomalous perf pass. in general use. For the use of the tense in this connexion cp. 6 56 γέρας δεδώλασι.

6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα the ταῦτα is vague, and hardly requires us to distinguish the *dies irae* (μῆνις κατέσκηψε) from the unfavourable sign (καλλιεργῆσαι οὐκ ἐδύνάτο), yet the stylistic inconsequence, like the inarticulate chronology, marks the desperate straits of the story-teller. It may be that we have here some dim adumbration of the troubles in Sparta after the battle of Marathon (cp 6 74, 75, and Appendix III. § 3), which Hdt there records, without reference to 'the wrath of Talthybios'. The construction καλλιεργῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνάτο is



ἐδύνατο· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι <γινόμενον>. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, 10 εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐβελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποιήν τείσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιῆ- 135 ται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμφαν. αὕτη

7 ἐδύνατο· ἐγίνετο Valckenaer, van H. || δ' om B || <γινόμενον> Stein<sup>3</sup> 8 δὲ δέ <τε> van H 12 φύσι Stein φύσει 13 τείσαι Stein<sup>3</sup> τίσαι α, Stein<sup>12</sup>· τίσειν B τείσειν van H || τῶν Reiske τῷ

obseivable, καλλιρέει is used (α) of the person sacrificing Xenoph. *Κυροπ* 6 4, 12 ὡς δ' ἐκεκαλλιερέει μὲν ὁ Κύρος κτλ. Also in the middle voice, cp c 113 *supra*, and though Hdt. does not use the active with a personal subject, he uses the passive with neuter subject 9 19 *infra*. (b) Hdt. however, uses the active with the neuter subject, expressed or understood, as in 9 19 καλλιερεσάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, 9 38 οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὥστε μάχεσθαι (cp 6 76) It will, therefore, be best to take καλλιερεῖσθαι here as in neuter construction, and supply τὰ ἱερά with οὐκ ἐδύνατο Cp also 9. 61 τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινόμενων (sc. καλῶν)

8. συμφορῇ χρεωμένων. cp συμφορὴν ποιεῖσθαι cc 117, 118 *supra* (*calamitatis loco alicuius habere*, Baehr)

Λακεδαιμονίων. Hdt does not in this passage appear to intend any marked distinction between Λ and Σπαρτιῆται, yet perhaps Σπ above might refer to Spartan citizens, even in their individual capacity, while Λ as usual may connote official or corporate action Cp ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται just below, but Σπαρτιῆται lower again = Λακεδαιμόνιοι

ἀλῆς an official word for the Assembly in some Dorian states, e.g. Korkyia (cp *CIG* 1841 ff), but not at Sparta As Hdt has not used the Ionic term (ἀγορά) nor the Attic term (ἐκκλησία), it is curious that he has not used the technical Spartan term ἀπέλλα (cp. Plutarch, *Lyk* 6, Hesych *sub v*) But Hdt uses this word (ἀλή, ἀλλα) elsewhere of meetings in Miletos (5 29),

in Thebes (5 79), and even in Persia (1 125)

9 The κήρυγμα will presumably have been cried by a Talthybiad It implies that the cause of the wrath has been ascertained, and invites a *deuotio*

10 πρό, 'on behalf of', cp 9 72, and also, not perhaps without some local force, 8 74, 9 48

11 Σπερθίης τε ὁ Ἄν καὶ Βούλις ὁ Ν. names alternate in houses from father to son at Sparta as at Athens to a certain extent, cp 3 55, not, however, in the Royal Houses, for obvious reasons. These men were Talthybiads, as the story shows. Whether there were two chief heralds (corresponding to the two kings) we cannot say, but it looks not improbable. The description of these men (φύσι τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα) points to recognized distinctions of birth and wealth even at Sparta As the twain are sent to 'Xerxes,' this first act of reparation falls *ex hypothesi* at the earliest into the year 485 B.C., and may well fall a year or two later, even if the heralds went to Susa, as alleged in the next c (If the story is but a duplicate of the mission of the ἐπίσκοποι, cc 146 f *infra*, the date would be the winter of 481-80 B.C. Cp notes *ad l*.)

15 ἐς Μήδους. an unusual expression for Hdt., who is generally more precise in his Asiatic terminology, perhaps significant here of his source Hdt. knows well that Susa is not in Media, but the phrase here has a political rather than a strict geographical significance.

τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς  
τούτοις [τὰ ἔπεα]. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται  
παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς  
δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὃς σφεας 5  
ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία, ξεινίζων δὲ εἵρετο τάδε. “ἄνδρες  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλέϊ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁράτε  
[γὰρ] ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ

135 3 τὰ ἔπεα deleverim 5 ἀνθρώπων . . Ἀσίῃ secl Cobet,  
van H. 6 λέγων τάδε B 7 τί δεῖ B 8 γὰρ del Stein,  
dissent. van H. || βασιλεὺς secl Cobet, van H.

135 2. τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, 'what follows in addition to what precedes.'

3. ἐς Σοῦσα if they were going to 'Susa' the adventure would have to be placed between the accession of Xerxes and the arrival at Sardes in 481 B.C. But were these men, perhaps, going to Sardes? In the story of Demokedes 3 129 ff. Susa has almost certainly been substituted for Sardes (cp. my Hdt IV-VI vol II p. 60), so too here perhaps.

4 ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης the article follows naturally on the immediately preceding occurrence of the same name. This Hydarnes can hardly be other than H., son of Hydarnes, the commander of the 'Immortals,' c. 83 *supra*, unless indeed he is the father. The absence of the patronymic here and the different position apparently occupied by this Hydarnes favour the latter hypothesis, not but what there would have been time for a promotion between this episode and that, while the father would have been rather an old man in 484-481 B.C. (cp. 3 70). Blakesley, indeed, argues that Hdt regards this Hydarnes as a third person, but the failure to describe him fully, perhaps the error in his description, may be due to the source.

στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Otanes, son of Sisamnes, appears (5. 25) as στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν, and therein διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίας (5 26), in which capacity he takes Byzantion, Kalchedon, Antandros, Lamponion, Lemnos, and Imbros, after the expedition of Darius into Europe.

The question is whether this title represents a satrapy, or simply a military post Rawlinson understands it in the latter sense as "the command of the

Persian troops (ἀνθρώπων) in the satrapy of Lydia, and perhaps also in that of Bithynia." Krumbholz, *de Asiae minoris satrap Pers.* (1883), 23 sqq., argues in favour of the other view. This anecdote decidedly reinforces that hypothesis. Spartan heralds to Asia would hardly escape a visit to the satrap *in loco*. But I am disposed to think that the satrapy here in question is not the 'third' (as Krumbholz assumes) but the 'first' or Saedian, which may very well have been held by Hydarnes (the elder) in succession to Artaphernes (the elder). The phraseology is not against this suggestion, it is not in either case technically correct, would apply to one or other satrapy equally well, and something like it is indeed predicated of Artaphernes in 5 30 (τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων). It will hardly be contended that the παραθαλάσσιοι are in the Hellespont, and the ἐπιθαλάσσιοι in the Lydian satrapy! (Rather perhaps ἐπιθαλάσσιοι might even cover both.) Thus though the στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν in 5. 25 is probably the satrap of Daskyleion, the στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων here may be the satrap of Sardes. The worst thing to do with the phrase is to delete it. Cp. App. Crit.

6 ξείνια προθέμενος ἰστία, 'set a banquet before them for their entertainment', cp. ξείνια προθεῖναι c. 29 *supra*, καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλεῖ 5 18, etc. ἰστιᾶν Ion. for ἐστῖαν.

ξεινίζων, 'in the course of the banquet,' 'while at table.'

7. τί δὴ ἐν lively questions, cp. 9. 48. φεύγετε . . γενέσθαι cp. φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι 2. 91, 'avoid,' 'refuse.'

8 ἐς ἐμέ. Hydarnes makes much of ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί the example would not come so badly from one of 'the Seven,'

τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 10 εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεί, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
 ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοί, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 δόντος βασιλέος." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἵδαρνες,  
 οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλή ἢ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ  
 μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλευεῖς, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἔων· τὸ  
 15 μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίσται, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκω ἐπειρήθης,  
 οὐτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὐτ' εἰ μῆ. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ  
 ἂν δόρασι συμβουλευοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 136 πελέκεσι." ταῦτα μὲν Ἵδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὥς  
 ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σούσα καὶ βασιλεί ἐς ὅψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν  
 τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύοντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφί προσφέροντων  
 προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὠθεόμενοι

10 δεδόξωσθε et ἑκάτερος vult Naber 13 συμβουλῇ van H. || ὑμέας α  
 14 τοῦ μὲν δούλος B 136. 2 βασιλέος SV βασιλέως R 4  
 προσπίπτοντας secl. van H. || οὐδ' ὠθεόμενοι Valckenaer

cp 3. 70, but it might have been more effective if references to some of the Greek instances (Hippias, Demaratos, Metiochos, etc.) had been added

10. δοίητε on this form cp T L Agar, *Class. Rev.* x. (1896) 329

δεδόξωσθε· cp 8. 124, 9 48, the statement looks a little like a reference to Demaratos' reports (cc 101-3 *supra*), but very unlike what was to be expected if the Spartans had maltreated and slain Persian heralds.

11. ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, not ἑκάτερος (says Abicht), because ὑμεῖς covers all Spartans. But in that case how much must Hydarnes diminish the number of ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι or multiply the number of γέαι Ἑλλάδες! The whole address is in the plural, not in the dual, Sperthias and Boulis are not to be supposed the only Lakedaemonians at table, the personal reference is very strong (ἐς ἐμέ), the offer of 8000 governorships (c 234 *infra*) would be an absurdity, and Hdt does not appear to be making Hydarnes ridiculous, in the reply of the Spartans the 'we' (ἡμέας· ἡμῖν) seems to refer to those present and speaking.

13. τοῦ μὲν sc. τὸ δούλος εἶναι. τοῦ δέ sc. εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ (sic) ἐλευθερίῃ

17. ἂν· συμβουλευοῖς· Hydarnes had not advised them to fight, but to surrender. The full thought seems to be: 'if you were to taste liberty you would

advise us to fight, and to fight to the last gasp, in defence of it' πέλεκυς (an Assyrian word, *peley*) cannot properly be 'a battle-axe' (spite of *Il* 15 711), or this proverbial expression would be pointless (cp L & S)

136 1 ταῦτα Ἵδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο double acc as in 2 173, 3 52

ἐνθεῦτεν the omission to specify the exact locality of the interview with Hydarnes is a weak spot in the story. Perhaps the whole scene should be laid in Sardes.

3 ἀνάγκην something more than the κέλευσμα and less than the ὠθισμός ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ. The σφί· προσπίπτοντας is an apparent rather than a real *Anakoluttison*, vid App Crit.

4 προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα ἄνθρωπον· the verb takes a direct accusative. On the importance of the προσκύνησις (*kou-tou*) cp. Arrian, *Αναβ.* 4 10. 12 Cp also c 14 *supra*, 8 118 *infra*. There are similar stories of English and other merchants in China, and one such of a Chinese official in Berlin, cp Brinkley, *Japan and China*, x. 182, 184f, 191, 199, 273

The Greeks practised the προσκύνησις to gods or holy places; Soph *O. K.* 1654f ὀρώμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνοῦνθ' ἅμα | καὶ τὸν θεῶν Ὀλυμπον ἐν ταύτῳ λόγῳ Aischyl *Pers.* 497 ff. might be quoted, though the speaker is *ex hypothesi* a Persian But even to gods and holy

ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσῃ ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε γὰρ 5  
σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα  
ἦκειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δευτέρᾳ σφί λέγουσι τάδε  
καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν  
ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύ-  
κων ποιῆν ἐκείνων τείσοντας,” λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα 10  
Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὅμοιος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγγέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων  
νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει  
ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσῃ, οὐδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν  
Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας. οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ 137

6 σφίσι Stein σφί 7 τούτω ACz τούτω Bpδ 10  
τείσοντας van H, Stein<sup>8</sup> || δὲ δὴ Krueger 13 ἀποκτείνοντας α:  
ἀνταποκτείνοντας B

places the use of the word by Greeks is mainly metaphorical, there was little or no 'kissing,' whether of hands, garments, feet, or ground, with or without prostration' (*turpe solum tetigeremento*! Horace, *Od* 2 7 12). The practice was rather Oriental than Hellenic, rather servile or barbarous than worthy of freemen and republicans (cp. Sittl *Gebäude der Gr u Rom.* (1890) cap ix.)

ὁ θεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν might be (a) narrative, by the historian; (b) part of the *oratio obliqua*. The latter seems preferable, and would be made inevitable by the insertion of οὐδέ, cp. App Cnt.

6 κατὰ ταῦτα, 'for that' κατὰ, 'on account of', cp 6 44 νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο.

7 ἀπεμαχέσαντο, 'fought off,' i.e. got off by fighting; cp 1. 9.

8 καί, 'οἱ', ἐχόμενα, 8 142.

10 ποιῆν, c. 134 *supra*.

11 Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης. another example of the king's μεγαλοφροσύνη, above c 24, seems rather to condemn the characteristic. Though the word is not used, a more exact parallel may be found c 146 *infra*: so exact, indeed, as to raise a suspicion that this anecdote and that may after all refer to the same incident. Cp c 134 *supra*.

12 συγγέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα cp Eurip *Suppl* 311 νόμιμα πάση, Ἑλλάδος συγγεῖν, Thuc 5. 39 3 συγγέαι τὰς σπουδὰς. Something more than the 'germs' of international law

was involved in the sacrosanctity of heralds (*jus fetiale*)

13. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ ποιήσῃν. Xerxes borrows, *totidem verbis*, the maxim of Maiandrios 3. 142 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. It looks like the reverse side of the Christian medal: πάντα ὅν ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς: οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται S Matth. 7 12, cp S Luke 6. 31 κείνους μὲν αὐτὸς δὲ is of course nothing but the strict Greek idiom (as in the stock example Thuc 4. 28 2 οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνον στρατηγεῖν).

14 ἀνταποκτείνειν, 'to slay' (not 'instead of' but) 'in return for.'

15 τῆς αἰτίας: *crimenis, culprae*

137 1 οὕτω . . καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσαντων cp. c 230 οὕτω . . καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε. It is not, however, obvious what οὕτω here implies beyond the Spartans' action just narrated, nor there apart from the πρόφασις fully understood (but cp notes *ad l*). In c. 164, on the other hand, τοῦτον δὴ . . τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον, though the καὶ is apparently redundant, yet there is at least the distinction between the person and the mode. The interpretation of ταῦτα depends on the previous question whether Σπαρτιῆται refers only to Spertinas and Bouls, or covers the whole action of the state: Σπαρτιῆται is used plainly c 134 *ad f.* for the state, and that sense best suits the argument here.

ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιέω τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίῳ  
5 καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἢ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς  
10 βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς

137 2 σπαρτιητέων λακεδαιμονίων B || τὸ S τὸ <μὲν> van H. τοῦ  
5 τε καὶ conj. Stein<sup>1</sup> approb. van H. 8 οὕτω. ἐφέρετο δὲ αCδ  
9 ἐς τε τοὺς α

2 ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντίκα the ceasing of the wrath was only temporary, yet with a god who took the will for the deed (cp 6 86) more perhaps might have been hoped. The score finally lies with Xerxes and the lower morality. Hdt does not come very well out of this story nowhere does he apply the doctrine of *πίστις* (ποινή), *δίκη*, *νέμεσις* (μῆνις), *φθόνος* to actual affairs in a more trivial or jejune spirit the austere silence of Thucydides, who tells the same story in his own fashion, is here Hdt's condemnation. Cp. Introduction, § 11.

4. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ in 430 B.C., some fifty-one years after, or it may be a year or two more, Thuc 2. 67.

ἐπηγέρθη Stein takes as medial as ἐξηγέρθη in 1. 34, 209 (of rising from sleep) κατὰ is here chronological, cp. 3 131, 153, 1 67 etc

5. ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι: what exactly is it that the Lakedaimonians say? Perhaps no more than that the fate of the men in 430 B.C. was due to the *menis* of Talthybios, possibly that this manifestation of the *menis* was not unprecedented, not the first of its kind. Lakedaimonians may even have told the story of the *deontio* of Sperthias and Boulis may even have connected it with a real or supposed outrage on Persian heralds or envoys in the days of Kleomenes. Hdt appears at least to take credit to himself for the perception of the divine moral of the facts, especially as lying in the parentage of the two Spartans executed at Athens in 430 B.C. But was he really left to himself to draw this moral, if all the rest of the story was reported to him by Lakedaimonians, in the form above given? It

seems hardly credible. If the moral is all his own, the facts have not, perhaps, escaped manipulation by him. The transaction in 430 B.C. is somewhat differently reported by Thucydides, and in a way somewhat to obscure or spoil the Herodotean moral. Still more perhaps have the earlier 'facts' been transfigured in the interest of an immortal morality the 'fable' has ever been the product of the 'moral,' which it is supposed to generate.

8. τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε. As *κῆρυκες* had been outraged justice demanded that *ἀγγελοι* (ambassadors) should be visited—somewhat of a *non-sequitur*, except that *ἀγγελοι* may be taken as the generic term covering *κῆρυξ* and *πρεσβευτής* (though generally in Hdt. equivalent to the latter, cp. c. 1 *supra*). By the previous story it appears that any Spartans might have volunteered for the *deontio*, the men sent might have been *ἀγγελοι* but not *κῆρυκες*. In any case, unless the final victims were *κῆρυκες*, could the justice of heaven, and Herodotus, have been satisfied?

But again, as the wrath had long ceased, and divination had been restored, a fresh outbreak of wrath seems to require a fresh crime. Hdt has to explain the expiation of 430 B.C. as traceable to the crime of 491 (odd) surely a flaw in the divine justice, on his own principles. The statement οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε is not true, it is contradicted by ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντίκα above (ἐξῆλθε, cp 6. 82, 107).

It is not contrary to those principles that the involuntary scapegoats of 430 B.C. are the sons of the voluntary scapegoats of 480 B.C., but it seems a weak

Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίεω, ὃς εἶλε Ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρει ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρήγμα [ἐκ τῆς μήνιος]. οἱ [γὰρ] πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ 15

11 τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος suspecta mihi γὰρ Stein<sup>1</sup>. om β: cancellos p Stein<sup>2</sup> 3

13 ἐκ τῆς μήνιος del Gomperz ||

spot in the system that vengeance overtakes the Spartans without any satisfaction or benefit to the Peisians—rather, indeed, the reverse.

Nor is it obvious, on Herodotean principles, where Aristes son of Adeimantos comes in *Que diable fait-il dans cette galère?* He rather spoils the concinnity of the moral. If he is in, why not the others? (Is it possible that the sentence μετὰ δὲ . . . ἀνὴρ is not from the hand of Hdt? Cp *infra*.)

11 ὃς εἶλε Ἀλίας . ἀνδρῶν. The Tirynthians, on the destruction of their city by the Argives (468 B.C. ? cp. 6. 83 and my note) occupied Ἀλίας (Ἀλῖαι, Ἀλία, Ἀλική), a small town in the territory of Hermione, opposite the island of *Spetzia* Strabo 373 (Steph. B *sub v* places it in Laconia, and cites Ephoros for an oracle given to the Tirynthians in explanation of the name—*sub v*. Τίρυνς he says that the former name of that city was Ἀλίας) Ἀλίας is the scene of an Athenian defeat by Korinthians and Epidaurians in 458 B.C., Thuc 1 105, Ἀλίας is ravaged by the Athenians in 430 B.C., Thuc 2 56 5, the Halaeans must therefore at that time be reckoned among the allies of Sparta, and again in 425 B.C. (4 45. 2). Blakesley (reading Ἀλίας) thought the exploit here referred to was merely one of those practical proceedings at the opening of the Archidamian war recorded by Thuc. 2. 67 4 (where the δολκίδες, by the way, belong to the sufferers not to the aggressors) Stein would date it during the time when Argos was in alliance with Athens (463-45 should be 462-51 B.C.), but why should a Spartan raid the Tirynthians at Halae then? They would be no friends either of Argos or of Athens. Spartans would have been more likely to help the Tirynthians to the possession of Halae than to harry them, when there established. Is it possible that τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος is a gloss?

12 ἀνδρῶν, fighting men, who had no business on a δολκίς!

δῆλον ὦν Hdt has become somewhat excited over the supernatural coincidence (συμπέσειν). the result is a slight *Anakoluthon*

13 οἱ. Thucyd 2 67 mentions three Spartan πρέσβεις, Aneristos, Nikolaos and Pratodamos (*sic*), without patronymics (which would not have suited Hdt). The third Spartan is quite *de trop* from Hdt.'s point of view, and is here omitted. There were three other men in the same boat Timagoras of Tegea, 'Aristeus' of Korinth, and an Argive by name Pollis, who had no public mission (*ἰδίᾳ*) The Athenians apparently put all six men to death (ἀπέκτειναν) and threw their bodies, perhaps not into the Barathion but into a rocky cleft (καὶ ἐς φάραγγα ἐσέβαλον) on the very day they arrived. Of these six summary executions Hdt mentions three—cp *infra*

15 Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηίκων βασιλέος καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πίθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτew. does Hdt forget that he has introduced Sitalkes before (4 80)? That passage can hardly be subsequent to this, but the fortuitous and excursional character of this whole passage may easily excuse the absence of a cross reference. Thucydides treats more fully the Thracian agency in the matter; Nymphodoros is not mentioned in this connexion. elsewhere indeed (2. 29) he plays an important rôle when (summer of 431 B.C.) as a power at the court of Sitalkes (who had his sister to wife), and *proxenos* of Athens, he brought about the Atheno-Thracian alliance, and procured 'the freedom of the city' for Sadokos. It is Sadokos who with Thuc 2 67 plays the part here assigned to Nymphodoros, urged thereto by two Athenian πρέσβεις whose names and patronymics are given: the omission of Nymphodoros by Thucyd is marked, and must be a deliberate correction of Hdt. (though Rawlinson

Πύθω αὐδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἤλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον  
20 ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

**138** Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέως οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες

16 Πυθίω Bekker, Holder  
τοῦτ cum os supra sc. V

18 δειμάντου B

20 τοῦ τοῦ RS :

would away with it by supposing that "Sadioc may well have acted under the influence of Nymphodorus") Only in one respect is the story as told by Hdt more precise than that in Thuc, viz in naming the place where the arrest was effected

16 κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλ The preposition is locative. Was there any other Bisanthe except the one known to Steph. B as πόλις Μακεδονίας κατὰ Θράκην, Ἑλληνίς, ἀποικία Σαμίων? Alkibiades built a castle there (ἐν Θράκῃ περὶ Βισάνθην, Plutarch 36), and in 400 B.C. Seuthes made a very attractive proposal to Xenophon: σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ ἀνήσσομαι Θρακίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ Βισάνθην ὀκῆσθαι δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ (*Anab* 7. 2. 38, cp 7. 5. 8). There is no doubt of the practical identity of Bisanthe with *Rodosto* on the sea of Marmora (cp Oberkummer, *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, III. 504), a place with an excellent harbour

18 Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεϊμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ though the introduction of a third party rather spoils the closeness of the moral, yet it may be explained by the subsequent prominence of Adeimantos in the *Logoi* of Hdt, and of Aristeas himself in the politics and operations of the time. The sentence μετὰ δὲ—ἀνὴρ might be a gloss, but a glossator would probably have introduced all the names of the victims from Thucydides

20. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον marks the story just told very clearly as a digression, an excursus, a possible addition but where exactly has the πρότερος λόγος been interrupted? Is the digression confined to c. 137? Or does it extend from cc 133-7? Or should

its beginning be carried back to c. 131, or even to c. 128? The problem of the composition of the whole passage cc 125-137 is, indeed, a perplexing one, for its discussion cp Introduction, § 9

It is not, however, the mere πρότερος λόγος that is here resumed, except vaguely in the sense of the main theme, or story rather there is a new departure time, place, persons change, and the second chief part of this Book begins Cp Introduction, § 3

138. 1 στρατηλασίῃ = στόλος just above Cp ἑλασις and στρατηλασίῃ c 106 *supra*. ἐλᾶν στρατὸν c 8 *supra*

οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε. Stein well cps Plato, *Apol* 34 ὄνομα ἔφερε. ὡς Σωκράτης ἀπεκτόνατε. With οὖνομα cp. πρόφασις 5. 33, λόγος 5. 20, πρόσχημα c 157 *infra*, all contrasting with ἔργον or some similar word. The contrast here is, however, effected by the change of verb ἐλαύνει (μὲν) κατίετο δὲ 'had the name of being led against Athens, but was directed against all Hellas' On the objective of the expedition cp cc. 1, 5, 8, 11, 17, etc.

3 ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ, 'that, long before' Cp c. 130 *supra*. How did they know it? From Demaratos? cp. c. 239 *infra*, though Αἰγὸς? c 148 *infra*, or from the many sources of information open to Athens in her transmarine connexions? Themistokles at least required no prompting from Sparta, cp c 144 *infra*.

οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ . . ἐποιεῖντο, "non eodem modo adfecti erant," Baehr, "non idem secum statuerunt, accipiebant," Stein. Or, rather, 'took (were for taking) the matter very differently,' cp 8. 109 *infra*.

ἐποיעύντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ  
 εἶχον θάρσος ὥς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου·<sup>5</sup>  
 οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε  
 νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν  
 ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ  
 πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέρ- 139  
 γομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων

138. 4 <τε> καὶ H. Stephanus, van H.

6 κατέστησαν B

139. 2 τῶν om. B

4 οἱ μὲν οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες. this passage has nothing to say to the passage cc 131 f *supra*, for the surrenders there are not πρὸ πολλοῦ. The discrepancy is evidence of that note being an insertion in the earlier draft, in which this passage already stood. These surrenders may date back to 491 B C (6. 48), or the passage may simply have stood thus, 'without prejudice,' before c 131 was written, or the sentence in c 32 (ἀντή-  
 σοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ) added to pave the way therefor. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

5 ἄχαρι. cp ἀνεθέλητον c 133, and for the word itself c 36 *supra*.

6. ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, 'were in a state of (mighty) terror.' This description of the mental state of the patriotic Greeks is surely an exaggeration. It accords ill with the utterances of Demaratos concerning the Spartans, c. 102 *supra*, and if stress is to be laid on νεῶν, hardly less ill with the resolution of Themistokles and of Athens, c 144 *infra*. To exaggerate the cowardice of the Hellenes generally and particularly (cp notably 8. 1-23) is a defect in Hdt's methods for which, perhaps, Delphi and Delphic influences are partly responsible: is not Delphi chiefly lurking under the shelter of τῶν πολλῶν?

139. 1 ἐνθαῦτα. οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. This passage, and indeed the whole chapter, is polemical, argumentative, apologetic, a brief on behalf of Athens generally supposed to have been written about the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (so Baehr, Rawlinson, Stein *et al*) and certainly well suiting the circumstances of that time. In that case, however, it must be regarded as among the passages last added to these Books, by the author's hand, unless we endorse the theory of Kirchhoff, which assumes that such notices of contemporary events mark just the points

respectively reached, at the time of their occurrence, by the author, in the single and continuous composition of the work. It would also probably in that case have been composed at Athens, and for an Athenian audience. An insertion the whole chapter might be; for though the next chapter grows apparently out of the argument and conclusion of this one, that appearance might be a result of clever dove-tailing and revision. The tone of the chapter, however, seems addressed rather to a non-Athenian than to an Athenian public—unless we suppose Hdt. to be trying to win a very cheap cheer from his audience, and the positive ascription of the passage to the date of the Archidamian war assumes that the unpopularity of Athens dated only from the 'thirties,' and was a growth of 'the years of Peace.' Such a view implies a complete misreading of the history of the *Penetkontaetiris*. This passage might have been written opportunely any time between the breach with Sparta in 462 B C and the Thirty Years' Peace, as well as in the 'thirties.' It might belong to the first draft of the work, or, if an addition, it may have been added in the second period of composition, either in Greece or even at Thurii. Least of all need we locate its composition and publication in Athens: Hdt is addressing a hostile world, not a jury packed in his favour. Cp the Apology for the Argives, c. 152 *infra*, and Introduction, § 9.

ἐνθαῦτα: here, 'at this point of my work'; cp Plato's ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, *Krat.* 412 E, *Theast* 177 C.

ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι. cp c. 96 *supra*.

2. ἐπίφθονον, 'unpopular,' 'calculated to give offence,' cp. Cicero, *ad Att.* 8. 3 6 (nonne) accipere (sc. triumphum) *invidiosum ad bonos*?



ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον  
 5 ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἣ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες  
 ἔδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ <γε> τὴν θάλασσαν  
 οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιοῦμενοι βασιλεί. εἰ τοῖνυν κατὰ  
 τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἡντιούτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον  
 τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλα-  
 10 μένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ'  
 ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλικομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ

3 ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλήνων Naber || γ' ἐμοὶ Schaefer, van H 4 οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι z 6 γε Stein<sup>3</sup> 7 ἀντιοῦμενοι B, Holder 8 ἡντιώτω  
 Naber || ἂν om. B 9 ἐγίνοντο C ἐγένετο dz || χιτῶνες B 12  
 πόλεις BCd

πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων: πρὸς, 'in the eyes of,' cp c 138 *supra*, and especially 4 205 πρὸς θεῶν ἐπιφθονοί. The φθόνος here is of the earth, earthy ἀνθρώπων is not complimentary, and might suit 'barbarians,' Ionians, and such like, without excluding Spartans and other Dorians.

3 οὐκ ἐπισχίσω, sc τὴν γνώμην, οἱ ἀποδέξασθαι τὴν γνώμην. Either Hdt is a hypocrite, or for this passage he deserves an echo of Heine's praise of Luther: *er konnte Alles für die Wahrheit thun, nur nicht lügen*! This formal and judicial utterance on Athens shows Hdt. in the most favourable light, whether as regards heart or head. The *asyndeton* (οὐκ ἐπισχίσω εἰ κτλ.) gives it an added gravity.

4 εἰ . . ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην but they did evacuate their land and city. What, then, does Hdt mean? That Salamis was theirs, so that they did not clear completely out? Or is καταρρωδήσαντες the real predicate? It was not fear (but policy, strategy) that caused them to abandon their country. Or has Hdt started by saying a little too much? He at once proceeds to qualify ἣ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες, which implies the evacuation! What was in his mind, perhaps, was not so much the evacuation of Athens and Attica, as the complete abandonment of the Greek cause, and the departure to seek a new home elsewhere (cp 8 62, and here just below ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα). The excitement of the moment produces some clumsiness, or inadequacy of thought

and expression, as not seldom with Hdt Cp Introduction, § 11

τὸν ἐπιόντα line 28 *infra*, and c. 138 *supra*, once or twice too often

7 ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιοῦμενοι Hdt constructs *πειρᾶσθαι* with participles, e.g. cc. 148, 172 *infra*

9 τειχέων κιθῶνες, perhaps a technical, not merely an Herodotean metaphor. We say not 'tunic' but 'mantle' or 'curtain.' Stein thinks it is a purely poetical phrase "perhaps out of an oracle." The λάνος χιτῶν with which Hektor threatens Paris, *Il.* 2 57 (not, surely, a 'Steingrab' but 'death by stoning'), is a purely poetical metaphor. So, too, Xenoph. *Sym.* 4. 38 (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ) πάνν μὲν ἄλκιμοι χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοι μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάνν δὲ παχέαι ἐφ' ἑστρίδες οἱ ὄροφοι. Baehr also quotes 1. 181 τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ Athenaeus 99 d preserves a phrase of the orator Demades τὸ δὲ τεῖχος "ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως." 'If the Isthmus had been clothed (dressed, curtained, mantled) with a multitude (καὶ πολλοί) of walls built right across it . . , τεῖχος ἐλαύνειν 9. 9

10. προδοθέντες ὑπὸ, not quite of the same sense as in c 137 *supra* (except as we might say, *υἰλγο*, 'given away').

11 οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. cp. c 132 *supra*

12 κατὰ πόλιν . . . στρατοῦ· κατὰ distributive. The Athenian orator *ap* Thuc. 1. 73. 4 puts exactly the same point: it is strange that a point so obvious should seem to have required so much insistence.

τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀπο-  
δεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἡ ταῦτα ἂν  
ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρώντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελλήνας 15  
μυθίζοντας ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω  
ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ 'Ελλάς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ  
ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων  
οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ᾖ, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς  
θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι 20  
τῆς 'Ελλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ  
ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε.  
ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν 'Ελλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, οὕτω τὸ  
'Ελληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λουπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι

13 τῶν βαρβάρων S, Schaefer 15 πρὸ τούτου Plutarch. Mor. 864  
16 ξέρξεια BPz, Stein<sup>1</sup> 18 τὴν om Sd 21 τὸ ἀληθές α. τάλῃθές  
BPz τοῦ ἀληθέος aut λέγων τάλῃθές Reiske τάλῃθός Schaefer, Holder  
23 οὕτω τὸ Valckenaer, Stein<sup>3</sup>. τοῦτο τὸ α, Stein<sup>1 2</sup>. τοῦ, τὸ β τὸ sim-  
pliciter Cobet, Holder 24 ὃν πᾶν Paris. 2933 || αὐτοῦ β

13 καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα  
καὶ not a copula, but an intensive; *vel*,  
Baehr; *quoniam*, Stein The sentence  
is a homage to Thermopylai, but the  
suggestion that, not merely a given  
body of Spartans on the battle-field, but  
the whole number of able-bodied citizens  
would have died the death, is so extreme  
that it naturally suggests the alternative  
of a conditional submission, which  
follows

15 πρὸ τοῦ, chronological, cp 8 108  
πρὸ τούτου, yet has the force of a logical  
alternative, which really excludes the  
preceding supposition

16 ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο contra-  
dicts flatly the words of Demaratos c.  
102, and also spoils the effect of the  
heroic alternative just formulated, but  
it curiously anticipates the speech put  
into the mouth of Eurybiades 8 108,  
and the action threatened by the  
Athenians themselves, 9 11 Chleus  
too, 9. 9, repeats or anticipates points  
in this passage

17 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω is ambiguous, and  
may mean (a) 'in both cases alike,'  
'in either case,' i.e. whether they died  
to the last man, or made terms with  
Xerxes, cp 9 97, 8. 87 (Sitzler and  
others), (b) 'on both elements,' 'by sea  
and by land' thus Stein, cp. c 10  
*supra*. Or (c), coming much to the same  
thing in sense as (b), though derived

from the sense of (a), 'both as respects  
the case of the Athenians and as respects  
the case of Lakedaimonians' (b) or (c)  
would be quite consistent with regarding  
the sentence ἡ ταῦτα . . . πρὸς Ξέρξην as  
a later insertion

ὑπὸ with dat., 'in subjection to'  
τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τῆς θαλάσσης  
only repeats the point already made above  
*ei τοῦτον κτλ* The argument is also put  
into the mouth of Chleus the Tegeatan,  
9 9 *infra*, and is virtually conveyed in  
the advice of Demaratos, c 235 *infra*.

21 ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. The ac-  
cusative is peculiar, cp App Crit  
Stein defends it on the analogy of ὁδὸν  
ἡμέλησε, c. 163 *infra*, et *simil.*, where  
a word is anomalously constructed by the  
analogy of a synonym, and the number  
of such anomalies in Hdt is altogether  
not inconsiderable. A substituted ac-  
cusative is especially easy to forgive, and  
is here especially forcible

22 τῶν πρηγμάτων, 'sides,' 'interests'  
ῥέψειν, of course metaphorical,  
from the balance, cp II 22 43.

23. ἐλόμενοι . . . ἐπεγείραντες Blakesley  
wished to rewrite this passage, the read-  
ings are doubtful, τοῦτο and αὐτοὶ being  
the chief clues, cp App. Crit. Hdt.  
was undoubtedly somewhat excited when  
writing this chapter, and the order, or  
disorder, of his words shows it

τὸ 'Ελληνικόν' cp 8 144.

- 25 ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δαίμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμεινάντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.
- 140 Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάξασθαι ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι· καὶ σφί ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἕζοντο, χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίη, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε.

25 ἀπωσάμενοι H. Stephanus, van H.

140 3 ἐλθόντες B

25 μετὰ γε θεοὺς "post deos quidem," Baehr, 'next after', cp c. 168 *infra*. Not 'if only the gods would let them' The victory of the Greeks is to Hdt primarily a work of special intervention from above, cp 8 109

26. οὐδὲ σφέας, 'it was not they that . . .'

χρηστήρια φοβερὰ καὶ ἐς δαίμα βαλόντα If φοβερὰ is taken in the active sense, then ἐς δαίμα β is tautologous. A stronger sense seems gained by viewing the responses as effects and causes of fear: panic-stricken and panic-striking. The description of the oracular responses, ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν, not, as it turns out, spontaneously, but in answer to inquiries, and their calculated effect (ἔπεισε ἐκλ. τ. 'Ελ) seems to show an unusual detachment on Hdt's part, as though, when he wrote this passage, the glamour of Delphi had somewhat faded. (Is he regretting that he himself had been persuaded ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα for a home in the west?)

28 ἀνέσχοντο. δέξασθαι ἀνέχεσθαι with infin. (or partic 5. 19 ἀνέχεν ὄρεων) in the sense of τλῆναι, *sustinere* (*eine sehr seltene Bedeutung*, Stein)

140. 1 πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι the article, perhaps only as resuming Ἀθηναῖοι, c 139

The date of this mission is a matter of moment. Hdt. unfortunately gives no precise indication, but appears to date it before the assembling of the Congress at the Isthmus (c 145 *infra*). As that may be dated to 481 B.C. (summer or autumn) the *theoria* would not be later than the spring. Stein even dates it back to 482 B.C. Such an early date is out of the question, from a historical and psychological point of view. Even Delphi was not shaking with fear at that time. These oracles cannot be dated

before the disaster at Thermopylai, and the second one was obviously obtained with especial reference to the impending battle at Salamis. Cp. further on the question, Appendix III. § 7

θεοπρόπους = *θεωροὺς*, as in 1 67, etc. They were two in number (cp *ἔτον* last line of response) but their names are not on record

2 χρηστηριάξασθαι used here absolutely (to obtain oracular advice, to consult the oracle), in c. 178 *infra* with τῷ θεῷ. There is a slight confusion between οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι and their envoys; at least the σφί which follows can only refer to the *θεοπρόποι*. This confusion runs through the response itself.

3 τὰ νομιζόμενα. (1) lustration, with holy water from the Kastalian spring, (2) coronation with laurel, (3) prayer and sacrifice (Baehr *ad l* Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alterth* II 1902, 322), all performed at the altar in the precinct (περὶ τὸ ἱερόν) before entering τὸ μέγαρον, where the consultants took seat (*ἕζοντο*), after handing in their question in writing to the *προφῆτης*, who gave it to the Pythia in the *ἄδυτον*. Generally speaking, the utterance of the Pythia was inarticulate and required interpretation, redaction by the Delphic prophet (8 36 *infra*) or prophets, how long this process may have occupied it is impossible to say. Upon occasion, the response (no doubt previously prepared) came articulate, and versified, apparently, from the lips of the Pythia, or required no more editing than could be given by the experts in the *ἄδυτον*. In the present and following chap. we seem to have genuine responses, but evidently very carefully composed and redacted: "Homeric" (Baehr)

4. Ἀριστονίκη ("Sieghild," Baehr): this name of good omen counts for nothing in these responses, perhaps Hdt. records it a little ironically. The

ὦ μέλαιοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φύγ' ἐς ἔσχατα γαίης 5  
 δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
 οὔτε πόδες νέστοι οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης  
 λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρείπει  
 πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων. 10  
 πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σὺν οἶον,

5 φύγ' ἐς Reiske, van H., Stein<sup>3</sup>: φεύγ' codd, Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder  
 (λοιπὼν φεύγετ' ἃ πόλιν φύγετ' Oenomaus ap Euseb praep ev. 5. 24)  
 7 μένει CP: μενεῖ 9 ἀίδηλα Blomfield, van H. || ἐρείπει α 10  
 ἀσιηγενὲς G 11 τὸ σὺν οἶον CP: τόσον οἶον

name is grammatically constructed in apposition to *ὄνομα*, not to τῇ.

5. μέλαιοι, τί κάθησθε the plural, as the singular which follows (φύγ'), is addressed to the Athenian state, not merely to the two *theoporoι*, the sitting still is not merely that in the temple, but that in their native land μέλαιοι in Homer means 'vain,' 'useless,' but in later Greek, as here, 'wretched' (Aeschyl., Soph., Eurip all used it thus) The change is traced to Hesiod, *Theog* 563 ἔσχατα γαίης, '(the) ends of (the) earth.' Stein cps 8 62, and thinks 'the Italian coast' is meant, the reference does not seem to be so definite (nor so definite in every direction as αἱ εσχαταίαι τῆς οἰκουμένης in 3 106) Without ἐς (cp App Crit) the accusative may be a vague one of motion (this is better than to take it as direct accusative, and understand the words of Attika, and much better than making ἔσχατα agree with δώματα). Yet the advice probably means merely leaving Attika for the Peloponnesos (cp 8. 40 f.)

6 τροχοειδέος· suspiciously like an anachronism Athens was τροχοειδής after the Themistoklean walls were built, so in 1 98 Hdt cps. the wall of Ekbatana to the Ἀθηνέων κύκλος: but at the date of the oracle Athens was an unwall'd city (cp 8 51) It may, however, have had a wall round it in earlier (piae-Peisistratidae) days, and the epithet may be traditional

7. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ κατὰ the passage contains the metaphor or analogy of 'the Body politic', cp the oracle in c. 148 *infra* But the description appears eminently inapplicable to Athens and the Athenians In a more material sense it might apply to Athens and Attika after the Persian occupation (8. 50-3),

and so help to date the response μέσσης below must agree with πόλιος. But the description of Attika and Athens may be a prediction conjectured from the state of Phokis, cp. 8 32, 33.

9 ἄζηλα πέλει: Homeric πέλει = ἐστὶ (or perhaps γίνεται or ἐρχεται) ἄζηλα might be the subject of πέλει or a part of the predicate (in which case the subject πάντα must be supplied out of the context, or what not). ἄζηλος may be ἀ-ζηλος = ἀζήλωτος, or, better (with Stein) = ἀδηλος, erroneously derived by the oracle-maker (from Hesiod, *Works* 6 βεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέξει) who assumed that ζήλος = δηλος Cp App Crit.

κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρείπει the tmesis, as in l 14 *infra* μιν, so τὴν πόλιν. The description just suits the situation in 8 50 ff., but see also note on l 7 *supra*

10. Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων, 'following in the track of a Syrian chariot,' cp c 63 *supra* Aeschyl. *Persai* 84 (Σύριον θ' ἄρμα διώκων) may be a reminiscence of this oracle, unless the text here has been corrupted from Aeschylus, cp App. Crit. Is the ἄρμα Διὸς ἱπὸν (c 40 *supra*), or the chariot of the king (*ibid.*), or more generally a war chariot, here in view? It may be doubted whether in the Persian war any chariots of war reached Athens, or even Thebes, the only war-chariots recognized by Hdt in the army-list are the Libyan and Indian (c. 86 *supra*). But the phrase need not be pressed; it may be conventional. The oriental chariot was familiar in Greece in Minoan and Mykenian days, was not forgotten in Homeric times, and in the age of Hdt. was still used in Kypros, cp 5 113.

11. πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ a prediction, perhaps in the very act, or on the very eve of fulfilment, cp 8 32, 33. But Delphi had no fear for itself; 8 35-39

- πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,  
 οἳ πού νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεοῦμενοι ἐστήकाσι,  
 δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι  
 15 αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προιδὼν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
 ἀλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.  
 141 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ  
 μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν

12 ναοὺς α 14 δείμασι β || ὀρόφοισιν α, Holder 15  
 ἀνάγκης α ἀνάγκην Cd 16 κακοῖσι αC. κακοῖσι νῦν d κακοῖς z ||  
 ἐπικίδνατε· ὑποπίτνατε? van H 141 3 κεχρησμένου β 'forma  
 fortasse ubique revocanda' van H ; cp Weir Smyth, § 615 p. 512

12. μαλερῷ in Homer always an epithet of fire (μάλα)

13 οἳ why not the Ἀθάνατοι (on the Greek side), i.e. their statues? This is more forcible than to refer the relative to νηοὺς ρεοῦμενοι φοι ρεόμενοι, cp μαχοῦμενοι Clemens Alexandr (728) read here ρεοῦμενοι (ρέω) Rawlinson and Blakesley *ad l* give a list of sweating statues, cp Cicero, *Div.* 1. 74, 98, 2. 55 etc., Diodori. 17. 10 4.

ἰδρῶτι they sometimes exuded blood δείματι παλλόμενοι, cp. *Hymn to Demeter* 293. φοι πάλλεσθαι cp 9 140.

14. κατὰ is of course in times = καταλέχυνται. A bloody roof was to be seen at Delphi itself on a later occasion, Diodor. 17 10 5 (335 B C)

15 προιδὼν κακότητος ἀνάγκας· can blood 'foie-see' inevitable woe, or is 'foiesee' confusion φοι 'foie-show' (so Stein, *seltsam fur προφαῖνον*)? For the interpretation of the signs cp. Diodori 1 c τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἰδρῶτα ὑπερβάλλουσιν κακοπάθειαν, τὸ δ' ἐν πλείοσι τόποις φαινόμενον αἷμα φόνον πολλὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσόμενον (σημαίνειν ἐφασαν).

16. ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο the dual here (followed by the plural) might tempt us to regard the whole response as addressed primarily to the two θεοπρόποι, and through them to all and every Athenians. If ἀδύτον is used strictly, they had no right therein, but see below, next c

κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν: a much debated phrase. It seems quite out of keeping with the context, if interpreted to be an encouragement, as by Stephanus Larcher, Miot, Schweighauser, Lange, Baehr, L. & S. It does not even seem ambiguous ("prepare your soul for evil," Schoell), but definitely discour-

aging θυμός is simply the mind (cp c. 51 *supra*). ἐπικίδναι is used only in the passive by Homer, here 'spread your mind on evils,' or 'bespread your mind with evils,' is equivalent to saying, 'all hope abandon', van Heiweiden does not like the word here cp. App Crit.

141 1 συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο: a literal and prompt obedience to the behest κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν. For the expression cp c 134 *supra*

2 προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς· with this expression cp Soph. *O. T.* 745 f. οἱμοὶ τάλας· ἔοικ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς δεινὰς προβάλλων ἀρτίως οὐκ εἰδέναι: Eurip. *Rhes.* 182 χρὴ δ' ἐπ' αἰεὶς πονεῖν ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κβοῖσι δαίμονος. Though neither is exactly parallel to the use of the word here, all three have the note of 'abandonment' in them, "giving themselves up for lost" ("res suas desperantibus," Stein) Cicero, *Tusc.* 2. 54 qui doloris speciem ferre non possunt, abjiciunt se, atque ita afflicti et exanimati jacent. sunt enim quaedam animi similitudines cum corpore. Schweighauser, indeed, takes the word here materially, "humum se prostiterunt" (The present participle is rather against that)

ὑπὸ they are abandoning themselves to despair "under the influence of, or the effects of the evil, which has been oracularly revealed", cp ὑπὸ δέους γε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν 1 85, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρείος ἀγρυπνήσει εἴχετο 3 129.

3. κεχρησμένου might seem to be the Herodotean form from χράω not to be confused with λέχημαι, κεχρημένος. Van Herwerden would recall the latter form everywhere. But cp. App Crit. and c. 145 *infra*.

ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευνέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὥς 5 ἱκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι “ὦναξ, χρήσιν ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἣ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένομεν ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν,” ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ 10 τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι  
λίσσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.

4 ἱκετηρίας B, Holder, van H 5 χρᾶσθαι B || ὥς ἱκέτας del van H  
9 μενέομεν B, Stein<sup>1</sup> 2, Holder, van H et al. 10 δὲ erasum in A (‘forsan recte’ van H.) om. Bz

Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου. neither the propitiously named father, nor the son, is otherwise known to fame ὅμοια τῷ μάλιστα (δοκίμω), cp c 118 *supra*.

4 ἱκετηρίην ὥς ἱκέτας on the previous occasion, though they had observed the proper ritual of ‘consultants,’ they had not presented themselves as ‘suppliants’ (e.g. they had taken seats in the *megaron*). Now they were to arm themselves with the suppliant’s olive or laurel branch, filleted with wool (ἱκετηρίην, sc *ράβδον*, cp *λευκοστεφεῖς ἱκτηρίας*, Aischyl. *Suppl.* 192), cp. Hermann-Stark, *gottesd. Alterth.* (1858) p 138.

6. τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι Hdt doubtless understands the term of the *θεοπρόποι*, and supposes them not to have left Delphi or reported to the Athenians at home the doleful response obtained. The exact interval between the two responses Hdt does not indicate. was it hours, or days, or longer? Was the first response not conveyed to Athens, or perhaps to Salamis, before the second was emitted? Or had the two *Theoi* directions (from Themistokles) to move heaven and earth in order to obtain a Delphic sanction for the plan of remaining at Salamis and there doing battle? The first response supports the plan, afterwards ascribed to the Peloponnesians, of the complete evacuation of Attica and Salamis, and the transfer of the Athenians to the Peloponnese, the second favours the plan of those in Athens who were determined to make a stand at Salamis (and even perhaps upon the mainland). These responses can only be dated in reason to the days or weeks doubt that

strategic question was the dominant and urgent one. It is conceivable that Delphi delivered two contradictory directions on two successive days, but it seems not unlikely that a more considerable interval separated the two responses, during which Themistokles contrived, by one means or another, to adjust the wiles at Delphi. It is a frappant inconsequence in the story of Salamis that Themistokles is not represented as making any use of these responses in his arguments with Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians (8 60). The proper inference therefrom is, not that these are mere *vaticinia post eventum*, and the whole story of the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi a later fiction, but that Hdt follows in different parts of his narrative different sources, without troubling to consider their mutual bearings.

9. αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένομεν ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. the supplication on behalf of Athens and Attica (περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, not of course ‘Hellas’) contains a threat of “sitting *dharma*,” which apparently is effectual, cp Maine, *Early Institutions*, pp 40, etc. Orestes ap Eurip. *Iphig in Taur* 972 ff. applies the same method of compulsion *πρόσθεν ἀδύτων ἐκταθεῖς, νῆστις βορᾶς, ἐπώμοσ’ αὐτοῦ βίον ἀπορρήξειν θανάων, εἰ μὴ με σώσει Φοῖβος, ὅς μ’ ἀπώλεσεν*. The present is more forcible than the future (cp. App Crit.) Stein cps cc. 235, 236, 9. 17, 46, etc.

10 ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι resumes καὶ λέγουσι cp c. 136 *δεύτερά σφι λέγουσι τάδε*. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα.

12. ἐξιλάσασθαι the preposition is emphatic. Whether the intercessory

- σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας.  
 15 τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος  
 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαιρώνος ζαθέιοι,  
 τεῖχος Τριτογενεὶ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 μούνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.  
 μῆδ' ἐσὶν ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα  
 20 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν  
 νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση.  
 ὦ θείη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν  
 ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

21 νότον Β || ἔτι οἱ? Stein<sup>2</sup> approb van H.

prayer of Pallas is merely metaphorical, or whether the goddess is believed to be truly interceding on behalf of Athens, is open to question, at any rate Olympian Zeus is regarded at Delphi as omnipotently, or at least supremely, directing the course of human affairs.

14. ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας Blakesley takes 'Αδάμας as an epithet of Zeus, 'having approached the Inflexible One.' Apollo in any case is speaking (masc πελάσσας), but, *inter alia*, this rendering presents, or exaggerates, a rivalry between Apollo and Athene not probable in a response (Blakesley's paraphrase suppresses this point.) πελάζειν is as frequently causal as intransitive, specially in poetry, and may also be used metaphorically; e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* 1. 80 (78) κράτει δὲ πέλασον (sc ἐμέ), *fac compositum* (Rumpel, *Lexicon*, sub v). So here: ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας (sc τόδ' ἔπος), 'that I have made as of steel, that shall never be broken.'

15 Κέκροπος οὔρος Lange, Stein, and others make οὔρος = ὄρος, and understand simply the Akropolis, a view not taken by any of the Athenians of the time, cp c. 142 *infra*, Rawlinson and others, οὔρος = ὄρος, so that K. δ = Attica, and Kithairon simply resumes the chief feature of the Attic boundary on the land-side. Or better still, perhaps, K. οὔρος (= ὄρος) might stand generally for the πόλις, the whole city, cp. Philochorus *ap.* Strabon 397 Κέκροπα πρῶτον εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις συνοικίσαι τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ὀνόματα Κεκροπία Τετράπολις Ἐπακρία κτλ. Cp *Etym. M.* 352 τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐποικίαν ἀπ' ἐαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν προσηγόρευσε.

16. κευθμῶν · recessus, vallus, Pind. *P.* 9. 34 ὁρέων κευθμῶνας ἔχει σκιοέντων · fr

101 (70.) 4 καὶ ποτε τὸν τρικάρανον Πρωτὸν κευθμῶνα κατέσχεθε (Rumpel, *Lex. Pindar*)

Κιθαιρώνας · cp. 9 19 *infra*.

17. Τριτογενεὶ. i.e. Athene, cp. 4. 180 The epithet here might be not merely a poetic or metrical convenience, for the word probably meant 'born of water' (see L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1 266), though it must be admitted that Themistokles makes no use of this etymology in his exegesis.

18 τὸ demonstrative? or relative? the fact ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν? or the actual τείχος?

19 ἵπποσύνην. the abstract for the concrete, in Homer, 'horsemanship' Baehr remarks that this oracle imitates the Epic style, but is destitute of the native colour of the Epos.

22 ὦ θείη Σαλαμῖς κτλ. these two celebrated lines follow immediately and naturally upon the promise ἐτι τοί ποτε ἀντίος ἔσση, and so are probably an authentic part of the original response, which, therefore, can only have been framed at a time when the possibility of an engagement at Salamis was evident, and the plan was being pressed, i.e. after Thermopylai-Artemision δέ· its position is justified by the projection of the vocative.

23 ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης, generally interpreted 'either in the time of sowing, or gathering in the harvest' Baehr observed, however, that the exact meaning of the line is far from clear σκιδνασθαι is frequent in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but never used of scattering seed, but of crowds dispersing, *Il.* 1 487 etc., of spray, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη Σκιδναται, *Il.* 11 308, of dust, ὄψι δ'

ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε 142  
εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ  
ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γυνῶμαι  
καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διζυμένων τὸ μαντήιον καὶ αἶδε  
συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι 5  
δοκέειν σφίσι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσσεσθαι.  
ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηχῶ ἐπέφρακτο.

142 2 ἀπήϊσαν ἐς δθήνας B 3 οἱ θεοπρόποι secl van H.  
4 ἐγίνοντο Bz 6 σφίσι Stein, van H σφι codd, Holder 7  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων del Cobet

δέλλα Σκιδναται, *Il* 16 375 of a fountain, or well, in a garden, ἀνά κήπον ἀπαντα Σκιδναται, *Od* 7 130. In the *Hymn to Demeter* 277, from the garments of the goddess herself δδμή δ' ἱμερβεςσα

Σκιδνατο In all these cases there is a sense of dispersion, diffusion, dissipation. Still more strained is the interpretation of Δημήτερος συνιούσης of the gathering in of the harvest. Even if Δημήτηρ σκιδναται could mean 'the seed is being sown,' could Δημήτηρ σύνεισι (οἱ συνέρχεται) mean 'the harvest is being gathered'? (On σκιδνασθαι cp 8 23)

At least it may be worth while to suggest that the reference in the line is not generally to springtime and autumn, but definitely to the date of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which coincided with the battle of Salamis. Perhaps the allusion in the line is to something in the ritual, or, if 'Demeter' might stand for the 'Demeter-worshipper' or the Mystai, the line might simply mean that the battle should take place either when the worshippers were assembling or dispersing. Cp. 8 65

142. 2 συγγραψάμενοι might seem to imply that the response was audibly delivered, and subsequently written down at the request of the consultants, but what then of the previous response, of the same length? If not written, how was it preserved? The word here cannot be pressed, least of all in the interests of a meticulous chronology

3. τὸν δῆμον. i.e. the Ekklesia. The first report would inevitably have been made to the Boule, which is here, perhaps, included, or presupposed

4 διζυμένων, 'of persons trying to interpret. διζησθαι, a not uncommon word in Hdt (c 103 *συρη*), found also in Herakleitos, Demokritos, Lucian, retains the long penultimate vowel

throughout (cp. ἀμαι, κίχμαι) Weir Smyth, *Ionian*, p 483, regards it as the prose and δίζομαι as the poetic form. Cp δίζω (in the oracle), *Hdt* 1 65.

5 συνεστηκυῖαι, 'in conflict,' 'opposed,' a metaphor from battle, or wrestling. Cp 8 142 ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήλῃ 8. 79 συνεστηκῶτων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν 132 συνεστήλῃ δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύεω 6 108 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖσι 1 208 γινώμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν.

τῶν πρεσβυτέρων the younger men do not appear to have had any say in the matter. It was not usual at Athens for a man under thirty to address the Ekklesia. Cp Telfy, *C J A* §§ 138-9

7 ῥηχῶ ἐπέφρακτο at what date exactly does Hdt mean to say that the Athenian Akropolis was (had been) protected by a 'wood' or 'thorn'? Is τὸ πάλαι relative to the occasion described, or to the date of composition? Is the pluperfect of the verb to be interpreted strictly, and in relation to the recorded occasion, or loosely and in relation to the (time of) record? Is it assumed that the ῥηχός was a thing of the past, at the time of Salamis, or only in the days of Hdt? Do the verb and tense refer simply to the original act of fortification, or to a continued state, or condition of defensibility? It seems rather to be implied that the ῥηχός was in existence at the time of Salamis (even if out of repair, 8. 51, but cp note *ad* 1), and was interpreted to be τὸ ξυλινὸν τεῖχος. The elder men in 480 B.C. could remember the sieges of the Akropolis in 511-8 B.C. (cp 5 64, 72). This remark, then, is the historian's own; but the πάλαι is in contrast, not merely to the writer's present, but to the date of the response, though the pluperfect



οὐ μὲν δὴ [κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν] συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ  
 ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν  
 10 θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας.  
 τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τείχος  
 ἔσφαλλε ἔπεα δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,  
 ὃ θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν  
 ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.  
 15 κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνώμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς  
 νέας τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτη  
 ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφεας ἔσσωθῆναι  
 143 ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους. ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων  
 ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμι-

8 κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν secl Gomperz, Stein<sup>2</sup> || συνεβάλλοντο B 12  
 ἔπεα δύο τὰ Stein<sup>(1)(2)</sup> 3 τὰ δύο τὰ codd, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder τὰ δύο ἔπεα τὰ  
 van H 143. 1 ἔην codd.

does not signify that the ῥηχός was no longer in existence in 480 B.C. The exact meaning of ῥηχός (= ῥαχός) is not certain. Is it 'thorn' or 'wild olive'? In any case it evidently suggests some kind of fortification, palisade, of wood. Just as the outer door of a student's rooms at Oxford is called "an oak" (Blakesley), so ῥαχός might at Athens = φραγμός, σταύρωμα (cp Rawlinson). But what was its relation to the Πελασγικὸν (Πελαργικὸν) τεῖχος (cp. 5 64)? Was the 'palisade' distinct from the 'wall,' or a part of it, or identical with it (a name from a still older time for it)?  
 8. συνεβάλλοντο, 'conjectured', cp 5. 1, 6. 107, cc. 24 *συρρα*, 184, 187 *νηφρα*.  
 9 οἱ δ' αὖ. sc. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, but perhaps οἱ νεώτεροι were with them.

10 παραρτέεσθαι c. 20 *συρρα*.

12 ἔσφαλλε, 'tripped up,' 'upset,' 'disturbed.' Why? The lines appeared to foretell a defeat at Salamis, while the 'wooden wall' was to remain intact. Why the τέκνα γυναικῶν should have been assumed to be Greeks, and Athenians, is not quite obvious. Perhaps it was only argued that they might be.

15 συνεχέοντο, 'were confounded,' 'were put to confusion' Cp 8 99, and for a more literal use c 115 *νηρρα*, and 4 127. The mental metaphor is as old as Homer, cp *Il* 9 612, 24 358, *Od.* 8 139.

16. The χρησμολόγοι, the experts, 'took,' i.e. 'understood,' the oracle, cp

λαμβάνειν φρενί, 9 10. The imperfects here might be emphasized.

17 ἀμφί with accus of place is perhaps rather vague than περί (cp c. 140), and with a sense of motion thither. (Salamis is not Athens, nor Attica.) Cp with the dative next c.

143 1 ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἀνὴρ is emphatic, predicative (cp 1 51 τῶν τις Δελφῶν).

2 ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών the temporal adverb is relative to the date of the event, not of the record. In c. 148 *νηφρα νεωστὶ* is used of an event which had taken place ten to fifteen years previously. This man had been Ἀρχων in 493 B.C., while the Archontate was still an elective office, cp Thuc 1 93. 3, Ἀθ π. 22 5 ἐς πρώτους, 'to the front rank' (of citizens), a sense found in Homer *Il* 15 643 ἐν πρώτοις Μυκηναίων, *Od* 6 60 μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντα Βουλὰς βουλευέειν.

τῷ οὖνομα μὲν . . . ἐκαλέετο there is no real antithesis intended between οὖνομα and ἐκαλέετο, much less between ἐκαλέετο and ἦν. The redundancy of style is perhaps designed to make the first introduction of Themistokles, son of Neokles, more elaborate and signal, and not to suggest a γραφὴ ξενίας. Themistokles was already gathered to his fathers, or rather buried as to his mortality in the market-place of Magnesia (Thuc 1. 138 4), when this passage was first written (aye, well before Hdt. began his literary career). Hdt

στοκλέης, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὠνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη  
 πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε·  
 εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω 5  
 μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε “ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμίς”  
 ἀντὶ τοῦ “ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς,” εἰ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες  
 ἀμφ’ αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ  
 εἰρησθαι τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ’  
 οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχί- 10  
 σοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος.  
 ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι  
 ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οὐ  
 οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ

5 ἔπος α παῖτος β || ἐόντως Reiske ἐόν κως || οὕτως ἡμῖν β. οὕτω  
 μοι z 7 ἀντὶ . . Σαλαμίς del. Cobet approb. Holder, van H. 12  
 θεμιστοκλέους α || ἀθηναίους β || σφίσι Stein . σφι 13 μᾶλλον om. β  
 14 εἰπεῖν Stein<sup>23</sup> εἴπαι Gomperz, Holder, van H. εἶναι codd, Stein<sup>1</sup>

does not preserve the name of Themistokles' mother (as of Penkles', 6 131), whether she was Thracian, or Halikarnassian (Plutarch, *Them* 1), or, it may be, Athenian. Neither does Hdt. represent him as a *novus homo*. This passage is in no way to the discredit of Themistokles, on the contrary, he is introduced with a flourish of trumpets. Hdt. has but just entered on his account of the Greek preparations with a report of the Delphic responses to Athens, and brings Themistokles upon the scene as a brilliant and sagacious diviner (μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάξει καλῶς Eurip *ar* Plutarch *Mor.* 432 = *Frag.* 963 Nauck), putting the experts to shame, and as author previously of the self-denying ordinance which gave the silver surplus for a patriotic experiment.

3. οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν They were right about there being a ναυμαχίη, but wrong about its being a defeat (ἐσσωθῆναι).

4. συμβάλλεσθαι not very different from λαμβάνειν *supra* and συλλαμβάνειν *infra*, cp. c. 142 ll. 8, 16 *supra*.

5 ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως Stein takes εἶχε εἰρημένον as simply a periphrasis for εἰρητο (i.e. εἶχε = ἦν), quoting in support 3. 48 ὕβρισμα ἐς τούτους εἶχε γενόμενον. The adverb perhaps enforces this rendering. Cp. App Crit. But the order of the words here is noticeable (ἔχειν ἐς, cp. c. 130 *supra*), and the point would be clearer without the participle.

6 μιν cannot refer to Themistokles as subject of δοκέειν (Abicht), for that construction would require αὐτός. It must stand for τὸ ἔπος, however harsh the construction, which goes rather beyond 6 82 (even if μιν there is right, and rightly referred to τὸ Ἄργος). But cp. App Crit.

7 οἰκήτορες, 'settlers,' 'occupants,' cp. 2 103, 4 9, 35, Thuc 1. 2 3, 2 27 1, 3 92 5. The uses in Aeschyl, Soph, Eurip gain point from seeing that οἰκήτωρ means not 'inhabitant' in the ordinary sense, but 'settler'. The Athenians in Salamis were 'kleruchs' (L & S does not understand this).

8 ἀμφ' αὐτῇ The preposition, though primarily locative, may be taken (Stein points out) as causal too.

10 ὡς ναυμαχίησοντας, 'at Salamis,' a rather important supplement, for a battle off Euboea would not be ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα or Σαλαμῖνι a fresh proof that this response cannot have been procured before the evacuation of Artemision.

14. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν cp. App. Crit. It is plain that there was a party in Athens, headed or supported by the χρησμολόγοι, in favour of following the precedent of Teos and Phokaia in 546 B.C. (cp. l. 164-8), abandoning their country (ἡ πατρίς c. 141 *supra*) and finding a new home beyond the seas. Such a project is practically inconceivable in 482 B.C. (where Stein dates the oracles), or even in 480 B.C. before the

15 χείρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 144 ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. ἑτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέϊ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε  
 ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἥριστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρη-  
 μάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετὰλλων σφί  
 προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν  
 5 ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς. τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθη-  
 ναίους τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης παυσταμένους νέας τούτων τῶν  
 χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς

144. 3 ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν BPz 4 λαυρίου B || λάξεσθαι B λάξεσθαι  
 d || ὀρχηδὸν BA<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup> ὀρχιδὸν A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup> ἡ/βηδὸν d 5 ἕκαστος del. Cobet,  
 van H. 6 διαιρέσεως B 7 διηκοσίας vide comment. infra || ἐς  
 πόλεμον B

collapse of the defence at Artemision-Thermopylai Themistokles himself kept that plan in reserve to force a battle in the Straits, cp 8 62 *infra*, and it may be that the idea had been formulated long before as a possibility, if the worst came to the worst. It might even be older than the days of Marathon. But that it was seriously proposed in Athens before a blow had been struck in 480 B.C. is (*me iudice*) incredible

144. 1. ἔμπροσθε ταύτης but not so very long before, if we may date the γνώμη to the same year as the ψήφισμα and accept from 'Aristot.' 'Ath. πολ. 22 7 the year 483-2 B.C. as the year of the 'Naval Law' Themistokles had, however, been working for years, probably, to carry his point Baehr, indeed, dated this proposal back to 493 B.C. in connexion with the archonship and the harbour-project (Thuc. 1. 93 3) But Thucydides does not mention it there (nor elsewhere), and in 1 14 3 rather favours a date after Marathon On the ἀριστεία of this γνώμη cp B Bosanquet, *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899), pp 114 f

4 προσήλθε· a financial term, cp πρόσδος

τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου looks rather like a gloss· τὰ (χρήματα) ἀπὸ Λ. would have been less curious, Plutarch, *Them.* 4 has Laureion, 'Ath. πολ. 22 7 has τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ That this 'Maroneia' was in Attika (not in Thrace) is clear from Harpokration *sub v* There had been apparently an extension of the mining, cp Kenyon 'Ath. π.'<sup>3</sup> (1892) ad l c On the mines at Laureion generally cp. J. J. Binder, *Laureion*, Laibach, 1895

ἔμελλον δέκα δραχμάς It had been the practice of the Siphnians to divide annually the income from their mines, 3 57 A similar practice may have obtained at Athens (παυσταμένους *infra*, but cp note) If the number of Athenian citizens was (conventionally) reckoned at 30,000 (5 97) and each man was to receive 10 drachmai, the total sum to be divided was 50 talents. Whether that was mere surplus or full income does not clearly appear 'Ath. πολ. 1 c. περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων That may represent the accumulation of two years 100 talents would only provide 100 ships, which is, in fact, the number given by the 'Ath. πολ. But the Athenians had a (standing) fleet of 50-70 vessels already in the Aeginetan war

λάξεσθαι Ionic ᾗ=Attic η, Wen-Smyth, p 135.

ὀρχηδόν, apparently a ἀπαξ λεγ., cp. ὄρχος, ὀρχέομαι, etc., obviously means *viridum*, and enforces ἕκαστος

6 νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι· *geminitus prae* 'Ath. π. 22 7 gives a somewhat suspicious account of the agency employed in the matter, as if 100 ships could be built without any one's knowing. The figure διηκοσίας here is suspicious It is Hdt's total for the Athenian contingent in 480 B.C., but he seems here to make it a specific item in the psephism of Themistokles, which was probably a *προβούλευμα* laid before the ἐκκλησία in due form 200 talents would have been necessary to provide 200 ships, which, on Hdt's own figures above, would have taken four years See further, Appendix III. § 4 and note 1. 11 *infra*.

7. τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας

Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστάς ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν, οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον 10 δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταί τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοιθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέσθαι. ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημί, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. 15

Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε. 145 συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα [Ἑλλήνων

8 λέγω *dz* || ἐς τὸ om. **BPz** approb. Holder, van H 11 οὕτω **B**  
τούτῳ **α** || ἐγίνοντο **S** || αἰταί τε κτλ vid comment infra || νῆες **B** 13  
μετὰ κατὰ com Stein<sup>2</sup> approb van H. 15 πανδημί **α**, van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>.  
πανδημί **B**, Stein<sup>1</sup> 2 Ἑλλήνων τῶν del. Bekker approb  
Holder, van H, eadem ante περὶ rettulit Schaefer. τῶν tantum secl  
Valckenaer, Stein<sup>2</sup> 3 text intact, reliq. Stein<sup>1</sup>

λέγων cp App Cuit Thucyd 1 14 3 Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολέμουτας καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναὺς ποιήσασθαι ἀσπερ καὶ ἐνανμάχσαν plainly refers to this same occasion, but does more direct justice to Themistokles. Hdt appears to ascribe to the Aeginetan war an automatic and compulsory causation which it could not possess, except as exploited by the statecraft of Themistokles. Hdt is badly informed altogether concerning the war between Athens and Aegina. When he wrote this passage he was presumably unacquainted with the stoaes now preserved in Bks 5 and 6 (cp my Hdt IV-VI, Appendix VIII). The absence of any backward reference in this place is a stronger argument than mere silence for the earlier composition of this passage, and the incoherence of Hdt's accounts of the wars makes it the more probable that those passages are of later composition, see further on the subject Introduction, §§ 7, 8

8 ὁ πόλεμος συστάς cp 8 142 συνεστήκη, 1 74 μάχης συνεστρώσης The phrase is Homeric *Il.* 14 96 πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς Cp c 142 *supra*, Thuc 1. 15. 2

11. αὐταί τε . προσναυπηγέσθαι This sentence is a little incoherent in itself, and, if the Athenians had already 200 ships, inconsistent with the records in Hdt. The text may be suspected of some disorganization this sentence and

the preceding one (αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐγένοντο) might change places with advantage, ἑκατον (ρ') being substituted for διηκοσίας (σ') above, and τσαύτας inserted here after ἐτέρας τε. The words ἐτέρας τε <τσαύτας> ἔδεε προσναυπηγέσθαι imply of course a dogma of the sovian Demos.

13. ἔδοξέ τέ σφι . βουλευομένοισι These words clearly express a formal resolution or act of the Boule and Ekklesia, but the exact point or stage of the proceedings, and the exact purpose of the dogma, are not quite so clear. If this act is the consequence of the oracular responses, and the interpretation of Themistokles, then this resolution (a) is inadequate and inconsequent, for it ought to specify Salamis (ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα) as the scene of resistance, and (b) its date would of course be subsequent to the reception of the responses, i.e. after the breakdown at Thermopylai. But the terms of the dogma (ἐπιόντα κτλ) suit an initial stage in the proceedings and preparations, and constitute the original determination of Athens to resist the invasion ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. This resolution is taken independently of Delphi, or at least of the responses above reported, which belong, as has been shown, to a later date, on the eve of Salamis. The words δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημί explain the fact that there were no Athenians in the forces at Thermopylai.

145 2 συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ

τῶν] τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ  
πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν  
5 χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς  
κατ' ἀλλήλους ἔοντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ  
ἄλλους †ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ

4 αὐτοῖσι βουλευομένοισι B αὐτοῖσι del. Kallenberg 5 πάντων  
om B 7 ἐγκεκρημένοι codd, Stein ἐγκεκρημένοι αὐτ ἐγκεχειρημένοι  
αὐτ ἐγκεκριμένοι Reiske, συγκεκρημένοι Cobet, ἐγγεγερμένοι Bekker, ἐνηργ-  
μένοι Madvig. quorum ἐγκεκρημένοι approb Holder, nihil autem van H.

Hdt. does not specify the place, the exact time, the conveners. Tittmann supposed the Amphiktyonic League to be here in session, but its members ill correspond to the description οἱ τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντες (cp c 182 *supra*), and this passage rather suggests the formation of a special league πρὸς τὸν Πέρσιν (οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ, Thuc 1. 102. 4). Was it in Sparta, in the 'Hellenion'? cp. Pausan 3 12 6 (5) τὸ δὲ χωρίον δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἑλλήνιον, ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρέξην διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμενοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον (συνήλθον) βουλευσόμενοι τρόπον ὅντινα ἀνθέξουσιν. The words διαβαίνοντα ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην need not be pressed into yielding a later date (in the spring of 480 B.C.) at a time when the Isthmos appears from Hdt. to be the rendezvous and place of meeting (cp. c. 175 *infra*). Stein (and others) take the Isthmos to be the place of meeting here also. The πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος appear as meeting at the Isthmos in c. 172 *infra* (probably in the spring of 480 B.C., cp. notes *ad l.*), but we have here to do with an earlier meeting, probably in the autumn of 481 B.C., and even if alliance between Sparta and Athens had already been formed, or had already subsisted a decade, yet this meeting appears as the constitutive act (διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν) and may very well have been held at Sparta in the Hellenion, probably the normal meeting-place for the Lakedaemonian Symmachi. The meeting here described was something more than an ordinary meeting of that League, of which Athens was not a member (cp Appendix III § 5).

περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. The preposition is to be taken as a locative, if the reading of the text is sound, but cp

App. Crit. In c. 172 *infra* (τῶν πολλῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα) the order of the words leaves no doubt that περὶ is there used causally, though with the accusative

4 ἐδόκεε . . . πρῶτον μὲν. The first resolution they came to was one in favour of a general amnesty, or pacification all round (ἐχθρῶν καταλλαγῇ). perhaps this first meeting did not get much further, but cp *infra* Plutarch, *Themist* 6 credits the great Athenian with moving, and Chelion of Tegea with seconding, this motion

7 ἐγκεκρημένοι might come regularly from ἐγγράμαι, but what could it mean? (i.) 'wanting in or of,' sc καταλλαγῆς? Or again (ii) as passive 'were (had been) in-used, inured, were of long standing'? (cp the rare ἐχρήσθησαν, c 144) (iii) Hesyehios has ἐγκεκρημένοι σπονδὰς ἔχοντες. It might, then, mean here '(suspended) under truce, for the time'—but not permanently composed (iv) L & S seem to think it might come from ἐγγράω = ἐγγραῖω (cp 6 75) and mean 'there were (had been) wars undertaken,' but approve (like Baehr) of Reiske's conjecture ἐγκεχειρημένοι (ἐγχειρεῖν), which Schweighauser thinks unnecessary, taking ἐγκεκρημένοι to be a syncopated form of that very word. Of the various conjectures (cp. App Crit.) Reiske's ἐγκεκρημένοι has found more general favour, cp. c. 51 *supra* συνεκράσαντο φίλην, 5. 121 ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα.

ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος δὲ ὦν, cp 9 45. Beside the Atheno-Aiginetan, there were long-standing feuds between Sparta and Argos (cp c 148), the Phokians and Thessalians (8 27 ff.), Athens and Thebes, and so forth. Argos and Thessaly were not represented at this meeting, Thebes perhaps was.

Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέως πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους 10 ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἕς τε Κέρκυραν κελεύουσιν βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φροντίσαντες εἴ πως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῷτ' ὁ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων 15 ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας πρῶτα 146 μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οἱ

11 ὁμαιχμίην τε α 12 πέμπειν del. Cobet approb Holder, van H. 14 φροντίσαντες Stein<sup>3</sup>. φρονήσαντες codd., Stein<sup>1 2</sup>, del. Cobet, van H || γενοίαιτο β || εἰ αSV οἱ R· del. Cobet, Holder, van H. 15 πρήξαιεν<sup>2</sup> Stein<sup>2</sup> 17 τῶν: ὅτεων Cobet ('non male' Baehr), van H.

8 μετὰ δέ how long after Hdt unfortunately does not specify It may have been at the same meeting, it may have been at a subsequent meeting, and even perhaps at a meeting held at a different place The introduction of the fresh synchronism (Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι) might favour an interval, or might simply be explanatory of the next resolution

9 κατασκόπους The story of their adventure follows immediately, c 146

10 ἐς Ἀργος. cp cc 148-52 *infra*. ἀγγέλους=πρέσβεις, cp c 1 *supra*

11 ὁμαιχμία a poetical or archaic word for *συμμαχία*, cp ἡ αἰχμή (= πόλεμος) c 152 *infra*, αἰχμή 5 94, τὸ μεταίχμιον 6 77, 112, 8. 140, αἰχμάλωτος 9 76

πρός, 'against,' cp c 152 *infra*, contr τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην, c 149 *infra*.

ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους cp. cc 153 ff, visiting Koikya *en route*

13 ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, cc. 169 ff The number of ambassadors is not stated. In the only case where details are given there appear to be one Spartan and one Athenian; cp. c. 161 *infra*

14 φροντίσαντες the aorist marks a particular, and the grandest, instance of their general policy and mental attitude (τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων) But cp App Crit

τὸ Ἑλληνικόν cp 8 144

15 συγκύψαντες, 'put then heads together', cp 3. 82 φίλοι δὲ ἰσχυροὶ οἱ γὰρ καλοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῖσθαι The meaning to toil, 'bend double,' is later, as in *S Luke* 13 11, etc The formula here records the most generous and general effort ever made to unite the whole Hellenic name and nation in one common cause, it was only a partial success, but it served its immediate purpose, and bequeathed a great ideal of pan-Hellenism to subsequent generations, cp 8 144 *infra*

ὥς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι the words seem to recognize, consciously or unconsciously, that the Western Greeks were being threatened in like manner, and not merely in the long run Such, indeed, was the case, though the story of the embassy to Gelon, which Hdt subsequently prefers (cc. 157-62), ignores the point, and treats the danger to the Sikeliotes as purely constructive or consequential. Cp. Appendix II § 6

17 οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω a rather curious phrase οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν appears to be attracted into the case of τῶν (as if we had οὐδαμὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ἦν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω ἐλέγετο εἶναι τὰ Γέλωνος πρήγματα) Or again οὐδαμῶν τῶν οὐ=πάντων, cp οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐκ ὑπάρχειτο, 5 97 So that Stein observes here τῶν=ὅτεων, and Cobet actually proposed οὐδαμῶν. ὅτεων οὐ cp App Crit

146 2 κατασκόπους ἄνδρας τρεῖς:

δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τε ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος  
στρατιήν, ὥς ἐπαίστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν  
5 στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι.  
καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατεκέκριτο θάνατος, Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο  
ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν  
τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἥν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατα-  
σκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὥς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας  
10 αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους  
περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ  
τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀπο-  
147 πέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσιwieας. ἐπιλέγων

146 5 ἀπολεόμενοι Stein<sup>2</sup> 3, van H ἀπολούμενοι α, Stein<sup>1</sup> ἀπολεύ-  
μενοι β, Holder 7 τὴν γνώμην τῶν στρατηγῶν β 10 ἦγαγον β,  
Holder, van H. 11 ἐκέλευσε β, van H 12 ἐπιδεικνύει Cobet,  
van H. 13 ἐπὶ τὴν α

this story would be more credible had the names and cities of the 'spies' been preserved. Were they all Spartans? Or was there one Spartan with two Athenians? Or were they from three different states? Or how were they describable? The confederate Greeks would surely have had many sources of information open to them in Asia, but they might well have wished to be informed by trustworthy emissaries of their own, and it would doubtless have been easy for European Greeks to have haunted the Persian camp all along, provided that the Greek subjects of the king did not betray them. Such a mission, and more than one, there may have been, but the story of these anonymous spies is given such an obviously characteristic moral that one is tempted to suspect it of being fabulous, but cp cc 135 ff *supra*. Is that story of the 'scapegoats' a doublet of this story of the 'spies,' or *vice versa*? The variation in the figures (2. 3) is not fatal to an affirmative

3. ἐς Σάρδεις this item serves to date the Congress, by which the spies had been commissioned, to the winter of 481-80 a c, or at latest the beginning of spring. Even so, they would not have seen the whole forces of the king (τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν), cp. cc. 26, 40, 44, 59 *supra*, but only one of the *corps d'armée*, though that of course is not Hdt's view. He assumes here, as elsewhere, that the

whole forces of the king were massed at Sardes in the year 481-80 B C, cp πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον *ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν*

4 ὥς ἐπαίστοι ἐγένοντο. the method of discovery requires statement, who betrayed them? If these 'spies' were Sperthias and Bouhis, they made themselves known

βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν Schweighauser and Baehr deny 'torture'. In l. 116, 2 151, the context shows that the word is used without connoting actual torture, but in this passage the circumstances are such that torture was probable. Cp Thuc. 7. 86 4, 8 92 2. The names of the Persian commanders, c 82 *supra*. This story gives neither their names nor their number, perhaps only the two in command of the main or mid-column were there (cp c 121 *supra*).

7. τῶν τινας δορυφόρων on the order of the words cp. c 143 *supra*. The king's behest would have been given perhaps to Hydarnes, who was in command of the Immortals, if not actually satrap of Sardes

10 ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος cp. c. 136. Were these 'spies' not made to know?

11 σφέας is governed by περιάγοντας with ἐπιδείκνυσθαι σφίσι may be understood. Cp. note c 136. 3 *supra*.

147 1. ἐπιλέγων. in addition to giving an order Xerxes made a speech, which follows (τὸν λόγον τόνδε). ὥς

δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὥς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατὰσκοποι, οὐτ' ἂν τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπίθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔοντα λόγου μέζω, οὐτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο, ἀνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ 5 τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκέειν ἔφη ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. οἴκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇδε ἄλλη. ἔων γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης 10 εἶδε πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώνοντα τὸν Ἑλλή-

147 2 εἰ α ἂν ἦν R ἦν SV 4 ἂν τι <αὐτοῖ> τοὺς Sitzler  
5 ἐσίναντο Baehr, Stein, etc ἐσινέατο 8 <καὶ> τὴν Reiske, van H  
|| οὕτω Pz οὕτως || οὐδεήσειν B 9 ἔοικε αCδ 10 τῇδε Schweighaeuser, Stein<sup>3</sup> τῇ γε codd, Stein<sup>1 2</sup>

ατλ.), cp. ἐπιλέγων 5. 70, ἐπιλέγοντες 5 4.

4. λόγου μέζω just below, not *fama* but *oratione magistra*, Baehr, cp 9 37 The speech is carefully but not quite strictly constructed εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο and νοστησάντων δὲ are strictly co-ordinate, but the two negative alternatives in the apodosis to the former protasis are not strictly co-ordinate, or at least co-incident προεπίθοντο ἂν refers to a contingency which did in fact occur, but was still *ex hypothesi* future at the time of speaking (unless the speech of Xerxes is to be postponed until the Hellenes are in possession of the report of the spies, which the apodosis to νοστησάντων δὲ disproves) οὐτ' ἂν ἐσίναντο refers to a contingency which was purely hypothetical: 'if the spies had been put to death, no great harm would have been done to the enemy' Stein remarks that οὐτ' ἂν τι . σινοίετο would have been more correct. The change in the subject of the verbs is also observable The form ἐσίναντο is aorist from σίνομαι, cp 8 31, the imperfect ἐσίνοντο, 5. 74 Lowe's down σφέας is redundant, and the repetition of πρήγματα (with a variation in sense, πρήγματα ἔχειν, to have the trouble . ) is a little slipshod.

With the politic or 'contemptuous magnanimity' of the king on this occasion the story of Scipio and the spies of Hannibal before Zama is naturally compared, Polyb. 15. 5, Livy 30 29 In that case the result was a colloquy between the two generals But what comes of the reports of these Greek spies at

Sardes? They exist simply, these Greek spies, to illustrate a trait in the character of Xerxes, and of despotism, at least so far as Hdt is concerned, nor can we even trace in the traditions of the Persian war any direct effect of their report, unless it be in the Proclamation of Leonidas, c. 203 *infra*, cp c 173

10 ἔων γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης the article, as c. 127 *supra* he gets it twice in this c., a very unusual compliment The eccentricity of this anecdote, so far as time and place are concerned, is significant; it might have come in *supra* cc 44-54 Hdt doubtless had hosts of good things in reserve, which he never produced on paper

11 πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ the illustration incidentally afforded of the route followed by the corn-trade from the Pontos (Euxine) through the 'Hellespont' (perhaps in the narrowest sense) to Aigina and Peloponnese is welcome; and the *termini ad quos* are especially remarkable. At a later time the Peiræus would have been the destination; but even in 480 B.C. was the great Pontic trade in the hands of the Aeginetans and Peloponnesians? The bridges were provided with means of passing vessels through, cp c. 36 *supra*, but that any Greek traders were even attempting to carry on trade between Greece proper and Byzantium, etc., when the king was at Abydos, is hardly credible. Might the anecdote be mis-dated and misapplied? Should it, perhaps, belong to Darius and the date of his European expedition? Or is it simply *den trovato*?



σποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιονα καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε  
 15 παραγγελέει. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκη πλέοιεν· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν “ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὧ δέσποτα, σίτον ἄγοντες.” ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “οὐκὼν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθα περ οὗτοι, τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;”

148 Οἱ μὲν νυν κατὰσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκοπῶν δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἀργεῖον ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ

17 ἐκεῖ del van H.

18 τε om α || ἐξηρτημένοι α

Or were the corn-ships really in the Persian service? And of what size or tonnage were these vessels? Cp. c 36. 13

12 οἱ . πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ. the ἐπίκλητοι? Cp. cc. 8, 10, 13, 27, 53, 119 *supra*, 8 101, 119, etc

πολέμια, not of war, but simply ‘belonging to the enemy’

15. εἶρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκη πλέοιεν is idiomatically = εἶρετο ὅκη αὐτοὶ πλέοιεν. Thus Abicht takes αὐτοὺς to refer to the skippers. The reply, however, comes obviously from the king’s suite (πάρεδροι), and Sitzler boldly takes αὐτοὺς accordingly as = τοὺς παρέδρους, and supplies οἱ ναῦται (οἱ πλέοντες) as subject of the verb, while Stein sheers a middle course, and interprets αὐτοὺς *nach ihnen*, ‘after them’ With ὅκη cp ἐκεῖ and ἔνθα below, or the vulgar English ‘where’ and ‘there,’ for ‘whither’ and ‘thither.’

17. ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἐκεῖ = ἐκεῖσε. Was Xerxes then going by sea? Did the king perform any part of the journey between Abydos and Thermopylai by ship? There are several unconscious hints to that effect, as (1) here, (2) in c 128 *supra* ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα κτλ, (3) the king’s presence at Akanthos, c. 121 *supra*, (4) the recorded visit to Tempe. On the other hand, there are the express statements (1) that he went in a chariot, or carriage, c 41, (2) that he marched with the middle column, c. 121. The ἡμεῖς here may be ‘without prejudice’ to the actual conveyance of the king’s person

148. 2 ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην avoids giving us their exact route or addresses’

οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ there is a sworn league and alliance among the Hellenes ‘against the Persian’; cp c 145 *supra*, Thuc 1 102 4 and Appendix III § 5

The narrative goes back in time to the session in c. 145, or 146, the adventure of the spies having been fully told from their departure to their return

4 δεύτερα: there have been two ‘firsts’! in cc 145 and 146. The whole of c 146 from πρώτα μὲν down to the words here, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκοπῶν, looks like an insertion, from a variant source, or sources, by the author, in a second dialect. Originally the text might have run, ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἐχθρας δεύτερα ἔπεμπον κτλ. Thus δεύτερα would then have had a natural reference to the πρώτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων in c. 145 Cp Introduction, § 9

Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι: first comes a professedly Argive story, with a strong local bias (cc 148, 149), which is followed by another *Logos* widely spread in Hellas of a very different complexion (c 150), and the debate is closed with a verdict by Hdt as judge and jury, which non-suits all the parties (cc. 151, 152). The last portion refers to events (the mission of Kallias) which cannot long have preceded the thirty years’ truce (445 B C), and may even fall a year or two later. The passage as a whole (τὰ περὶ Ἀργείων) may not be all of one date in composition, in particular cc 151, 152 might be an addition, or even c 151 alone. This last view would be the

λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα 5  
κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὡς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνας πειρήσονται  
παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς  
Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησόμενους ὥς σφί μελλεῖ ἄριστον  
ποιέουσι γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίους 10  
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου· τῶν  
δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι  
ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,

148 6 ἀγειρόμενα Naber 9 εἰρησόμενους B || μέλλοι B 10  
ποιέουσι B || γίνεσθαι B, Holder, van H 11 ὑπό <τε> ? Kallenberg ||  
<τε> καὶ ? Stein<sup>1</sup> || τῶνδε δὴ BPr

easiest solution of the problem of composition, for except in c 151 there is little or nothing in the whole passage which might not belong to the first draft, and cc 151 and 152 may very well be of different dates, the latter chapter being the earlier in composition. Cp Introduction, § 9

5 τὰ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς cp τὰ κατ' ἑμᾶς c 158 *infra*, τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον 1 31, τὰ περὶ Ἀργείων c 153 *infra*.

αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς a closer date would be here acceptable. Is it 481 B.C. ? or 491 B.C. ? or some year between ? *νεωστὶ* below would favour the earliest possible date, especially as the *νεωστὶ* may be understood to mean that, when they consulted Delphi, the Argives had just lost 6000 men in the war with Kleomenes, i.e. that the consultation was just after that war (and before the invasion of Datis). The circumstances here would fit the situation in 491 B.C. as well as in 481 B.C., and, indeed, better. Argina had given earth and water to the Persian in 491 B.C., and doubtless Argos likewise, c 49. This anachronism, if accepted, would confirm the hypothesis of the prior composition of Bks. 7-9, as that hypothesis would help to explain the anachronism.

7. οἱ Ἕλληνας πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες would the Argives have spoken in this detached way of 'the Hellenes,' or is not this rather Hdt's own term ? cp c. 157 *infra*, 8 87 (Ἕλληνις), 121, 132 *πειρᾶσθαι* with participle, as in c 139 *supra*.

8 ἐς Δελφοῦς the Argive *theoria* takes precedence in time of the Athenian (c 140 *supra*), of the Spartan (c 220 *infra*, αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς also), and the others

10 *νεωστὶ* γὰρ . τεθνάναι κτλ . the adverb is relative to the Delphic *theoria*, not to the application of the Hellenes to Argos, and though Hdt apparently connects the Delphic response with the events of 481 B.C., yet he admits that the Argives did not wait for the Hellenic embassy before consulting Delphi. The story of the war is told 6 76-83, and in the main from Spartan sources, the Argive version being entirely unknown to Hdt. (See my notes *ad l.* Bks IV-VI. and Appendix VII. § 10.) There is nothing in Hdt's work anywhere to show that he ever visited Argos, or studied Argive history *in loco*. His ignorance of the Argive version of the war with Kleomenes, and the absence of any reference here to the Spartan story in Bk 6, make it legitimate to regard this passage as older in composition than that, and obtained by him elsewhere than in Argos itself. The occurrence of the patronymic here (τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου) would in itself be of little weight, especially as the passage is in oblique oration. Cp Introduction, § 7.

13 ἀνελεῖν, of the Pythia, as *chrân* cc 140, 141 *supra*

14 περικτιόνεσσι might refer to Korinthians, Lakedaemonians, Sikyonians, etc., but may also include the Argive 'periokoi,' or δούλοι (cp 6 83, 8 73).

15 εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένους ἦσο  
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.  
ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐλθεῖν  
τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον  
καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπο-  
20 κρίνασθαι ὡς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα  
ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ  
τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας· καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον  
γίνεσθαι τὴν <πᾶσαν> ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι  
149 ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι

16 σαώσει. φυλάξει B 17 μετὰ· τότε conl Stein<sup>2</sup> 18 δὴ  
'rectius post ὡς erit' idem || ἐπελθεῖν· ἐσελθεῖν B 21 σπεισόμενοι α  
23 πᾶσαν suppl. Stein<sup>3</sup> || σφίσι Stein· σφι

15 τὸν προβόλαιον cp δούρατι δὲ  
προβολαίῳ ὑπ' ἀσπίδι νῶτον ἔχοντα Ἀνδρὸς  
ὁρέσασθαι Theokrit 24 123

16 καὶ κεφαλὴν κτλ this line may  
(as Rawlinson remarks) refer to the  
expediency of preserving what remained  
of the Doric blood, the topmost rank in  
the state, or 'body politic' So too  
Stein, "κεφαλὴ geht auf die regierende  
Gemeinde, die Vollburger, σῶμα aber  
auf die übrige Masse der Bevölkerung"  
Cp. the oracle in c 140. This Argive  
response is primarily to be referred to  
the problem of the inner condition of  
Argos after the Kleomenean war: the  
sons of the men who had fallen in that  
war were fit for military service in  
481 B.C. The response may have been  
brought out again in 481 B.C., or even  
possibly later, in a purely apologetic and  
retrospective interest, when the conduct  
of Argos had been violently attacked.  
For the subsequent conduct reported of  
Argos in 481 B.C. constitutes, on the  
showing of the Argives themselves, a  
disobedience to the divine warning, had  
it been addressed to them at that date  
and on that occasion.

17 μετὰ δὲ in 481 B.C. The force of  
the unconscious admission that the oracle  
was a good while antecedent to 481 B.C.  
is weakened by Stein's conjectural (and  
misleading) emendation Cp App. Crit.  
18 ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον:  
Argos has a *Boule*, apparently, at the  
time, but this fact does not make Argos  
a democracy, nor was it a democracy for,  
perhaps, another twenty years Cp. G.  
Gilbert, *Gr Staatsalt.* II (1885) 77.

ἐπελθεῖν is, of course, the technical  
term, cp 5. 97, 9 7, Thuc 1 90. 5, 91

4, 119 The *Boule* (still under presidency  
of a βασιλεύς, cp. *infra*) has apparently  
control of the foreign policy of the  
State. The Argive *Bouleutai* (τοὺς δέ)  
offer to join the *συμμαχίᾳ* (*ὁμαιχμίᾳ* c  
145) ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ on two conditions.  
(1.) thirty years' truce with Sparta, (2.) a  
co-ordinate or equal hegemony of Argos  
with Sparta over the whole *Synmarchy*.  
The conditions prove that the question  
is not one of joining the Spartan  
*Symmachy*, and therefore help to dis-  
prove the view that Athens had simply  
become a member of the Spartan  
*Symmachy* Cp Appendix II § 5

22 κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον in virtue of  
the position of 'Argos' and 'Argives'  
in heroic times, cp 5. 67 τῶν Ὀμηρείων  
ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοι τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ  
πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέσονται.

24 ἀποχρᾶν cp c. 43 *supra*, with  
*dat personae* 9. 94 etc.

149 1 λέγουσι· sc. οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, it  
looks a little as if 'the Argives,' whose  
authority Hdt. professes to follow in this  
passage, wished to relieve the *Demos* of  
all responsibility in regard to the conduct  
of Argos in the Persian war, and shifted  
the whole responsibility on to the *βουλὴ*.  
Again, on their own showing their  
Council had been willing to come to  
terms with the Confederates, and thereby  
to disobey the Oracle. The Apologists  
give too many good reasons· the Kretans  
were better advised in sheltering them-  
selves simply and solely behind Delphi  
(c 169 *infra*) The political negotia-  
tions between the Argives and the  
Confederates in 481 B.C. here reported  
discredit the ascription of the Delphic  
Response to the same date and occasion,

τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντοετίδας [καίπερ] τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι 5 ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγυότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοισίδε· περὶ μὲν 10 σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι

149. 4 τριηκονταετίδας Bdz ('citra necessitatem' van H.) || καίπερ del. Stein<sup>2</sup> 5 φοβεόμενοι Stein ('perperam' van H.!) φοβεομένους Naber, van H. φοβεομένοις codd, Holder || ἀνδρωθέωσι α 8 τὸν λοιπὸν α 9 τοὺς τῶν α 10 ἐκ βουλῆς β || τοῖσιδε Cd, Stein τοῖσδε

and support the view that it has here been transferred some ten years down

2. ἀπαγορεύειν μὴ, as in c 11 *supra*

3. πρὸς, heie 'with', conti πρὸς τὸν Πέρσιν c 145

4 σπουδὴν ἔχειν generally means 'to be in a hurry', 'to make haste', cp 9 8 (σπ. ἔχοντες πολλήν), 9. 89 σπ. ἔχω. cp σπουδῇ ἀπήλυνε *id.* *infra* cp also 9. 66 σπουδῆς ἔχοντα Here the meaning appears to be = σπουδὴν ποιέεσθαι 'to be anxious', 'eager'

5. ἵνα δὴ σφι ἔτεσι the sons of the men slain by Kleomenes would come to man's estate long before 451 B.C. Argos, indeed, joined the Athenian alliance against Sparta ten years earlier, and had even before that been at war with Sparta, cp. 9 35 Thirty years in any case would be more than time enough for a new generation of fighting men to grow up. At Athens probably from twelve to fifteen years would have been sufficient to replace a loss of 6000 men. Athens in the fifth century was perhaps not much more populous than Argos, cp Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, pp 116-23

6 μὴ . ἐουσέων. the participle is conditional (materially or logically) it succeeds ἐπιλέγεσθαι

ἐπιλέγεσθαι . μὴ ἔωσι. Abicht says that ἐπιλ. has here the notion of 'fear' in it, cp 3 65, hence the construction. Blakesley observed that there is no meaning of fear in the word itself, but fear is implied in the act and circumstances. ἐπιλ. is 'to perpend' (contr. ἐπιλέγειν c. 147) The occurrence of πρὸς with dative and again with accusative

(πταῖσμα πρὸς) is noticeable. ἄρα, cp. c 10 *supra*

9 τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης the words imply an embassy comprising representatives of other states besides Sparta, but cp App Crit

11 ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας. K O Mueller, *Dorians*, II 91 n<sup>1</sup> (ET) gives the passages which prove that questions of peace and war at Sparta were decided by the δᾶμος οἱ Ἀπείλα (Op my note to 6 56. 3)

περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης this question had already been raised at the Congress of Confederates, cp 8 3 *infra*, the answer here recorded stands in no relation whatever to the arrangement there reported. Even if the question of the Confederate ἡγεμονία had not been settled before the mission to Argos, the reply here put into the mouth of the Spartans is entirely inconsistent with the Spartan institutions of the period. The offer to let the Argive 'king' have one vote against the 'two votes' of the two Spartan kings implies that the two Spartan kings possess a joint *Hegemonia*, not to say, vote together as one man! Stein is surprised that Hdt should have overlooked the contradiction between the statement here (οὐκ ὄν δυνάτον . κωλύειν οὐδέν) and the law recorded 5. 75 (upon which cp my notes *ad l.c.*): as if Hdt were not constantly overlooking contradictions between one statement and another, drawn from different sources, used in different connexions, belonging to different periods of composition! (Moreover, this story was prob-

Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἔστι 150  
 δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης  
 ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύ-  
 σθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον [λέγεται] εἰπεῖν  
 “ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς 5  
 νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ’ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος  
 τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέας θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης.  
 οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὐτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὐτε ὑμέας  
 ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν 10  
 αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γέννηται

150 1 τοιαῦτα? van H. || περὶ τούτων α 3 ὀρμῆσθαι van H,  
 vel ὀρμῆσαι delete στρατεύεσθαι idem 4 λέγεται del Cobet approb.  
 van H, Holder, Stein<sup>3</sup> 7 γεγονότα <δὲ> Kallenberg 9 ἐστρα-  
 τεύεσθαι B, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder 10 ἀντίξους α 11 ἔχοντας ἄγοντας  
 comi van H · ἔχοντας κατῆσθε Naber καθῆσθαι B

150 1. τοσαῦτα, '(so much and) no more.'

2 ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα has much the air of an oral tradition, yet (1) the proclamation, or address of Xerxes to the Argives, involves a document of necessity, was in fact, if it was anything, a written communication, and (2) its contents, the legendary and mythical connexion between the Persians and Argos, is not popular tradition or oral communication, but learned doctrine, no doubt long since committed to letters, but to Greek not to Persian letters (Cp. next note) This story has an Athenian tone about it (e.g. the iniquity of ἀπόγονοι who make war upon their πρόγονοι, cp. 8 22); but this might very well be an 'Ionian' view, especially among the 'atticizing' party

5 ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν . . Ἀνδρομέδης this statement is flatly contradicted by 6 54, where Hdt. says that, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, Perseus himself was an Assyrian, and became a Greek, and therefore was not the son of Danae, and ultimately an Egyptian, which is there given as the Hellenic version of the legend, and is here tacitly assumed as the Persian This contradiction shows, as Blakesley pointed out, that this story of the Xerxean embassy to Argos is a fiction, and a Greek fiction. It shows also how easily Hdt. allows himself to report conflicting and contradictory views

and traditions, but the present instance is easier to understand on the hypothesis that this passage is of early composition, than on the hypothesis that Hdt. composed the elaborately argumentative passage 6 54, and then wrote down this story, 7 150, in flat contradiction, without wincing, without a reference back or qualification This instance goes to swell the evidence in favour of the earlier composition of this section of the work Cp. c 61 *supra*, and Introduction, §§ 7, 8 The political play on the words 'Perseus' and 'Perses' may perhaps be traced back to the close of the sixth century, and was utilized in the interests of the medizing Aleuadai, who also claimed descent from Herakles: cp. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10 31, and 9. 1 *infra*

It is also worth while observing that this story of the mission of a 'Herald' to Argos by Xerxes πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα does not square very well with the report, c. 32 *supra*, of the despatch of heralds to the Greek cities from Sardes in 481 B.C., nor of the return of these heralds, c. 131, and the list of 'medizing' states which there follows—in which the name of Argos does not occur The ὀρμή of Xerxes dated before that, whether in the psychological sense (cp. c 19 *supra*, and the δαιμονιὴ ὀρμή in c. 18) or in a mechanical sense (cp. ὀρμηθεῖς, c. 26 *supra*)

10 ἀντίξους. cp. c 49 *supra*

κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμὸς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παρα-  
 15 λαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὲ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ  
 151 προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι. συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε

12 μέζονος van H (*pluris Valla*) || ἔξω B 13 λέγεται damn van H.  
 14 μεταίτεειν del Naber || ἐπεῖτε vel ἐπειδὴ? van H 16 τὰ τῆς B  
 17 ἄγωσιν α

12. ἄξω, 'shall consider', cp ἦγον, 9.7  
 13. πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, 'made it no slight matter', cp πρῆγμα οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραντίκα, 6.63

14. οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν. Schweighauser understood οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲν μεταίτεειν, or οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους οὐδὲ μεταίτεειν οὐδὲν, which seems acceptable, except that μεταίτεειν requires the genitive οὐδενός, cp 4.147 τῆς βασιλῆως μ, and this rules out Blakesley's "at the moment made no demand in their overtures" (which was not very happy anyway)  
 But cp. App Crit

ἐπεὶ δὲ παραλαμβάνειν cp ἐπεὶ γε οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, c. 3 *supra*, τοὶ the infinitive with the conjunction, and with the infinitive imperfect (*de conatu*, Stein) cp. παρελάμβανον c. 168 *infra*, and πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες c. 148 *supra*.

16. ἐπὶ προφάσιος predicative, 'that they might have a good excuse for keeping quiet' (*ἡσυχίην*)

151. 1. συμπεσεῖν cp 6.18

τόνδε τὸν λόγον. γενόμενον λόγος is here used not of the narrative, but of the transaction narrated (just as in German, *per contra*, *Geschichte*, *oi Geschichtchen*, meaning properly the *γενόμενον*, is used of the λόγος), πάντα λόγον, 1.21 ('all that had happened'), is hardly so clear a case. This curious use of λόγος suggests, what the words λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων fully bear out, that Hdt. is here following a written authority. The story of the embassy of Kallias to the court of Artaxerxes had been made the subject of actual historiography before Hdt. wrote this passage. By what author, or authors? Stein suggests Hellanikos (presumably ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ cp Thuc 1.97.2). May not the authority more probably be put down as the Περσικά of

Dionysios of Miletos? which perhaps carried down the story of the Graeco-Persian wars to the date of the treaty of Kallias. Cp Introduction, § 10.

In any case this chapter looks like an insertion to be dated some considerable time after the thirty years' peace (445 B.C.), and may very well be among the last additions to the work by the author.

Stein would date these embassies soon after the death of Xerxes and the accession of Artaxerxes, seeing no sense in the Argive question otherwise. But (1) πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον τούτων suits a date about 445 better than a date about 465 B.C. (2) From 462-51 B.C. Argos was in alliance with Athens, and Athens was conducting active hostilities against Persia, there were no such embassies to Persia during that period. (3) These events are not to be connected with the battle of the Eurymedon and abortive peace-negotiations following upon it, the best date for that battle being 468 B.C. (cp Busolt, III. 1. 1897, 143 f.), which falls into the reign of Xerxes, and the interval between the establishment of Artaxerxes on the throne and the Atheno-Argive alliance is not worth considering, especially as (4) those events of 465-62 B.C. would hardly have been made the subject of historiography before Hdt. wrote the first draft of his history, whereas, before he laid hand on the last draft of his history, the events of 445 B.C. and the cesser of hostilities might very well have been consigned to a literary record. (5) The next chapter seems to belong to the date of the Atheno-Argive alliance, and to the same date of composition as c. 150, and indeed cc. 148, 149, but this chapter is apparently an insertion, interrupting the natural argument, which goes on from c. 150 to c. 152.

τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων, πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον  
γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις  
έόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην  
τε τὸν Ἱππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους  
δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σούσα  
ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἴ σφι ἔτι ἐμμένει

151 2 πολλοῖσι τε β 7 ἀρτοξέρξην β, Holder, van H || σφι  
σφίσι van H || ἐμμένει β ἐμμένειν ἐθέλουσι α· συμμένει Cobet, Holder,  
van H.

3 ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις. Stein sees that this title has been borrowed from Hdt's literary authority (not, however, Hellankos the Lesbian, but rather Dionysios of Miletos, where this title was in vogue, cp 5 53, 2 106)

4 ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα why does not Hdt specify this thing? Stein replies. because he did not know what it was! Blakesley more acutely "The reason of Herodotus not mentioning the business *expressly* in this passage is obvious" To wit, the business was to make terms with the Persian, and to mention that would rather be blushing the bloom off all the fine stories of war *a outrance* to follow! Why, even the mention of this Athenian embassy to Susa at all is artistically a mistake, a sacrifice which the conscientious historian makes to the evidences of Argive mediocrity in 480 B.C.

Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἱππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας the reference is plainly to a celebrated occasion. Concerning the identity of the ambassador named there can be no doubt, he is Kallias 'Lakkoploutos' (*Grubenbaron*, Busolt, m 1 111), the leading millionaire in Athens of his time, the Eleusinian Dadouchos, member of the illustrious Eupatrid House of the *Kήρυκες*, a former opponent of Themistokles, the brother-in-law of Kimon and husband of Elpinike, Spartan *proxenos*, yet closely connected with Perikles, and employed in the negotiation of the peace with Persia, as also of the thirty years' peace with Sparta, cp Petersen, *Quaestiones de hist. Gent. Attic* (1880) p 40, Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.* ix (1886) 8 ff., Dittenberger, *Hermes* xx 1 ff., Toepfer, *Att. Gen.* pp. 80 ff., Busolt l c *supra*

5 Ἀργείους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον: one of the innumerable cases where the name of the Attic archon

would have settled everything. But granted a great embassy to Susa, after the death of Kimon, perhaps after the conclusion of the peace with Sparta, it might very well have offered a natural, and possibly the very first, occasion for the Argives to join with Athens in approaching King Artaxerxes. Dahlmann, indeed, followed by Baehr, dated this embassy to 431 B.C., or between that and 425 B.C. Plutarch, *Kim.* 13, dated the mission and peace of Kallias after the battle of the Eurymedon—an impossible situation, Diodoros 12 4 preserves undoubtedly the true date, approximately, by putting it after Salamis (Κύριος). For the ancient texts cp Hill, *Sources*, m 160 ff (pp 123 ff.), for the modern references, Busolt, op c 345-58

7 εἴ σφι ἔτι πολέμιοι· with the change of mood, ἐμμένει νομιζέσθαι, cp 5 18 τίνες εἰσὶ καὶ τί ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν, 5. 97 οὐτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν (in both which cases there seems to be a stronger reason for the change than here—where it is, perhaps, but an act of courtesy!) The subject of ἐμμένει (cp App. Crit.) is φίλη, which has been attracted into the relative clause and case ἐθέλουσι is of course the participle, and thoroughly idiomatic. It represents here not a conditional sentence (εἰ ἐθέλοιεν) but a relative predicate (οἱ ἐθέλοντες). Its use here is perhaps facilitated by the dative preceding (σφι) and the analogy of βουλομένῳ, ἡδομένῳ τινὶ εἶναι (cp Madvig, § 38 c). Stein notes the *treffende Kürze* of the expression, and cps. 8. 10 (ἡδομένοι), 1. 68 (παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος), 6 47 (κελεύσαντι). With φίλην συνεκράσαντο cp 4 152 φίλαι μεγάλασιν ἐκρήθησαν νομιζέσθαι is passive πρὸς with genitive=ὐπὸ, or παρὰ (with dat.), cp cc. 135, 139 *supra*, etc.

ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίην συνεκράσαντο, ἣ νομιζοίατο  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι· βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα  
 10 ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεὸς φιλιω-  
 152 τέρην. εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα  
 κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργὸς καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα  
 ἐπειρώτων Ἀρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίας, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν,  
 οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἢ τήν  
 5 περ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι· ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ

8 Ξέρξεα z 9 αὐτοὺς α || Ἀρτοξέρξην Holder nomen secl van H  
 10 ἐμμένειν α· ἐπιμένειν β συμμένειν Cobet, Holder, van H 152. 1  
 τε om. β || λέγοντα van H ἀγγελέοντα Naber 5 λέγουσι om β,  
 Holder, van H || τοσοῦτο B<sup>2</sup>Pz τοσοῦτον β, Holder. τοσοῦτοι α

152. 2. καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι .  
 φιλίας might easily have been inserted  
 (with the τε after Ξέρξης) in a revision  
 of the work. This chapter contains  
 more than one undesigned evidence to  
 show that it was written originally  
 before the thirty years' truce (1) The  
 apology for Argos has been very gener-  
 ally taken to refer to a time when the  
 sins of Aigos in the Persian war were in  
 a fair way to be condoned, and the  
 alliance of Argos was being courted on  
 this side or that After the thirty  
 years' truce between Argos and Sparta  
 concluded in 451 B C no such situation  
 recurs until towards the close of the  
 Archidamian war—which is altogether  
 too late a date for this passage The  
 period between 462-51 B C supplies  
 the most obviously suitable date for this  
 Apology, and also for the Argive λόγος  
 above related in cc 148, 149. (2) Even  
 more remarkable and characteristic of  
 an early date for the composition of this  
 passage is the critical maxim formulated  
 by Hdt for his own historiography·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω . . ἐς πάντα λόγον It  
 would be rather late in the day for Hdt.  
 to be announcing so fundamental an  
 axiom of his composition, if he had  
 already composed the greater part of his  
 work, or if all that now precedes this  
 passage in the work were of earlier date  
 in production. One expression in the  
 chapter might admit of a contrary  
 interpretation, suggesting that the object  
 here in view is not to whitewash Argos  
 but to censure Athens, but that ex-  
 pression also admits of an interpretation  
 conformable with the previous argument,  
 cp note infra on αἰσχίστα πεποιήται.

3. οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν It is

almost inconceivable that Hdt with his  
 Athenian sources and connexions should  
 be unable to ascertain whether the  
 embassy of Kallias to Susa was ac-  
 companied by Argive ambassadors,  
 asking friendship of the king It is  
 probable, therefore, that originally this  
 uncertainty only applied to the problem  
 of the negotiations of the Argives with  
 Xerxes, and that the words have received  
 an extension, not originally intended, by  
 the insertion of the clause τε . . καὶ  
 Ἀργείων . φιλίας, itself rendered  
 necessary by the insertion of c. 151 into  
 the previous draft of the Book. This  
 suggestion is confirmed by the observa-  
 tion that the vague αὐτῶν which  
 immediately follows can only refer  
 properly to the negotiations between  
 Xerxes and the Argives, for Hdt. has  
 not reported any statement or story of  
 Argive provenience relative to negotia-  
 tions with Artaxerxes.

5. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ . . αἰσχίστα  
 πεποιήται This passage has not (so  
 far as I know) received a correct inter-  
 pretation so far The commentators  
 are divided in their rendering of κακά.  
 Baehr and others make it *misfortunes*,  
*malis*, and this is certainly right (cp.  
 for οἰκῆα κακά 1 153, 3 14, 6. 21).  
 Stein and others, however, make κακά  
 here = *αἰσχροί*, presumably in the supposed  
 interests of the argument, and Blakesley,  
 not apparently prepared for such an  
 interpretation, yet believing that the  
 remark "relates to the *crimes* which  
 people [*sic*] impute to each other, not  
 to the *troubles* of which they complain,"  
 regards the passage as spurious, and  
 brackets all the words from ἐπίσταμαι  
 down to ἐσθενέικαντο (*sic*). The com-



πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκῆα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενέκαιεν

6 συνενέκαιαν A<sup>1</sup> συνενέκαι B<sup>1</sup> συνένέκαιαν B<sup>2</sup>. συνενέκαι C  
συνενέκαιαν d

mentators have not perceived that there is a confusion of ideas in the passage, not unparalleled in Hdt. (a) the case of men (peoples, folks) who believe themselves to be 'worse off' (more miserable) than their neighbours, (b) the case of men (peoples, folks) who believe their neighbours to be 'worse' (more wicked) than themselves. In the first case a study of their neighbours' case, in comparison with their own, would convince each such set of persons that their neighbours' lot was not really preferable to their own, in the second case, that their neighbours' vices were not worse than their own. These two cases are both alike absolute common-places of the proverbial moralist and satirist. For example, the first is the theme of Horace in *Satire* 1.1 *qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem seu ratio dederit seu fors objecerit, illa contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?* The second is to some extent the theme of *Satire* 1.3 *cum tua pervideas oculus mala hippos inunctis, cur in amicorum vitis tam cernis acutum, quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurus?* The cure for discontent is more knowledge of one's neighbour's lot, the cure for Pharisaism, or censoriousness, more knowledge of one's self. There is a skeleton in every cupboard, and those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and there's no point in the pot calling the kettle black. It is perhaps especially easy for Hdt to fall into the confusion of thought between κακὰ as wickedness and κακὰ as wretchedness, from his fatal tendency to regard all misery as due to sin, and every misfortune as a divine judgement. But in the present case he may have been misled by a certain delicacy, or courtesy, into substituting in the first instance the οἰκῆα κακὰ for the ἀσχερῶς περιποιημένα, yet it must be admitted that there are at least two other cases of mere confusion of thought, very like the present one: the one in c. 162 *infra*, *ubi vid.*, the other in 3.46, where the metaphor of the meal-bag has absolutely no point in the application of the Samian oligarchs. (It really belongs to an application made by the Chians when

famine-stricken, cp Sext Emp *Adv Math* 2.23 ed Bekker, p. 679.) In fact Hdt is liable to put a fable (or metaphor) and a moral together which do not strictly belong to each other. The point of the present passage lies, however, not in the οἰκῆα κακὰ and the class of gnomes which those words suggest, but in the ἀσχερῶς περιποιηται, and these words, in connexion with the previous chapter and the reference to the embassy of Kallias, might be thought to convey a censure of Perikles and of the policy of Athens in having made peace with Persia, in which case the passage as a whole would all be of one date, and that after the thirty years' truce, and its object would be not so much to whitewash Argos as to censure Athens. For several reasons we may reject this hypothesis. (1) It would represent a fanatical attitude on the part of Hdt, which is ill in accord with his usual temper. (2) Had he desired to point such a moral he must have specified above the object of the mission of Kallias. (3) Athens does not escape quite with its 'withers unwrung,' for Athens was responsible in the very first instance, long before Argos or any other Greek state, for something very like 'medism,' cp 5.73. The moral of Hdt, in fact, applied pretty well all round at the time it was drawn. There was hardly a Greek state which had not compromised itself at one time or another with Persia, they were all more or less tarred with the same brush. Even Sparta had been compromised to some extent by the medism of Pausanias, though she resisted the blandishments of Megabazos in 457 B.C., Thuc. 1.109.2 (cp Busolt, in 1.328). 'I am convinced of this much, that if all mankind were to bring each folk its own grievous burden into one place, with a view to exchange with their neighbours after examining carefully their neighbours' burdens, each would be glad to carry away again home the burden they had brought in. Thus the conduct of the Argives is not so very much worse than that of others.' With Hdt's philosophy in this passage cp Chamisso's poem *Die Kreutzschau*. We

- ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ  
τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἄσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίαντο ὀπίσω  
τὰ ἐσενεκαίματο. οὕτω δὲ οὐδ' Ἀργείοισι αἰσχιστά πιποῖνται.  
10 ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ  
παντάπασι ὀφείλω, καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα  
λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ  
ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι  
πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ  
15 βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης.  
153 Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται· ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι  
τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμιξούντες Γέλωνι  
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος  
τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς

7 ἀλλάξαι B || ἐγκύψαντες α 8 κακὰ del Naber, van H || ἕκαστος  
malit van H deleto αὐτῶν 1 9 ἐσενεκαίματο Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H. ἐσηνεί-  
καντο Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder ἐσενείλαντο z || δὲ Stein<sup>2</sup> δὴ α, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder  
om B cancellos cucumil van H || οὐδ' Kiuegei, Stein<sup>2</sup> οὐκ 10  
ὀφείλω <μὲν> van H || οὐ· ὦν B 11 παντάπασιν αV πάντα πᾶσι  
Dulac, van H || εἰς B, Holder || πάντα τὸν z 14 τοὺς om B, Holder  
15 σφίσι Stein (Plutarch Mor 863)· σφι 153 2 συμμιξάντες α  
συμμιξούντες B, Stein<sup>1 2</sup> 3 ἀπὸ αB ἀπὸ τῶν iett edd 4 ὁ del  
Reiske, ἐὼν Γέλῃ conl Schaefer, ἐὼν ἐν Γέλῃ van H ὁ οἰκῆτωρ γενόμενος  
ἐν conl. Stein<sup>2</sup>

can even suggest a poetic origin for Hdt's *mot*. Pausan. 10. 22 9 καί μοι φαίνεται Πίνδαρος ἀληθῆ καὶ ἐν τῷδε εἰπεῖν, ὅς πάντα τινὰ ὑπὸ κακῶν οἰκείων ἔφη πιέζεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλοις κήδεσιν ἀπήμαντον εἶναι.

10 ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω . . πάντα λόγον the significance of this Herodotean *ἔπος* for the problem of composition has been indicated above. It is also one of the 'first principles' of Hdt's historiography. παντάπασι may be neuter (sc. τοῖς λεγομένοις), but cp App. Crit

11. ἔχειν ἐς cp c 143 *supra*. πάντα λόγον, 'every story,' oi here, with reference to λόγος c. 151, 'every transaction'

12. ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται an extreme instance of the principle just laid down, λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, even when incredible to himself.

ἄρα introduces the improbable, cp c. 10 *supra*

14 πρὸς, 'against', cp c. 145 *supra* ἡ αἰχμὴ cp. ὁμαιχμὴ *ibid*

15 πρὸ, 'in front of', 'instead of,' 'in preference to'; cp. 6 12, 9 22

τῆς παρεούσης λύπης a very obscure reference to their οἰκίαν καλόν, the so-called servile régime, 6 83

153 2 ἀπίκατο plupefect, but without any very specific time-reference or antecedence

3 Σύαγρος Athenaeus, 401 d, gives the word as an epithet of a dog (from Soph. Ἀχιλλέως Ἐρασταί, cp Nauck, *Tr. Gr. Fr* p 132), but ascribes the name to an Aitolian general as well as to this Spartan. Aelian 14. 21 places a poet of the name after Orpheus and Musaios, and makes him anticipate Homer in singing the Trojan war (cp Beigk, *Gr. Lit* i 406) The Spartan lost his quarry on this occasion

τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου there is some ground for supposing that the remainder of this chapter with the three following chapters forms a digression inserted by Hdt in his work after his own visit to the west. The story, τὰ ἀπὸ Σικελίης, is resumed, c. 157 Cp Introduction, § 9

4. πρόγονος his name is given as Deinomenes by Scholl *op* Stein, cp.

ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὅς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε 5  
τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμεου οὐκ ἐλείφθη. ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ  
αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν  
διετέλεον ἔοντες, Τηλίνεω [ένός τευ τῶν προγόνων] κτησαμένου  
τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκη-  
μένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶν στάσι ἐσσωθέντες· τούτους ὦν 10  
ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν  
ἀλλὰ ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ <εἰ>  
αὐτὸς ἐκτίησατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὦν  
πίσυνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ᾧ τε <αὐτός τε καὶ> οἱ ἀπόγονοι

5 τριώπεω B 6 Ἀντιφήμεου Jos Scaliger ἀντιοφήμου 8  
emblemata secl Stein<sup>3</sup> || τευ τῶν α τούτων B || κτισσαμένου B 'numi post  
vel ante κτισσαμένου excludit τοῦτο τὸ γέρας? van H 10 στάσι (ἐσσω-  
θέντες στάσι) Pz στάσει 12 τουτέων Wesseling, Schweighauser,  
Krueger || εἰ vel πῇ? Krueger (1856) εἰ com Stein<sup>1</sup> (1871), in text recep.  
Stein<sup>3</sup> (1889) 14 <αὐτός τε καὶ> Stein<sup>3</sup>

*Etym. M.* sub ι Γέλα, Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* 2 27, and, though not so recog-  
nized, Pauly-Wissowa sub η, cp *ibid.*,  
sub υ Antiphemos.

οἰκήτωρ cp c 143 *supra* and  
οἰκητόρων l 19 *infra*

Τήλου Telos, an island lying  
close to (ἐπὶ c dat.) the Triopian pro-  
montory, one of the 'Sporades' (Strabo  
488 ἐκτέταται παρὰ τὴν Κνιδίαν μακρὰ  
ὑψηλὴ στένη τὴν περίμετρον ὅσον ἑκατὸν  
καὶ τετραράκοντα σταδίων, ἔχουσα ὕψομον)  
Not a very important place! In Pliny's  
list of the Sporades (4. 23) it is noted  
for an ointment (*unguento nobilis*)  
Perhaps this unguent was the τήλων,  
cp Athenaeus 689a, and the name of  
the island may have been taken from  
the τήλις (Theophyl. *H. Pl.* 3 17 2), the  
chief constituent of the commodity.

5 κτιζομένης Γέλης. cp Thuc. 6  
4 3, there dated forty-five years after  
Syracuse (=690 B.C.?) The name Thuc.  
derives from the river 'Gelas,' no doubt  
a Sikeli word. Cp Steph. B καλεῖται δὲ  
ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Γέλα· ὁ δὲ ποταμός, ὅτι πολλὴν  
πάχυνον γεννᾷ ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀπικῶν  
φωνῇ καὶ Σικελῶν, γέλαν λέγεσθαι. 'A  
people who called a stream *Gelas* from  
the coldness of its waters leave little  
room for further dispute as to their  
ethnical kindred,' Freeman, *Sicily*, i 125,  
etc. Thucyd. couples Entimos of Kiete  
with Antiphemos of Rhodes as *οἰκιστάς*,  
and preserves *Lindus* as the name of the  
fort on the akropolis. The institutions were

Dorian. The name was provocative of  
punning (as in Aristoph. *Acharn.* 606).

7 ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν i.e.  
Demeter and Persephone, cp 6 134  
A 'Hierophant' would keep and exhibit  
the ἱρά, cp *infra*, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1 51.

8 Τηλίνεω. apparently named from  
the old home of his ancestor, Deinomenes.

9 Μακτώριον one of 'the only two  
recorded sites of any interest in the  
Geloan territory,' the *Mons Sacer* of Gela,  
placed by Freeman (*Sicily*, i 409) con-  
jecturally at Niscemi, 'looking down on  
the whole Geloan land.' Blakesley con-  
nects the name with the Sikeli (Oscan)  
root MAK-, cp Lat. *mactō*, Gk. *μαχ*.

11 ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν 'virorum manum,'  
cp 4 155 τέφ. δυνάμιν, κοίτη χειρὶ. There  
is a double point in ἀνδρῶν, as the θεοί  
were female divinities, cp note on  
θηλυδρίας *infra*. ἱρά. 'simulacra, vasa,  
monumenta, instrumenta,' Baehr.

12. ἔλαβε ἢ <εἰ> αὐτὸς ἐκτίησατο  
according to the scholast on Pindar, *l. c.*  
*supra*, Deinomenes had brought the  
cult from Triopion, that solution but  
puts the problem, how a male came to  
be hierophant, one step back!

13 δ' ὦν resumptive, cp c 145  
*supra*

14 ἐπ' ᾧ τε <αὐτός τε καὶ> οἱ ἀπόγονοι :  
Stein interprets this condition to mean  
that a cult, hitherto a mere private or  
personal rite, was elevated into a state  
cult, with 'mysteries,' and an hereditary  
priesthood. Cp the proposal of Maian-

15 αὐτοῦ ἱεροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο  
 γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον  
 τοσούτου· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς  
 νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης  
 ἀνδρικής· ὃ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ  
 20 ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος  
 154 ἀνὴρ. οὗτος μὲν νυν ἐκτίσατο τοῦτο γέρας· Κλεάνδρου

15 ὦν om. B || καὶ κάρτα Krueger, van H 16 κατεργάσθαι α  
 17 τοῦ ἅπαντος codd. ἅπαντος vel τοῦ πῖοντος Valckenaer (cp Soph O T.  
 393, O C. 752). [τοῦ] παντὸς van H : τοῦ τυχόντος Cobet. τοῦ ἀπαντῶντος  
 conl. Stein<sup>3</sup> 18 νενόμικε Classen || γενέσθαι B 154 1 οὗτος  
 Stein οὕτω

drius, 3 142 See further Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.* ii 435 (Modern society offers no such aristocratic privileges as that!)

15. θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο if the reading is right (cp App Crit) there are two things astonishing Hdt. What are they? One is clearly that such a man as Telmes, an effeminate and soft person, wrought a deed so daring as the restoration of the exiles, or seceders, but what is the other? The nearest thing seems to be, that any one should be able to effect such a result by such means and on such conditions (τούτοις δ' ὦν πῖοντος . . . ἐπ' ᾧ τε) without any band of warriors (ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν), and simply relying on the possession and display of the holy treasures Stein takes the wonder to be, how Telmes originally became possessed of the ἱρά, but οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν is an expression of ignorance, not of wonder. The acquisition or possession of such things was not out of the way wonderful, but Hdt may well be surprised at a great political result based upon a hierophantic display, cp. his remarks on that πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, the restoration of Peisistratos by the pseudo-Athene, i 60.

We may suspect that there was more than appears behind the achievement of Telmes also, and that the mere display of the ἱρά, however genuine, was not the whole secret of his success. The softness of the priest is perhaps but a metaphorical transfer from his divinities, cp below. The priesthood might indeed be a highly advantageous avenue, or appanage, to a *tyrannus*. Gelon transplanted the cult to Syracuse, and built there a temple for it out of the Punic spoil, Hieron succeeded

him in the priesthood cp Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 95 *et schol.*

The legendary achievement of their ancestor might be connected with a restoration of exiles, or it might conceivably have marked a restriction and diminution of power, which Gelon recovered, and more than recovered, but by purely secular means.

19 δὲ λέγεται . . . οἰκητόρων. Blakesley sees (perhaps rightly) in these words evidence of a visit to Sicily on the part of Hdt., but falls into the error of interpreting οἰκητόρες of the primitive population the original inhabitants (the Sikels), which is just what the word never means. Cp. l. 4 *supra*. Here, of course, the Greek colonists (the Sikelotai) are so designated.

20 θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος as Hierophant of Demeter and Persephone he may have had, or been credited with having, too much of 'the eternal feminine' about him, or perhaps he may even have donned female attire for the exhibition of the holy things, and this cult-practice may have generated the traditional view of his character. On that ritual cp L. R. Farnell, *Archiv für Religionsw.* vii (1904) 70 ff., where this case might be added to the list of "Male ministrants of female divinities."

154 1 γέρας may be taken to signify the public recognition, cp cc. 104, 134 *supra*.

Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρους. Kleandros, son of Pantares, dispossessed an oligarchy (Aristot. *Pol.* 8. 12 13=1316 a) B.C. 505 (cp. Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 104), the oligarchy which had come back under the auspices of Telmes.

δὲ τοῦ Παντάρους τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν  
Γέλῃς ἐπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶν,  
ἐνθαυτὰ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίην Ἱπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου  
ἑὼν ἀδελφεός. ἔχοντας δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ 5  
Γέλων ἑὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱεροφάντεω ἀπόγονος πολλῶν τε μετ'  
ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταΐκου . . . ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος  
Ἱπποκράτεος, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη  
πάσης τῆς ἔππου εἶναι ἑππαρχος. πολιορκέουτος γὰρ Ἱππο-

2 πανάρους R παταρέος SV: 4 λαμβάνει B, van H 6  
ιεροφάντεω α || τε con1 Stein<sup>12</sup> 7 παταΐκου ὃς ἦν codd ὃς del.  
Reiske τέως repon Schaefer lacunam indic Stein ita expl Θήρωνος δὲ  
πατρὸς aut simpl υἱός. παιδός Stourač (cf Bursian Jahrb 86 54)  
<Ἀκραγαντίνου ἀνδρ>ὃς Sitzler <υἱός> ὃς Holder lacunam post  
Ἱπποκράτεος signific Bekker, Baehr, Kallenbeig

His father's and grandfather's names appear on an Olympian inser, Rohl, *IG A* 512a Παντάρης μ' ἀνέθηκε Μενε-  
κράτιος Διδὸς [ἀθλον] Ἀρματι (?) νικάσας  
πέδου ἐκ κλειτοῦ Γελοαίου

3 Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶν nothing else is recorded of this tyrannicide (Is his name Greek οἱ Sabellian? A Molossian named Σαβύλινθος appears in Thuc. 2 80 6) The *ethnikon* is not quite regular, at least if formed from Γέλα (γελαῖος, Steph B)

4. ἀναλαμβάνει. generally of resuming a broken succession, so perhaps Hippokrates did not succeed without a struggle (Freeman II. 497 makes the same inference from the fact that Kleandros was killed)

Ἱπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἑὼν ἀδελφεός presumably Hippokrates was the younger brother The date of his accession may be 498 B.C. (Cp Freeman, II 104)

5 ἔχοντας is used in the strongest sense

ὁ Γέλων Ἱπποκράτεος the passage is unfortunately imperfect Bekker marks a lacuna after Ἱπποκράτεος, Stein after Παταΐκου Whichever is right (one must, both might, be) some valuable information has dropped out Stein, indeed, reduces the loss to a minimum (vid App Crit) The result, however, is a very bald statement ὁ Γέλων ἑὼν . . . ἦν δορυφόρος Moreover, no reason for naming Ainesidemos appears, and πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων is also merely superfluous verbiage Some action or event, in

which Gelon and Ainesidemos distinguished themselves, and served their master, may have been here recorded. For further discussion cp Freeman, *Sicily*, II, Appendix, Note XI. *The First Rise of Gelon*

7 Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταΐκου may, or may not, be the father of Theron, tyrant of Akragas, c. 165 *infra*, cp. Freeman, *op c* p 105 n<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Rhet.* I 12=1373 A relates that Gelon kidnapped an Ainesidemos, who thereupon paid him κοττάβια, ὅτι ἐφθασεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς μέλλων ('diamond cut diamond'!). Ainesidemos, father of Theron, was of the house of the Emmenidae (cp Pindar, *Ol.* 2 81, 3. 68), who traced themselves to Kadmeian Theras, and so to the illustrious Aigeidae (Hdt 4 149) One of his ancestors (Emmenes) had migrated from Lindos to Gela, and on to Akragas, and his grandfather Telemachos had overthrown the tyrant Phalaris. If the Ainesidemos of each passage is the same, we should obtain the sequence Telemachos, Pataikos, Ainesidamos, Theron. The name Παταΐκος is a curious one in this connexion It is attested as the name of several Greeks (cp Pape-Benseler, *sub v*), yet still we might be tempted to connect it with τοῖσι Φοινικίοισι Παταΐκοις τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρώρῃσι τῶν τριπρέων περιάγουσι, Hdt. 3 37

9 εἶναι ἑππαρχος γὰρ εἶναι is pleonastic, as in 5 25 It is to be presumed that all the wars next enumerated were not completed before Gelon's appointment as Hipparch in-chief

10 κράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίου καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ  
Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχ-

Three great wars conducted by Hippokrates are enumerated —

I *Kallipolis and Naxos* Naxos was a Chalkidic colony accounted the earliest in Sicily (Thuc 6 3 1), the Chalkidic oikist having Naxian emigrants with him, cp. Steph B *sub v* Χαλκίς, Freeman, *Sicily*, I, Appendix, Note XV Kallipolis was a sub-colony from Naxos, probably situate (like the metropolis) on the E coast, Freeman, I, 379 ff. Of the details of this war nothing is known. Kallipolis perhaps bore the brunt of the struggle, and perished. Naxos appears among the Athenian allies in Sicily, *cp.* Thuc 6-7, but was destroyed by Dionysios in 403 B.C. (Diodor 14 15). Tauromenion (*Taormina*) afterwards took its place (Freeman, I, 314 ff.)

II. *Zankle and Leontinoi* Like the previous war, directed against the Chalkidic (Ionian) element in the island, but with a difference. Zankle is undoubtedly the later Messene (cp c 164 *infra*), the change perhaps dating from the occupation of the place by the exiled Messenians 454 B.C. Cp Thuc 6. 4. 5-6, and *infra* l.c. Leontinoi was a settlement from Naxos (Thuc. 6. 3 3), remarkable, among all Sikeliote cities, as occupying an inland site (cp Freeman, I, 368).

A story of a quarrel at Zankle, in which Hippokrates was engaged, is told by Hdt., at least in part, 6. 23 *supra*, and it is remarkable that there is here no reference back to that passage. The two passages are doubtless from different sources, and Hdt. may have failed (as often) to connect them. The problem of composition becomes more acute in relation to the duplicate stories in c 164 *infra*, *ubi vid.* Cp also Introduction, §§ 7 f. Whether the war here mentioned is the intervention, the story of which is told in 6 23, is not quite clear. Leontinoi does not figure in that account. There is no siege by Hippokrates. The intervention results in a shameful bargain between Hippokrates and the lawless Samians, who had seized the city, at the expense of the Zanklaeans. Perhaps the war here referred to was an earlier episode, by which Hippokrates had gained the suzerainty which he appears, from that story, to have claimed over Zankle. Cp Freeman, *Sicily*, II, 113.

Leontinoi appears at one time under a tyrant Ainesidemus (Pausan 5 22 7), possibly the man mentioned above as an officer of Hippokrates; but cp. Freeman, II, 108.

III *Syracuse, and (its subject) 'barbarians'* (Sikels). Syracuse, a foundation by the Korinthian Archias (Thuc 6 3 2), claimed to be the oldest Dorian and all but the oldest Hellenic settlement in the island. This passage in Hdt. and an obscure reference in Pindar (*Nem.* 9 39) comprise all that is known of this war. Freeman locates the defeat of the Syracusans on the Heloros (492 B.C.) rather far inland, at the crossing of the stream between the modern towns of Noto and Rossolino, Chionioi, the friend of Gelon, distinguished himself in this battle (Pindar *l.c.*). Hdt. is our sole authority for the sequel. The arbitration between Hippokrates and Syracuse, which resulted in the passing of Kamarina (the one Dorian settlement which showed disloyalty to Dorism!) into the hands of Hippokrates, this acquisition carried his dominions along the south coast further west.

It might be suspected that this 'Arbitration' was really an 'Intervention' (*ἐπύσαντρο*), but a court composed from Korinth and Korkyra, whose mutual hostility was inveterate and notorious, might be trusted to do substantial justice on any point where the court was unanimous, or even came to a decision. We have, then, in this case probably a genuine instance of the practice of arbitration among the Greeks. At the same time the tyrant would scarcely have accepted the kind offices of Korinth and Korkyra on behalf of Syracuse, if he had been in a position to dictate terms. Thucyd. 6. 5. 3 seems to give a somewhat different account of the affair. Kamarina, a rebellious Syracusan settlement, had been destroyed by the metropolis, and its land was handed over to Hippokrates as ransom for Syracusan prisoners. This result may, however, have been attained by the good offices of Korinth and Korkyra, and the prisoners may have been taken at the Heloros.

11. πρὸς cp. c 166 *infra*.

νοὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων  
λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολλῶν τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων  
οὐδεμία ἀπέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος· Συρηκοσίους  
δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας 15  
ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλῶρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοισίδε καταλλά-  
ξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παρα-  
δοῦναι. Συρηκοσίῳ δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. ὥς δὲ καὶ 155  
Ἴπποκράτεια τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἕτα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ  
κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλην στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι  
Ἴπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων 5  
τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόνων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε  
μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἤρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος  
παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὖρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους

12 πολέμοισι S πολεμίοισι || ὁ Γέλων secl. van H. 13 τουτέων α  
πασέων B, Holder. τούτων πασέων? Kallenberg || συρηκοσίῳ B 14  
ἀπέφυγε Eltz, van H, Stein<sup>8</sup>. πέφευγε codd, Stein<sup>1</sup> διέφυγε Stein<sup>2</sup>  
πεφεύγε Schenkl, Holder 16 τοισίδε τοῖσινδε Stein τοῖσδε codd  
155. 5 κασσανδρῶι α 7 γελῶν B

155 2 ἴσα ἕτα to wit, seven, c.  
154 498-491 v c

3. κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν cp. 3. 118  
κατέλαβε impersonal

πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλην πρὸς, 'hard by,'  
αἰ, ἀρμὰ, cp Thuc 2. 79 2 πρὸς [v l  
υπ'] αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει

There were three places of the name  
of Hybla in Sicily, all originally Sikel,  
Hybla being a native deity (Freeman,  
*Sicily*, i. 159) (i) A holy place giving a  
title to Megara, and therefore in its  
neighbourhood this Freeman identifies  
with 'Greater Hybla,' though it was  
overshadowed by Megara (ii) Galeatic  
Hybla, just south of Aitna, at the  
modern Pateinò, which Freeman identi-  
fies with the Lesser Hybla. (iii) Ἡραία,  
in the south, between Syracuse and  
Kamarina this might be the one men-  
tioned in the text

4 τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἔργῳ not a very  
frequent antithesis with Hdt, cp 6 38,  
nor is it here used quite strictly

5 Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ nothing  
is known of them, save what Hdt affords;  
they were presumably minors, Gela  
refused to acknowledge them, one or  
both, and for a moment became a Re-  
public—Freeman, ii 122, thinks 'doubt-  
less a democracy'—only to be overthrown  
by Gelon, as the nominal champion of

the young princes Gelon had perhaps  
been with the army at Hybla

8. μετὰ apparently not long after  
Gelon's régime in Syracuse lasted *circa*  
485-478 v c

εὖρημα cp εὖρημα εὖρηκε c 10  
*supra*, εὖρημα εὖρήκαμεν 8 109—all  
three cases with a slightly different  
significance here discreditable, above,  
pure luck, below, of a just and well-  
deserved, if unexpected, success.

τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους· Hdt  
preserves the dialectal form, the rather  
for the addition of the participle. The  
*Marm Par* 36 (Flach 52) dates the  
government of the γεωμόροι at Syracuse  
to the archon Kritias=595 B.C. Ol. 46  
2, and they are exhibited as exercising a  
judicial function in a very obscure passage  
of Diodoros 8. 9 (the Agathokles there  
mentioned is not enumerated in the list of  
thirty-three men of that name *ap. Pauly-*  
*Wissowa*, i 748 ff) The name was  
known to old Attica (γεωμόροι), Plutarch,  
*Theseus*, 25 (= 'Αθ π?'), and at Samos  
long after (Thuc. 8 21) At Syracuse  
as at Samos they undoubtedly represent  
the landowners (or landlords, cp 5  
29), an aristocracy, or oligarchy, Hellenic  
and Dorian, driven out to Kasmene by  
the Demos and the serf-population  
The Demos may have included a Greek

τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν  
 10 σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων κατ-  
 αγωγὸν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε  
 καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι  
 156 παραδιδόει τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέειτε παρέλαβε τὰς  
 Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποίεετο,  
 ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρη-

10 κυλλυρίων Ad· κυλληρίων B || ὁ Γέλων secl van H 11 συρη-  
 κούσας α 156 2 συρηκούσας α || Γέλῃς . . Συρηκούσας om. R ||  
 ἐπικρατέων del Sitzler 3 ἀδελφῶι α ἀδελφεῷ β || συρηκούσας  
 BApr d συρηκούσας Acorr, B

element, the serfs were doubtless natives, and probably 'Sicels' rather than 'Sicans'. The *Kallikyrii* were, indeed, compared by 'Aristotle' (*Συρηκοσίων πολιτεία*) to the Helots in Lakonia, the Penestai in Thessaly, the Klarotai in Krete (V Rose, *Frags.* 586 = Photius, *sub v*), but a complete ethnic division will no more have obtained between Demos and Kyllyrion at Syracuse than between *Perioikoi* and *Heilotes* at Sparta. The analogy of the Argive *γυμνήτες* or *γυμνήσιοι*, and Ὀρνέῃται (*Perioikoi*), cp. 8 73 *infra*, 6 83 *supra*, might be invoked  
 9 ἐκπεσεῖν ὑπὸ 8 141, cp. ἀποθαρεῖν ὑπὸ c. 154 *supra*

10 καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων the name appears in Photius *Lex* and Suidas s.v. Καλλικύριοι, professedly from 'Aristotle' (cp. Rose, *Frags.* 586, where the ref. to Suidas should be added) ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταῦτο συνελθεῖν παντοδαποὶ ὄντες. How the word should have that meaning is not clear. Κυλλύριοι might well be the name of a particular Sicel tribe (cp. Ὀρνέῃται = *Perioikoi* at Argos). Καλλι-κύριοι looks like a parody of that

11. ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος the town is mentioned, Thuc 6 5 2, as a Syracusan settlement founded about ninety years after the metropolis: Freeman, i 150, map, places it in the SE corner of the island, upon an earlier Sicel site

13. παραδιδόει τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. Aristotle, *Pol.* 5. 3. 5 = 1302 B, instances Syracuse before Gelon as a case of Democracy ruined by its own lawlessness and disorder (*ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας*) Grote, iv 304 n., suspects Aristotle of having substituted the name of Gelon for that of Dionysios, 'by lapse of memory.' Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 126 n. defends Aristotle's memory. But the

two other instances alleged by Aristotle (Thebes, Megara) in front of Syracuse fall into prior chronological sequence on Grote's supposition, for which there is on other grounds, given by Grote, something to be said. Freeman himself admits that Aristotle's reference is 'hasty, not thought out with much care'. On the great significance of the acquisition of Syracuse, and the transfer of government, Grote and Freeman (II c) may be consulted

156 3 Ἰέρωνι Hieron, brother and successor of Gelon, and second only to his predecessor in ability and splendour, is mentioned by Hdt in this one place (a patent illustration of how much Hdt might have recorded that he has left unsaid). Besides Hieron (a significant name in this hierophantic family) there were two other brothers, Polyzeos and Thrasyboulos, not mentioned by Hdt Cp. Simonides 141 [196], Bergk, *P. L.* iii 4 p. 485—an epigram which Hauvette, *de l'Authenticité des Épigrammes de Simonide*, p. 123, classes with the doubtful. The names, however, are probably correct

δ δέ on this resumption of the subject, with δέ in a pseudo-antithesis for the sake of rhetorical point, cp. cc. 6, 10, 13, 51, etc. ἐκράτουν, in connecting Achradina, already a fortified suburb, with Oitygia, already a peninsula, by a wall (cp. Freeman, ii 138 ff.), which doubtless added fresh territory to the city itself. This hypothesis seems more reasonable than the view that Gelon made no considerable addition to the area of the city, whatever the exact truth about the remains of the 'Gelonian wall' may be (Lupus, *die Stadt Syracus*, pp. 87 ff., represents the said *Cavallari-Holmschen* view) Cp. *infra*.



κούσας ἐκράτννε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρηκούσαι· αἱ δὲ παραντικά ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἐβλαστον τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ 5 Καμαρινάλους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολίητας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστών τῶντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκούμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλε- 10 μων αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολίητας ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγήῃ ἐκ Σικελίης. τῶντὸ δὲ 15

4 οἱ πάντα Reiske. ἅπαντα || συρηκούσαι α συράκουσαι β 5 ἐκβλαστον β ἀνέβλαστον CP., van H 6 συρηκούσας α συρακούσας β 7 γελῶν β 10 ἀειρομένους β 11 ἀπολέεσθαι β || ἀγαγὼν Bekker, Stein<sup>2</sup> ἄγων 12 συρηκούσας A. συρακούσας B συρακούσας β συρηκούσας d || πολίητας β 15 συρηκούσας α συρακούσας β συρηκούσας d

4 ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρηκούσαι. an admirable harbour, other physical advantages of the site, a position on the east coast, facing Italy, Hellas, Asia, all tended to make Syracuse, not merely more important than Gela, but potential capital of the island, and seat of a great Mediterranean power. Such had been the dream of Hippokrates, and that dream was now realized by Gelon. He enlarges and fortifies the city, and multiplies the population, by the wholesale transfer of citizens from Kamarina, Gela, Megara, Euboea. Room had to be found for this mass of men. The 'Cavallari-Holm' view is that the immigrants went to fill up gaps on Achradina, that the quarter Tyche was added by Gelon, and that the lower part of Achradina in the immediate neighbourhood of the island was somewhat enlarged (Lupus, p. 99).

5 ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἐβλαστον. Freeman, II 138 n<sup>2</sup>, quaintly regards these words as "not ill-chosen to set forth the climbing up of the city from Ortygia to the height of Achradina", but the words are purely metaphorical, cp the description of Sparta I 66 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτῆκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν.

6 Καμαρινάλους ἅπαντας i.e. the settlers established at Kamarina by

Hippokrates but a few years before as an outpost of Gela against Syracuse the altered position of Syracuse under Gelon involved the reversal of that policy, but Kamarina was destined to another restoration, Thuc 6 5. 3.

7 τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε does not necessarily imply that the place had been walled, or fortified (cp 6 72 τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατέσκαψεν), rather all the habitations were razed to the ground.

Γελῶν ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστών: 'above half of the citizens of Gela' were transferred to Syracuse, this would not merely weaken Gela as a possible rival of Syracuse, but strengthen the Greek and Dorian element in the new capital.

9. Μεγαρέας cp c. 155 *supra*. The παχέας (cp 5 30, 5 77, 6 91) or 'men of substance' would be the Hellenic and Dorian element, or the cream thereof. The δῆμος would, perhaps, include non-Hellenic elements. After this unexpected 'judgement of Gelon' Megara was a solitude (cp Thuc 6 49 4), and the old Isthmian rival of Corinth lost its *point d'appui* in the West Euboea, similarly treated, disappears completely from history, so that its very site is not exactly known (Freeman, I 380). as a foundation from Leontinoi it represented an out-post of the Chalcidic interest, cp. Strabo 272, 449.

15. ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγήῃ, 'sold them

τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

- 157 Τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ' ὥς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπικάτο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε. “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμφόμενους σε πρὸς τὸν Βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν

157. 1 μέγας ἐγεγόνεε β || ὁ om β 2 ἀπικάτο Ρ<sub>4</sub> 3 συρηκούσας α συρακούσας β 4 τε καὶ Αθηναῖοι καὶ β, Holder, Sitzler, van H, alique 5 τὰ γὰρ ἐπιόντα com Stein<sup>2</sup>

as slaves for exportation' Hdt seems barely aware of the grim irony of their fate. Their destinations will have been in Italy and Africa, probably, rather than the East. With the phrase cp 5.6 πωλεῖσι τὰ τέλνα ἐπ' εξαγωγῇ (Demosth. uses the gen. case) ἐξαγ in a somewhat different sense 4.179.

17. δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. Gelon appears to have been something of a humorist, and this *don-mot* may be genuine, not so the one ascribed to him in c. 162 *νητρία*. The deeper aspects of Gelon's statecraft Hdt either misses, or will not spoil his lively logography by discussing. Gelon plainly understood the art of governing by division. He effects a huge *συνοικισμός* in Syracuse, as a rule such centralisations promoted democracy (Mantinea, Athens, Megalopolis), and perhaps in the long run in *μεγαλοπόλεις Συρακοῦσαι* too, but for the time, at least, Gelon eliminated the elements, which might most easily have coalesced into an unmanageable and graceless proletariat, and relied upon the divided interests of his composite citizen body all centring upon its creator.

*συνοίκημα*, apparently an *Harax-ilegomenon*, suggests an element or factor in a *συνοικισμός*, as well as an item in a household (like ΔΗΜΟΣ in *The Knights*).

18. ἀχάριτος = *acharis* occurs also in 1.207.

157. 1 ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων with the article cp c. 154 *supra*, μέγας is predicative, ἐγεγόνεε is a temporal pluperfect, 'before the date of the embassy.' Stein notes that Timaios (of Sicily) made the negotiations originate with Gelon; cp Polyb. 12.26 b. To be quite strict the story only transfers the

scene of the negotiations from Syracuse to Corinth, and converts the *dramatis personae* accordingly into the Greek Probouloi and Gelon's Ambassadors: the primary application for aid might have originated with the *προκαθήμενοι*.

2 τότε presumably the summer or autumn of 481 B.C. referring back to the point at the beginning of c. 153 *supra* (with which perhaps this passage was once continuous, cp Introduction, § 9).

3 ἔλεγον τάδε Syagros presumably was the orator, cp cc. 153, 159. Hdt gives the *ipsissima verba* of the speeches at this interview throughout: whence did he obtain them? Cp. Introduction, § 10.

4. Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι. As the Athenians appear to be entitled to separate mention, some would amend the text (cp App. Crit.) Others may perhaps quote these words as proving that the Athenians had simply entered the Spartan Symmarchy. But a Spartan is speaking: there are 'allies' and 'allies' the Athenians might equally speak of the Spartans as allies of Athens. Moreover, the word *τούτων* (not *ἡμῶν* or *ἡμέτεροι*) following *ἡμέας* is especially significant. Syagros may be speaking: he is the only Spartan named, and probably the only one present, but he speaks in the name of all the ambassadors, to whom (and not to himself, or his fellow Lakedaimonians) *ἡμέας* refers. Still, the expression is a curious one, instead of *οἱ συνωμόται* 'Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, οἱ one of its equivalents, and Syagros is giving his own state all the prominence he can, cp c. 149 *supra*.

παραλαμφόμενους σε πρὸς τὸν β sounds a little abrupt, or 'plump,' *πρὸς*, 'against,' as in c. 145 *supra*.

Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνεαι, ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἥφον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλατήσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος ὥς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός το τε <γὰρ> ἦκεις μεγάλως, καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης, βοήθεέ τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ

6 punctum post Ἑλλάδα et γὰρ post πάντως tranf. Koen, van H || μέλλει om B 7 καὶ om B || ἥφον B<sup>1</sup> an ἡφόν? Stein<sup>1</sup>, Cobet 8 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας del Cobet, Holder, van H || ἐστρατηλάτησεν (sic) B 9 νῶ B 10 ποιήσασθαι van H. 11 τε codd γὰρ Bekker τε γὰρ Stein<sup>1</sup> 2 || εἰ ἦκεις Valckenaer, van H. || μεγάλως Reiske μεγάλης quod Valckenaer del approb van H. || τῆς om. B 13 ἀλλῆς B α||λῆς A · ἀλῆς B (Holder) ἄλῆς S (Gaisf.)

7 ζεύξας καὶ ἐπάγων. In regard to the tenses, it is not quite clear whether they are grammatically relative to the moment of speaking or subordinate to μέλλει στρατηλατήσιν. Actually no difference arises, as at the time of the visit to Gelon bridges had been thrown across the Hellespont, and Xerxes was underway πᾶς ὁ ἥφος στρατὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας is a phrase which supplies a clue to the army-list of Xerxes. Hdt knew what was expected of him, cp Appendix II § 5

8 πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος . . ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων a very elaborate form of the antithesis (τῷ λόγῳ (τῷ) ἔργῳ cp. c 155 *surra*, 4 167

10. δυνάμιός τε <γὰρ> ἦκεις μεγάλως ἦκειν with εἰ, followed by a substantive in the genitive, is common 1. 30 τοῦ βίου ἐν ἡκοντι, 5. 62 χρημάτων εἰ ἡκοντες, 8 111 θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκειν εἰ, 1 102 ἐωυτῶν εἰ ἡκοντες. If μεγάλως is to stand, it takes the place of εἰ, with a difference not quite happy, or = *es* μέγα τι. Perhaps Hdt wrote δυνάμιός τε γὰρ εἰ ἦκεις μεγάλης? Cp. App. Crit.

11. μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ μέτα = μέτεστι γῆς might be supplied with Ἑλλάδος, but the feeling is of something more abstract, *κοινωνίας*, or even of ἡ Ἑλλάς itself as an entity, *das Griechentum*, comprising all the highest culture and civilization of the time. The recognition in the phrase ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης of (a) the unity of Sicily, (b) the constitutional character of Gelon's government, is very significant.

12 ἄρχοντί γε might be a diplomatic compliment, but so far as it goes it supports "the confused statement of a late writer that Gelon ruled at Syracuse under cover of the office of general with full powers," Freeman, II 137 (The phrase *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* is used by both Diodorus and Polyanius of Gelon, but it smacks too much of Athenian procedure). Cp c 161 *μηνα*

τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα · an unofficial term for the *συνωμοταί*. As Hellas is not in subjection *ἐλευθεροῦντες* is rhetorical, and means 'defending the liberties of Hellas'

13 ἀλῆς . . συνάγεται the grammar is a little peculiar. Is ἀλῆς . . Ἑλλάς a *nominativus pendens*? or in apposition to χεῖρ μ? or the subject of συνάγεται and χεῖρ μεγάλη an extension of the predicate? The passage is not well expressed ἀλῆς γενομένη anticipates συνάγεται, and συνάγεται therefore means very little more than γίνεται. A somewhat similar construction occurs 6. 111 τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ κτλ., but there, though the genitive might be simpler, (a) there are no less than three participial constructions with *genitivus pendens* immediately preceding, (b) the subordinate subjects, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον . . τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον, are parts of the whole στρατόπεδον, and their specification resumes in detail the precedent subject, but yet greatly enriches its contents. Here there is less excuse for the anacoluthon, as χεῖρ μεγάλη is simply equivalent to ἀλῆς . . ἡ Ἑλλάς (πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες πολλοὶ δὲ

γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χεὶρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ  
 15 ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι· ἦν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν κατα-  
 προδιδῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ  
 πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἣν ἡμέας καταστρέφεται  
 ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἔξει παρὰ σέ γε, ἀλλὰ  
 20 πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι. βοηθέων γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωτῶ τιμωρέεις.  
 τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ  
 158 ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς  
 ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε. “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνας, λόγον ἔχοντες  
 πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον  
 παρακαλοῦντες ἔλθειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος

14 γινομένη C, van H || χειρὶ μεγάλη (-η S ap Gaisf) συλλέγεται B  
 15 οἱ μὲν ἡμέων α 16 θελήσωσι B 17 τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη Wesseling  
 ex V, et sic R τοῦτο ἤδη S (Gaisf) 19 οὐχὶ B 20 πρὸ τοῦ?  
 van H 21 εὖ om. B 22 θέλει B 158. 4 αὐτοῦ Naber  
 || δ' ἐμεῦ A · δέ μεν Bd

*νέες συνάγονται* would be a better justification than the jejune *χεὶρ μεγάλη*.)

16 τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος cp *ὕγιες βούλευμα* 6 100, and the *λόγον οὐκ ὑγέα* 1 8. The metaphor of health and disease in the state involves the analogy between the state and the individual, cp cc 148, 140 *supra*.

17 ἤδη is rather intensive than temporal, cp 8 106. The δέ here is *in apodosis*.

20 πρὸ τούτου chronological, 'before that' (*χρόνον* or *καιροῦ*). cp c. 139 *supra*, yet becomes here virtually an alternative.

21 τῷ δὲ εὖ κτλ. The speaker concludes (*μοι εἰ Ηροδοτέα*) with a 'gnome'. This particular apophthegm is something of a corrective or a confirmation of the maxim *τέλος ὁρᾶν*, according to the interpretation put on the latter, it is itself to be qualified by the observation that 'the best laid plans o' mice and men gang aft a-gley'.

158 1 πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε π. ἐν, cp 8 59, 9 91.

2 τοιάδε does not guarantee the *ipsissima verba* of the following speech.

ἄνδρες Ἕλληνας he addresses the envoys all, not merely the Lakedaemonian. The formula does not disown Hellenism for the speaker's part.

λόγον . . . πλεονέκτην Is *πλεονέκτης* an adjectival substantive? (*τύχη σωτήρ* Soph. *O. T.* 80, *βοῦς ἡγεμὼν* Xen. *Hell.* 6 4 29, 'bellator equus,' etc.)

4 ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος sc *ὑμέων*. This statement is, indeed, remarkable. It does it preserve incidentally a reminiscence of a previous war of Gelon's with the Carthaginians, or is it a rhetorical confusion, in which the impending war with Carthage is anticipated (c 165 *infra*), or should it lead us to antedate that war so as to make it precede the embassy of 481 B.C.? This last alternative is to be rejected. (1) The synchronism between the invasions of Greece and of Sicily is a very strong tradition, and (2) was probably not accidental but part of a general plan and combination between Xerxes and Carthage, which, if historical, guarantees in turn the synchronism, cp c 165 *infra*. Have we then simply a piece of idle rhetoric here in which Hdt. or his authorities confusedly antedated the coming war? Hdt. can hardly have done so, he must take two different wars to be intended, as he specifies both, and the particularity and character of the request of Gelon has a very strong air of verisimilitude. We must therefore take the reference to be to an entirely distinct war. But there is hardly room for the great invasion of Sicily in 480 B.C. and a previous Punic war since the accession of Gelon, nor is any such elsewhere reported, to say nothing of his time having been fully filled by his wars already related. What then is the

βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχη- 5  
 δούλους νεῖκος συνήπτο, ἐπισκῆπτουτός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ  
 Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτεί-  
 νουτός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι  
 ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρήσιες γέγονασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε  
 βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε 10  
 κατ' ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται. ἀλλὰ εὖ  
 γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περι-  
 ελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπίκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὔτω δὴ Γέλωνος  
 μνήστis γέγονε. ἀτιμίας δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοίω-

6 τε τοῦ δωριέως α 7 ἐγεστέων β αἰγεστέων Pd αἰγεσταίων  
 Cz 8 συνελευθερώσειν et μεγάλαι <ὑμῖν> ὠφελείαι malit van H  
 ὠφέλειαι Pd 9 τε om α || ἐπαυρέσιες Schaefer, Gaisf, van H ex V (ap  
 Wesseling?). ἐπαρκέσις S ἐπαυρέσκεις R ἐπαυρέσεις C 10 βωθέοντες  
 van H || δωριέως α || τε. δὲ β 11 ὑμᾶς β || πάντα β 13  
 καὶ ἀπίκται del Cobet, van H.

solution of the problem? The reference may be to a Punic war under Hippokrates, a dim report of which has come down to us and which is here transferred to Gelon, who may, indeed, have taken an active and a prominent part in it, but was not in a position to negotiate, at least as principal and sovereign, with the Greeks of the mother-country. Cp Freeman, *Sicily*, II Appendix VIII *The Events after the Expedition of Doriaeus*.

6 τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον the story now stands in 5 42-46, without any reference to the efforts of Gelon (or Hippokrates) to exact penalties for it: an evidence (as Blakesley rightly observes) of the independent sources of this and that story, and (one may add) of Hdt.'s insouciance in such matters. The occurrence of the patronymic here would not of course in any case (least of all in a reported speech) prove the priority in composition of this passage, nor could a back reference be here expected, nor would the absence of a forward reference in that passage disprove the earlier 'provenience' of this—granted that Hdt. is not scrupulous of such minutiae. Cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8. Materially this passage is calculated to enhance the significance of the attempted foundation of an 'Herakleia' by Doriaeus in the sphere of Carthaginian influence, and to discredit the oracular morals imported into it and so acceptable to Hdt. There was to be a fresh attempt

τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐλευθεροῦν—i.e. to recover Selinous, and other places, which had fallen into the hands of Carthage after the failure of Doriaeus, for the Greek merchants and markets.

8 ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρήσιες γέγονασι these words have been accused of exaggeration and suspected as corrupt (*ὑμῖν* for *ἡμῖν*?), but there is no need of emendation, and the sentence should be regarded as good evidence for the importance of the Sicilian and generally the west Mediterranean trade to the merchants of old Greece. Gelon is addressing an embassy in which Corinth and other Peloponnesian cities, as well as Athens and the Ionian States, at least of Euboea, are represented: there seems no exaggeration whatever in emphasizing the past (and possible) gains to those States from the restriction of Carthaginian rivalry in the west, nor need the *ἐμπόρια* be geographically confined to Sicily.

10. τὸ κατ' ὑμέας, 'as far as ye are concerned'; cp. c. 148 *supra*, 171 *infra*.

13. Γέλωνος μνήστis γέγονε has almost the air of a proverb, or apophthegm—perhaps a genuine utterance of the man, cp. c. 156 *ad. f.* (The verb *μνάσθαι* is used not merely for 'to remember,' but for 'to woo,' e.g. c. 9 *supra*. the substantive seems used only in the former sense, otherwise 'Ha! Ha! the wooing o't' might serve as a rendering.)

- 15 *σομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενος δικηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῖτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ, ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ*  
 20 *τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὗτ' ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι”*  
 159 *Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε. “ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος*

18 *ψιλούς* damn van H || *Ἑλλήνων* *mihī suspectum*  
 τὲ B 22 οὔτε (bis) B

21 δὲ

15 *ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενος* κατὰ this offer of Gelon's, even with the condition attached, can hardly be historical (cp Appendix III § 6 (c)), but this observation in no way bars our accepting the catalogue of his forces as substantially authentic. The conveyance of such numbers to Hellas would have been a difficulty, even if the tyrant could have denuded Sicily and Syracuse of the supports of his power, and the bulwarks against Carthage, but he may have had such forces at his disposal in 481 B.C., and if so was certainly the first power in the Hellenic world.

*δικηκοσίας τε τριήρεας* just the number mobilized by contemporary Athens (cp c 144 *συμρα*). In 481 B.C. the Peloponnesians were expecting to get 200, if not 240 ships from Sicily and Italy (Cp Thuc 2. 7 2, ed Hude, 1898, who accepts Herbst's emendation from Diod 12 41, without even mentioning Donaldson, who more than anticipated it).

16. *δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας* even Athens in 481 B.C. reckoned more hoplites, Thuc 2. 13 6. Whether these heavy soldiers of Gelon's were all 'citizens' is another matter (neither were the hoplites of Athens all citizens).

*δισχιλίην ἵππον* an arm sadly lacking the Greeks in 480 B.C. Gelon himself doubtless relied on this force, cp c 154 *συμρα*. The figure is reasonable, for Sicily; cp Thuc 6 67.

17 *δισχιλίους τοξότας . σφενδονήτας ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς* the large proportion of light-armed troops and cavalry in the forces of Gelon show how far his military establishment was ahead of the

Greeks of old Hellas. A large proportion of the cavalry, and probably all the *ψιλοί*, were doubtless mercenaries, and probably 'barbarians'. The *σφενδονήται*, for example, may have been Balearic. Gelon himself may have relied upon their services, not merely against Carthage, but against the Syracusan citizens. Gelon's army must partially have anticipated in character the forces of Jason (cp Xen. *Hell* 6 1).

18 *σῖτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ* is more like an exaggeration than any other item, for (1) why should the supplies available in Greece be ignored? (2) the offer begs the question of the plan of campaign. Perhaps *Ἑλλήνων* is *de tri op*, Gelon merely undertaking to support his own men on service.

19. *ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε*, 'on the following condition'. Gelon was certainly the best general in the world at that moment, and had the Greeks possessed such a complete unity of *στρατηγία* and *ἡγεμονία* they could not have blundered as they did. But this critique is hardly articulate in the reported offer of Gelon, yet cp c 162 *ὑπὲρ*.

159 1 *ὁ Σύαγρος* cp. c 153 *συμρα*, and so the article here is in order.

2 *ἦ κε Ἀγαμέμνων* *facit indignatio versum*. Blakesley calls this a 'parody.' Rawlinson an 'adaptation' of *Il* 7 125 *ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς*. The appeal to Agamemnon the Pelopid by a representative of Dorian Sparta illustrates the adoption, after the 'Return of the Herakleidae,' of the myths, legends, cults, gods and heroes, of the conquered or invaded peoples, by the conquerors. Stesichoros,

Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαιρηθῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅπως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν βούλει 5 βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεις." πρὸς 160 ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὦρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σνάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. "ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιήτα, ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐ 5 με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἶκος καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων

159 3 ὑπαιρεῖσθαι B 4 συρηκουσίων CPz 7 μηδὲ μὴ B, Holder || βοηθέειν B, Baehr, Holder (Stein<sup>4</sup> 3 134 22). βωθεῖν van H 160 2 ἐπεστραμμένους Valckenaer, van H 3 τὸν τελευταῖον Koen 5 οὐ με οὔτε V οὐκ S 6 ἐπεισας B, Stob fl 19 19, Holder ('foisan recte' van H) 7 ἐμὲ καὶ? van H

Simonides, Pindar all represented Agamemnon as having both resided and perished at Sparta, οἱ at Amyklai, Pindar also calls Orestes a 'Lakonian' (Hdt. 1 68), cp Grote i. 152 ff. A 'tomb' of Agamemnon was to be seen at Amyklai (Pausanias 3 19 6 καὶ Κλυταίμνηστρος ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν, καὶ [ἄγαλμα], Ἀγαμέμνονος νομιζόμενον μνημα), cp Hitzig - Bluemner *ad l.c.*, but also at Amyklai, Pausan 2 16 6 S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp 333 ff, gives the texts which go to show that "Agamemnon appears originally (*von Anfang an*) to be an ancient Local God, (afterwards) identified with Zeus." The title *Zeus Agamémwv* is abundantly proved. The cult was not, however, confined to Lakonia, or even the Peloponnese. Cp also Ed Meyer, *Geschichte d. A.* ii (1893) p 187. But it is here the 'Pelopid' Agamemnon that is invoked, a historicized and literary figure, likewise adopted by the Dorians, together with all the rest. It is likely enough that the later literary developments departed further and further from the archaic and conservative cult. The recent advance in the methods and results of *Altertums-wissenschaft* might be illustrated by a comparison of the articles on Agamemnon in Pauly-Wissowa, i (1893) 721 ff (Wernicke) and Roscher i (1884) 90 ff (Furtwaengler), even without going back to Pauly-Teuffel, i. (1864) 513 ff.

3 Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην For the double acc cp c. 104 *supra*, and the parallel, 8 3. The question of 'Hegemonia' was the burning one, and had already been settled in favour of Sparta, cp *l.c.* There is a note of contempt in Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων (perhaps the name Γέλων sounded a little comic to a Greek, cp c 153).

4 λόγου, 'condition,' as in c. 158.

5 ὅπως with future indic seems here to introduce a proposition less 'final,' or even 'consequential,' than relative (after λόγου), not to say demonstrative.

6 ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος passive, and idiomatic in regard to participle and nominative, cp Madvig, § 178.

εἰ μὴ δικαιοῖς σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεις a *δέ in apodosis*, combined with the iterated subject of the protasis, cp. c 51 *supra*.

160. 2 ὁ Γέλων as τοῦ Σνάγρου *supra* ἀπεστραμμένους cp 8 62 λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα, where the different situation demands the different proposition.

4 ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ decidedly 'gnomic.' The despot Gelon gives these republicans a lesson in manners, as Xerxes had done in morals c 136 *supra* θυμὸς here comes near 'wrath.'

6 ἀμοιβῇ = ὑποκρίσει cp. ἀμείβετο (e.g. c 162) = ὑπεκρίνετο

περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς τε εόντα πολλαπλησίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ  
 νεῶν πολλὸν πλεύνων. ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω  
 10 προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου·  
 εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ  
 ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ  
 θέλω. καὶ ἡ τούτοις ὑμέας χρεόν ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι  
 161 συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους." Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προτείνετο,  
 φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετο  
 μιν τοισίδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη  
 ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς. σὺ δὲ  
 5 ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ  
 προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχῃαι. ὅσον μὲν  
 νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεο ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκει  
 ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοις ὥς ὁ  
 Λάκων ἱκανός τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων  
 10 ἀπολογούμενος· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαννόμενος δέεαι τῆς  
 ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπιῆ  
 τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γάρ ἐστι  
 αὕτη γε μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοις μὲν  
 ὦν ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοις οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρή-

8 πολλαπλασίης codd. 9 νηῶν πολὺ codd. || ἐπεὶ vel ἐπειδὴ ?  
 van H. 13 ἀρέεσθαι B, Holder ἀρκείσθαι van H 14 τοιῶνδε.  
 τοσῶνδε Bekker, van H 161 2 φθὰς Cobet, van H. || τὸν. τῶν B  
 3 τοισίδε: τοῖσδε α: τοιάδε B. τοῖσδε Stein 5 πέμψης B 6  
 προφαίνῃ B || ὥς ὅπως van H. || στρατηγήσης B 7 ἐδέεο Stein<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐδέου codd., Stein<sup>1</sup>. ἐδέο Bredow, Holder. ἐδέεν van H || ἐξήρκει ἐξήρκει  
 codd. 10 τῆς ἀπάσης vol Stein<sup>2</sup>: τῆς ἀπάσης ἡγεμονίης malit van H.  
 || δέη B

10 προσάντης more literally in Thuc.  
 4. 43 3 ἦν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον πρόσαντες πάν,  
 and less metaphorically in Aristot *Etik*  
*Nik.* 1. 6. 1 = 1096 Δ καίπερ προσάντους τῆς  
 τοιαύτης ζητήσεως γινομένης  
 τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου 'the original  
 condition' in c 158

161 2. ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος a name-  
 less man Is the story from Spartan, or at  
 least from Peloponnesian, sources? There  
 was surely at least an envoy from Corinth  
 to Syracuse, if not other ambassadors as  
 well And why was the Athenian in  
 such a hurry (φθάσας) to reply to a  
 question expressly addressed to his  
 Spartan colleague? Was there a risk  
 that the Spartan (and Corinthian) might  
 accept Gelon's offer, and promise the

tyrant the naval hegemony (ἦν ὁ Λάκων  
 ἐπιῆ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς)? Such an  
 arrangement might seem, to after-  
 thought, an advantageous one for  
 Peloponnesos. if Gelon had won the  
 battle of Salamis (or the battle of  
 Kounth!) could Athens ever have  
 founded the maritime schism? (There  
 is an amusing misprint in Baelii· ἦν ὁ  
 Κάκων κτλ.)

3 ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκοσίων Is this  
 courtesy? or satire? or a recognition of  
 the constitutional character of Gelon's  
 position, ἀρχων γε Σικελίης (c 157  
*supra*)?

4 ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας· they  
 are admittedly representatives of Hellas,  
 of the whole Confederacy.



σομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν. μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε πάραλον 15  
 Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἶημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκουσίους  
 ἔόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον  
 μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μόνου δὲ ἔόντες οὐ μετανάσται  
 Ἑλλήνων· τῶν καὶ Ὀμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε 20  
 ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρατόν. οὕτω 20  
 οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι λέγειν ταῦτα." ἀμείβετο Γέλων 162  
 τοισίδε. "ἔεινε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔχειν,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπίετες

15 ἂν ὦδε πάραλον: ὦδέ γε παρ' ἄλλων B 16 κεκτημένοι B ||  
 συρηκουσίους CPz 19 τῶν . . στρατόν damn. Schaefer || ὁ ἐποποιὸς  
 secl. van H 21 ὄνειδος: ἀεικὲς H Weil 162. 1 ἀμείβεται  
 Kallenberg approb. van H. 2 τοῖσιδε Cd, Stein· τοῖσδε || τοὺς μὲν B,  
 Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder, Kallenberg, Sitzler, van H. 3 οὐκ ἔχειν B || ἐπιέντες α

15. ναυαρχέειν, hardly an Athenian term here used of the supreme command of the ναύαρχος, cp. 8 42

μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν forms, as Blakesley observed, an iambic trimeter acatalectic. Whether this fact is an accident traceable to the prosiness of iambic rhythms, or a result of there being a poetic source behind Hdt.'s account of this interview, is doubtful, but πάραλον for ναυτικόν may be taken to favour the latter alternative Cp. Introduction, § 10

16 εἰ συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης: συγχωρεῖν τινὶ τι is the more natural construction, as in 9 35. The genitive here, perhaps, conveys the admission that the ἡγεμονίη is not theirs exclusively. As to the matter, four reasons are alleged why Athenians could make no such concessions to Syracusans. the Athenians (1) had the largest navy in Greece, but cp c 158; (2) were the most ancient stock, ἀρχαιότατον ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι ('representing'), and (3) not immigrants or vagrants (like every other Greek people), but still in possession of their original habitation (while Syracuse was a colony, and of the Dorian stock, πολυπλάγητον κάρτα 1 56), (4) of Homeric fame for furnishing a man best capable of organizing victory. There may be an indirect and delicate reference to Themistokles in the Homeric citation, and the Athenian position—apart from mere punctilio, characteristic as that is of Greek *ethos*—really rests on the first and fourth reasons. In regard to the first, Gelon had made his dazzling offer

of material support, far exceeding what Athens could boast, in regard to the last, in 481 B.C. Gelon might fairly claim to be the most eminent captain and commander of the age.

19. Ὀμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς . . ἔφησε: the reference is apparently to the Catalogue B 552 ff τῶν αὐθ' ἡγεμόνεν' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς. τῷ δ' οὐ πῶς τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ κοσμήσαι ἱπποὺς τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας. Though the lines were rejected by Zenodotus, "they are discussed by Aristarchus without any hint of the possible agency of Peisistratus," D B. Monro, *Odyssey* (1902) p 406. The use made of Homer goes beyond that by Syagros above, though the description (ὁ ἐποποιός) is hardly calculated to enhance the authority; cp. 2 120. The Athenian is appealing to a written 'Homer,' but naturally says ἔφησε cp. 4. 13 ἔφη δὲ Ἀριστέης . . ποιέων ἔπεα.

162 2 τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν, 'to have commanders, but not to be going to have the men to obey their commands.' A good jibe, under the circumstances, at the expense of the punctilious, not to say insolent deputation, and possibly authentic, Gelon being something of a wit (Cp c 156 *supra*). The Athenians, however, before long might have held Gelon a false prophet, the development of the Delian confederacy had already made this prediction look rather foolish, years before Hdt wrote it down Cp. also c 163. 5.

ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω  
 5 ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται.” [οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦ  
 ῥήματος τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ  
 τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν  
 ἐωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἐωυτοῦ  
 10 συμμαχίης εἵκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαίρημένον  
 εἴη.]

163 Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι  
 χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δέσας μὲν

4 ἔχειν om. B 6 ἐξαίρηται Cd || οὗτος . εἴη del. Valckenaer,  
 ut ‘manifestum scholium’ in marg. releg van H 7 τὸ τῷδε B || τὸ  
 ἐθέλει λέγειν secl Eltz, quem seq Stein || ὡς om B 9 στρατιῇν  
 <εἶναι> Schenkl 163 1 τοσαῦτα BP

4. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε . . ἀπαλλασ-  
 σόμενοι, ‘you would not be too soon in  
 departing’· i.e. the sooner you go the  
 better, depart, nothing ‘prevents’ you,  
 or, ‘get you away at once’ In form the  
 substance is not ‘an urgent command’  
 but ‘an impatient concession,’ origin-  
 ally interrogative (cp οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμι,  
 Kuehner *Ausf Gramm* II. p. 627 An 12).

5 ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ  
 ἐξαίρηται, ‘the spring has been taken  
 right out of her year,’ she has had the  
 spring taken right out of her year’  
 Author or glossator goes on to explain  
 the metaphor, for it is not quite a  
*propos* The spring is in the year to  
 start with Gelon’s forces were not  
 among the actual, but only among the  
 potential forces of Greece, the question  
 had been of getting them in, not of  
 taking them out Yet this criticism  
 may seem hypercritical, until we discover  
 the same metaphor used with entire  
 propriety as is twice recorded in Aristotle  
*Rhet* I 7 34=1365A Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπι-  
 τάφιον λέγων, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀρηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 εἰ ἐξαιρεθῇ 3 10 7=1411A Περικλῆς  
 ἔφη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπολομένην ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ οὕτως ἠφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 ὥσπερ εἰ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξέλῃ.  
 The Periclean use of the trope is flaw-  
 less: ἔαρ : ἐνιαυτός :: νεότης : πόλις  
 Aristotle twice fathers this *bon mot* upon  
 Perikles It does not occur in the  
 Funeral Oration in Thuc. 2 Did  
 Thucydides fail to report correctly?  
 Without prejudging that question,  
 Perikles may have used the phrase in an  
 oration after the Samian war (439 B.C.),

or another But was Gelon then the  
 author of the phrase, and that in a  
 bungling application, afterwards cor-  
 rected by Perikles? Or has Hdt. in his  
 authority transferred the *mot* from the  
 Athenian orator to the Syracusan despot?  
 Or was the metaphor as old as the hills,  
 and in use for ages before Gelon and  
 Perikles (cp *ver sacrum*)? Aristotle’s  
 citations do not favour this fancy he  
 plainly thinks Perikles the inventor of  
 the phrase Hdt. is quite capable of mix-  
 ing his metaphors, cp. c 152 *supra*.  
 As he transfers a meal-bag from the  
 starving Chians to the homeless Samians  
 in 3 46, so here he has robbed Perikles  
 to enrich Gelon. Rose, indeed (*Has  
 Herodot sein Werk selbst herausgegeben?*  
 p 17), denies all connexion between  
 Herodotus and Perikles in regard to this  
 phrase such a negation were hard to  
 verify! and even if established, would  
 not prove Gelon guilty of the ‘derange-  
 ment of epitaphs.’ A similar metaphor,  
 correctly used, is to be found in Eurip.  
*Suppl* 447-9, and (in Athenaeus 99 d)  
 Demades went very near to plagiarize  
 Perikles in calling ἔαρ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς  
 ἐφήβους The treatment of this passage  
 as a *scholium manifestum* makes practi-  
 cally no difference to the problem of the  
 authorship and application of the *mot*

163. 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἄγγελοι: cp. cc 157, 153 *supra*. τῷ  
 Γέλωνι as against οἱ ἄγγελοι, but when  
 he starts afresh he dispenses with the  
 article Γέλων δέ

2 δέσας μὴ οὐ δύνανται .  
 ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· μὴ οὐ is not a strict or  
 idiomatic ‘double negative’ with *δύνασθαι*,

περὶ τοῖσι "Ελλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερ-  
βαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν  
ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης  
τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἵχετο.  
ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν  
Ἑλλησποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν

3 δυνέωνται B δύνανται z

6 ἡμέλησε μετῆκε van H.

as the second negative may be understood to coalesce completely with the verb (= μὴ ἀδύνατοι ὄντι), cp 6 9 καταρῶδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὑπερβ, to out-do, overcome, defeat, cp 8 24, 6 9, etc (never exactly to 'conquer,' καταστρέψασθαι)

4 δεινὸν δὲ ποιησάμενος, a psychological, conscious, or inner 'making', cp c 1 *supra*, etc

5 ἐς Πελοπόννησον Σικελίης τύραννος: the phrase can hardly be pressed in either direction, but it is only likely that had the Greeks obtained large assistance from Sicily the party in favour of making the Peloponnesos the line of defence might have carried the day, cp c. 161 *supra*, and the attempts to save Thessaly and Central Greece and Salamis might never have been made. As things turned out, the Greeks were all the better for Gelon's refusal. That refusal comes from 'the tyrant of Sicily' the unity and extent of his power is recognized, but its legitimacy is no longer insinuated, cp cc 157, 161 *supra*

6 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε the construction is remarkable (acc instead of gen, cp 2. 121) and the metaphor a little obscure was 'the way' the plan Syagrios had proposed, or the plan Gelon had attempted? Is he affected mainly by fear for the Greeks, or by a sense of his own importance? 8 δέ cp cc 10, 13 etc (δέ with iterated subject).

7 ἐπεῖτε τὸν Ἑλλησποντον the chronological indication is a little curious, especially as one may ask, how long it would take for the news of the crossing of the Hellespont to reach Syracuse? By what means, and by what route, did the news travel? Was Gelon *en rapport* with Korkyra, Delphi, Makedon, or other European centres? Were the Ionio-Chalkidic colonies in Sicily in communication with the metropolis and the Asiatic Greeks? However, in this case, the solution of these questions is com-

paratively unimportant even if the mission of Kadmos had been a pure speculation, Gelon might without much difficulty have timed the despatch so as to fulfil its purpose

8 πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ A 'pente-konte' was a galley, probably undecked, with fifty oars, or two rows of five and twenty, one row either side, cp. C Torr, *Ancient Ships*, pp 3, 21 etc

Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθω ἄνδρα Κῶον. Can this Skythes be any other than the 'king' of Zankle, whose story is told in 6 23 f? He had invited the Ionians, about the close of the Revolt in 494 B C, to come to Sicily and make a new home for themselves (an out-post for Hellas) at 'Kale Akte', and the Samian oligarchs accepted the invitation, by possessing themselves of Zankle itself in their host's temporary absence. For the loss of Zankle, his suzerain, Hippokratēs, punished Skythes, its 'monarch,' by internment at Inyx thence he escaped, and made his way <back> to Asia and to the court of King Dareios (was that before the b of Marathon?) He died, at an advanced age, at the Persian court, whether in the reign of Dareios or of his successor the story does not record, and he enjoyed—at least in the eyes of Dareios—a reputation for righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) above all Greeks at the Persian court, in that he had (like Demokedes!) obtained the king's leave to go west (to Sicily) on condition of returning, and had (unlike Demokedes!) kept his word

The passage (6 24) leaves something to be desired in lucidity, but there is nothing in it to compel us to regard the visit to Sicily in c 24 as subsequent to the exercise of his kingship in Zankle, nothing to prevent our seeing in the whole Sicilian adventure of Skythes in c. 23 an episode in his expedition to the west. In short, Skythes paid only one visit, not two visits, to Sicily, where he seems to have taken service with

Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶον ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ  
 10 καὶ φίλους λόγους, παραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται,  
 καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι  
 καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 164 ὅπισω ἀπάγειν. ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων παρα-

9 κῶιον α. κῶον βδζ  
 πεσεῖται β, van H.

10 παραδοκῆσαντα β || τῇ. ῆ Libri ||

Hippokrates of Gela, and to have acted as his commandant in Zankle, and to have forfeited his Sikeliote master's favour by the loss of the town. Perhaps his reputation for 'righteousness' at the Persian court, or with the Persian king, was hardly deserved but for his misadventure over Zankle, and his escape from Inyx, he might have ranked, in Dareios's mind, with Demokedes and the rest.

A further problem arises from the words ἄνδρα Κῶον and the data of the next chapter, q v. Meanwhile, whether the Skythes of this passage and the Skythes of 6 23, 24, whether the father of Kadmos and the brother of Pythogenes, are two different persons, or one and the same, Hdt was equally bound to take note of the problem, which his materials and methods have generated. The total absence of any cross reference here is astounding: it is perhaps the most frappant of all such cases of Hdt's insouciance. Complete independence of the Sources alone will hardly account for it, but the oversight would be easier to understand if this passage were of much earlier date in composition than that, cp Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

9. ἐς Δελφούς that Delphi is considered by Gelon, who knew it well, and was a *persona grata* there, the right address for a confidential agent, with instructions to declare for the barbarians, if victorious, is perhaps the most damning fact, if a fact it be, in the whole Delphian record for the war. Some of the failures or ambiguities of Delphi may be interested *vaticinia post eventum*: this event proves what was expected of Delphi, and of the Persians, from the first by the ablest Greek alive, with one possible exception.

10. φίλους λόγους. in 8. 106 by word of mouth, but here, obviously, in a written despatch for the king, and why not in good Persian? He must have had some Sicilian earth and water with him too, in appropriate vases

παραδοκῆσοντα. cp c 168 *μηρία* and 8. 67. τὴν μάχην Gelon made one mistake, like Cicero's on a great occasion: "uno proelio . si non totam causam at certe nostrum iudicium definitum convenire" (*ad Fam.* xv 15 1).

τῇ πεσέεται not 'where the battle shall take place' but 'what the issue of the fight will be.' = ἀποβήσεται, Baehr

12. τῶν ἄρχει, 'on behalf of Gelon's subjects' ὁ Γέλων, the proper name being repeated within the limits of the λόγος takes the article

This story is not above suspicion as it stands. Gelon, if he could stem the Carthaginian, had little to fear from the Persian, and the surrender would have involved tribute (over and above the χρήματα πολλὰ); but still, the Carthaginian campaign was just about to open, and its issue could not be regarded as certain. Perhaps this Delphic θεωρία was rather to secure Gelon an asylum, in case of things going badly with him in Sicily.

164 1. πρότερον τούτων. the τούτων must refer to his employment by Gelon in 480 B.C. Previously he had distinguished himself by (at least) three great acts (i.) the acquisition of 'tyrannic' powers in Kos παρὰ πατρός, (ii.) the abdication of the same, (iii.) the acquisition and settlement of Zankle in Sicily παρὰ Σαμίων. But the chronology is unfortunately rather vague, the reading παρὰ Σαμίων upon which a good deal turns is doubtful, the description of the circumstances in Kos, and of the 'righteousness' of Kadmos, is obviously *tendentiosus*, pragmatic, and the problem of his father's position and identity is obscure. Altogether we have in this brief excursus or note upon Kadmos (ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος . πόλιν Ζάγκλην) one of the prettiest little problems in the whole work of Hdt. It will be convenient to discuss each point as it arises in the text.

παραδεξιμένος παρὰ πατρός τυραννίδα Κῶων. Had his father been

δεξάμενος παρὰ πατρός τυραννίδα Κῶων εἰ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν  
 τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης  
 ἐς μέσον Κῶοισι καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχήν, οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην,  
 ἔνθα † παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην 5

164 2 τὴν τυραννίδα z || κῶων Bdz 3 ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Stein<sup>3</sup>· ἀλλὰ  
 ἀπὸ α, Stein<sup>1 2</sup>· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ B, Krueger, Holder, van H· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Baehr et  
 alii 4 κῶοισι Bdz 5 παρὰ α, Stein· μετὰ Bz, Baehr, Holder,  
 van H || οἴκησε B

'tyrant' in Kos before him? Did the father die before the son's accession? The presumption is in favour of an affirmative to both questions, but the language, especially in relation to the second question, is not conclusive. The father might have abdicated in the son's favour παραδέκομαι (-δέχομαι) is not a common word in Hdt., cp 1. 17 παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός 1. 18 παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὸν πόλεμον 1 102 Φραόρτης· τελευτήσαντος Διόκεως· παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. In these cases the death of the father is expressly recorded, or clearly implied. But in 9. 40 εἰ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι... αἰεὶ κατηγοροῦντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε κτλ shows the word in an unprejudiced light ἐκδέκεσθαι is the more usual word for royal or family succession (cp 6 60 ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρῴας τέχνας, 2 166 παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος cp 1. 7 etc ἐξεδέξατο abs in 1 16), but οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι c 211 *infra*, absolutely, of fighting, just as παραδ. in 9. 40.

If, then, Skythes of Kos and Skythes of Zankle are one and the same person, we must suppose that Kadmos succeeded his father by the latter's abdication or withdrawal. But why did Skythes withdraw from Kos? Was it to go up to Susa with King Darius, perhaps after the 'Skythian' invasion, like Histiaios? To Susa he certainly went at some time, cp c 163 *supra*.

2 εἰ βεβηκυῖαν, 'firmly established'—on Persian support—like all the tyrannies of the neighbourhood at that time. The suppression of this relation of the *tyrannis* to *medism* in this story is in itself evidence of its 'pragmatism'. The evidence is augmented by the ensuing sentence, which represents Kadmos as voluntarily (ἐκὼν τε εἶναι) and under no external pressure or prospect (δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς) laying down the tyranny in favour of a republican con-

stitution (ἐς μέσον Κῶοισι καταθεῖς τὴν ἀρχήν cp 3 80 'Οτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα 3 142 ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχήν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προσαγορεύω), just as in the story of Maiandrios of Samos in 515 B.C., from a sheer sense of justice (ἀπὸ if read with δικαιοσύνης is 'causal'). This motivation looks suspicious because (i) it is intrinsically improbable, or at least highly coloured, (ii) οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην, (iii) the circumstances of the time make against it. Kadmos of Kos went off to Sicily apparently about the time of the 'Ionian revolt' the δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενὸς is a little too bold! What part the tyrant of Kos played in the Ionian revolt is purely a matter of conjecture. Was he among the ἄλλους συγχροῦς arrested by Iatagoras on behalf of Aristagoras at the outbreak of the Revolt, the τυράννων κατὰπαντοίως in 499 B.C.? cp 5 37 in which case he was handed over by Aristagoras to the Koans, and by them generously dismissed, and—οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην. Or did he hold on throughout the revolt? if so, on which side? Did he emulate the rôle of Aristagoras (5 37 λόγῳ μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίησεν τῇ Μιλήτῳ)? while his father, Skythes, perhaps, was the understudy of Histiaios! Or was it only with the close of the Ionian revolt that Skythes found Kos too hot to hold him? It is easy to speculate: impossible to decide but at least it is evident that the voluntary abdication in favour of democracy, from a sheer sense of political justice, when the tyranny was firmly established, and there was no circumstance to cause him disquiet or apprehension, is not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—is not even plausible fiction.

5 ἔνθα † παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην these Samians can only be the men who had treacherously seized the city of Zankle in the absence of Skythes—father of Kadmos

τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὖνομα. τοῦτον δὴ ὁ

6 ἐν μεσσήνηι α || τοῦνομα α, van H.

—as related in 6 23 f. Kadmos had received the island of Kos *παρὰ πατρός* he has the city of Zankle *παρὰ Σαμίων* was he his father's avenger? Or are we in the presence of a greater tragedy? Was Kadmos himself the leader of those very Samians who seized Zankle, in the absence of Skythes? Had the invitation to Kale Akte been addressed by Skythes to his son in Kos, or in Samos, or wherever his address for the time being was? The reading *μετὰ Σαμίων* which Stein dismisses contemptuously as a flimsy (*leichtfertige*) correction in the younger mss. has exactly the same authority as hosts of readings which he has accepted elsewhere *passim*. The reputation of Kadmos (already not quite so good as it was) hangs on the reading of the preposition and interpretation of the verb. If we read *μετὰ Σαμίων*, then the verb *ἔσχε* must mean 'seized' as in 5 46 *ἔσχε Μινώην*, and notably of these very Samians, 6 23 *Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον, ἑὼν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν εὐδισαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην κτλ*, and in that case Kadmos appears as the leader of that very band of 'Samians' which seized Zankle in the absence of his father Skythes, the commandant, king, or monarch, of the town. Was this not the act of a parricide? Or was it, perhaps, a very deep-laid plot, to which the father was a consenting party? He had abdicated once before in favour of his son, and it was time for him now to be returning to Susa (where he had a reputation to lose!). He paid in any case for the loss of Zankle by his imprisonment at Inyx but even this imprisonment has a make-believe air, and the conduct of Hippokrates, his offended suzerain, is curiously paradoxical. He accepts the situation at Zankle, makes a bargain with the treacherous Samians, and betrays the Zankleans. Meanwhile Skythes escapes from Inyx, goes to Himera, and from thence to Asia and the Persian court, where he died in the odour of sanctity.

Reading *παρὰ τῶν Σαμίων* with the 'elder' mss may work a transformation in the later stages of the story of Kadmos, at least if *ἔσχε* must still mean 'seized, captured, forcibly occupied'. But must it (as Stein assumes)? Soph. *Antis* 663

*οὐπω τι κεδνὸν ἔσχον Ἀργείων πάρα* shows that in the phrase *σχεῖν παρὰ τινος* the verb may mean little more than *τυχεῖν, δέξασθαι*, or *simil.* This interpretation would not of necessity alter in any substantial particular the hypothetical history just sketched: the action of the Samians is emphasized, but Kadmos might still be of their company, and even their leader. If, however, *ἔσχε* be taken in the strongest sense, the meaning of the sentence *ἔσχε παρὰ Σαμίων* is widely different. Kadmos deprives the Samians of the city, or at least of the government, of which they have deprived his father. It is from this point of view that Stein reconstructs this part of the story. According to him Kadmos is employed by Anaxilas of Rhegion, and supplied with the means to attack and recover the town from the Samians, who have come to terms with Hippokrates, and thus broken with Anaxilas. Kadmos carried out his commission (against the Samians—and Hippokrates?) successfully, and settled there (*κατοίκησε*)—as Stein now thinks (cp next note). But unfortunately for this interpretation (1) Thucyd in recording the expulsion of the Samians by Anaxilas (6. 4) says nothing about Kadmos. (2) If Kadmos was a protégé of Anaxilas, how does he come afterwards to be the trusty henchman of Gelon, who was sworn foe to Anaxilas? The first difficulty Stein meets by the supposition that 'the rôle of Kadmos was a subordinate one' (what then of Hdt?), the second by the supposition that Anaxilas afterwards put Kadmos on one side, dropped him in fact but why? Neither objection holds against the other view: if Kadmos was leader, or companion, or friend of the Samians, he would naturally have been driven out of Zankle by Anaxilas with the Samians, and no less naturally sought the protection of Gelon after that contretemps.

*κατοίκησε*, "incoluit" Valla, "habitavit" Schweighauser, so too L & S. Stein in his earlier annotated editions took it to mean 'made a colony of,' 'supplied with a new population,' and this well suits his interpretation of *παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε*: but in the fifth edition substitutes the other (and correct) interpretation, which, however, obviously

Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε [έούσαν], ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ

8 συνήδεε· συνήδεε α· ἤδεεν β || έούσαν del. Stein<sup>3</sup>. ένεούσαν Naber || ανέπεμπεν β || ὃς: ὁ δ' ? Stein<sup>2</sup>

suits the reading μετὰ Σαμίων or the weaker meaning of ἔσχε ἢ παρὰ Σαμίων is read

Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὐνομα Does the tense here certainly mean that the name of Zankle had been changed to Messene before its 'seizure' by Kadmos, as Stein asserts? (1) This is to give too inevitably a 'pluperfect' meaning to the aorist. The past time of the aorist may be relative to the writer, or relative to the thing (event) narrated: the strict pluperfect should be confined to the latter relation. Why should Hdt., whose pluperfects are sometimes relative rather to the time of writing than to the subject matter of the record, be supposed in using the freer aorist to adopt a strictly *plus quam perfectum* date? Why should not Hdt. have written μεταβεβληκυῖαν here if that was his meaning? It may be admitted that if it were otherwise demonstrable that the change of name had preceded the advent of Kadmos, the aorist might be interpreted accordingly that it must be so interpreted is an over-statement

(2) The phrase πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν κτλ. is curiously clumsy if Messene was already the name of the city when Kadmos arrived: it should have run πόλιν Μεσσήνην τὴν ἐξ Ζάγκλης μεταβαλοῦσαν (or μεταβεβληκυῖαν) τὸ οὐνομα, in which case the aorist would have naturally involved a *fact accompli*

(3) Stein's interpretation flatly contradicts Thucydides, who expressly affirms that the name was changed by Anaxilas after the expulsion of the Samians 6.4.6 τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίωνων τύραννος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλευροῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασεν That might seem to settle the question; but the coinage of 'Zankle-Messene' appears to suggest that in reality the name Messene was in use for the town, or at least by the town, before the expulsion of the Samians by Anaxilas. See B. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 134, who expresses himself, however, cautiously: "the following coins with Samian types (if they are in reality

Samian) would seem to prove that the name of Messene was in use at Zankle while the Samians were still in occupation" (Only some of the coins are inscribed). Cp. also A. J. Evans in *Numism. Chron.* xvi, 1896, p. 104, G. Tropea, *Numismatica Messano-Mamertina*, 1902. Now, if Thucydides is wrong to this extent, that "the name of Messene was in use at Zankle while the Samians were still in occupation"—possibly in compliment to Anaxilas before he expelled the Samians—yet still that does not prove that it was in use before the appearance of Kadmos on the scene—unless his appearance is identical with the expulsion of the Samians (a view combated above).

(4) Freeman, *Sicily*, II., Appendix IX *Anaxilas and the Naming of Messana*, while interpreting these words rightly to mean that "the city which was called Zankle when Kadmos settled there was called Messene when Herodotus wrote," traverses the statement of Thucydides from another point of view. (1) The motive given for the change of name is "somewhat singular and sentimental." (2) Diodoros used the name Zankle for the city down to the death of Anaxilas (476 B.C.), and afterwards down to the expulsion of his sons and the general settlement of Sicily, when he changes the name to Messene. (3) This settlement coincides with the third Messenian war: Messenian exiles may have settled then in Zankle and changed the name. But Freeman has overlooked the coins with Samian type and 'Messenian' legend. Moreover, the connexion of Messenians with Rhegion and (probably) Zankle goes back to the first Messenian wars, as he shows 1.586. Yet his idea that the final change of name was not fully or officially recognized till about 460 B.C. is plausible enough.

7. διὰ δικαιοσύνην. Blakesley acutely remarked that the δικαιοσύνη of Skythes (6.24) was exhibited in the shape most appreciated in a monarchy, the δικαιοσύνη of Kadmos (c. 164 *supra*), in a shape highly valued by republican Greece; but here it must be added that Kadmos, as the servant of Gelon, appears

- τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἐωντοῦ ἐργασμένοις καὶ  
 10 τὸδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλίπετο· κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων  
 χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι  
 οὐκ ἠθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ  
 καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπύκετο  
 ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.
- 165 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκημένων,  
 ὥς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων  
 ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνυσι-  
 δήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος

10 γὰρ del Stein<sup>1</sup> et van H., G. Herold secuti 12 ἐπεὶ ἐπείτε  
 vel ἐπειδὴ<sup>2</sup> van H. 13 δὴ καὶ. δὴ C 14 ἀπὸ om B, Holder  
 ἅπαντα ms alius Brut. ap Wesseling· Palm 165 1 τῇ om BPz,  
 Holder, van H., alii 3 αἰνεσιδῆμον B 4 ἐξελασθεὶς: ἐξελαθεὶς libri

to have reverted to the paternal type, as also to have developed a financial probity worthy of an Aristides

14. ἀπὸ π τ χ. ἄ. is, so to speak, the 'record' *imesis* in Hdt, but cp. App Crit.

165. 1. λέγεται . . . τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκημένων sc. Ἑλλήνων This Sikeliote story might well be an addition by the author to the first draft of his work: it appears to be an oral tradition, deserving from its local origin, intrinsic character, and absence of animus, 'tendency,' or *parti pris*, the preference over the highly elaborate account of the negotiations with Gelon, which was all Hdt. perhaps knew before his migration to the West. According to this account Gelon could not possibly have come to the assistance of the Greeks in their struggle with Xerxes, as Sicily itself was just at the very same time invaded by an immense armada from Carthage. In Hdt. this coincidence is presented as purely fortuitous, and the invasion itself as a response to merely local and dynastic interests, a view refuted by the very magnitude and scale of the forces engaged: see further on the subject, Appendix II § 7

2. ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν . . . εἰ μὴ . . . Τήριλλος . . . ἐπήγε, 'Gelon would have come to the support of the Greeks, but that Terillos was bringing up to the attack . . .'

3. Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνυσιδήμου· cp. c. 154 *supra*. Freeman, *Sicily*, II 143 ff., has an eloquent passage on Theron, "a name second only to that of the lords of Syracuse". he was closely connected

with the said lords, Gelon's wife Damarete being Theron's daughter, and Theron's second wife being a niece of Gelon's and daughter of Polyzelos. Theron appears in alliance with Gelon against the Carthaginians and the Greeks who 'phoenikized,' Terillos, Anaxilas. It appears that the Chalkido-Ionian elements were supporting themselves by barbarian help (Carthage, etc.) against the Dorian; and so later on Athens succeeded to the same fatal policy in Sicily. Hamilkar in 480 B.C. represented, at least potentially, the cause of Greek 'democracy' in Sicily against Syracuse, even as Hannibal in 218 B.C. assuredly represented the cause of Italian democracy against Rome

4. Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου. Hdt.'s terminology for the Sikeliote tyrants is observable. There was something like a dynasty in Akragas since the day of Telemachos, and perhaps the *μουναρχία* was a degree less unconstitutional than *τυραννίς*. Akragas was a colony from Gela, founded but in 580 B.C., and named, like the metropolis, from the river on which it was situated. Thuc 6 4 4, cp. Freeman, I 429 ff.

Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινύππου: practically nothing more is known of him than is here to read. he was 'tyrant' of Himera, bound by ties of friendship with the great Carthaginian on the one side, and with Anaxilas of Rhegion, his own son-in-law, on the other. He probably represented the 'Chalkidic' element in Himera, and he may have gained his position by 'demagoguery' (not,



ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης ἐπήγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν 5  
χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων

5 ὑπ' ἐπ' α

like Gelon, by prowess in war and reliance on Dorian merchant-princes') What became of him? He does not figure at all in the story of the war. His father is otherwise unknown, but the name Κρινίππος recurs in Sikeliote history, e.g. Xen. *Hell* 6.2.36, the Syracusan admiral who committed suicide ὑπὸ λύπης when captured by Iphikrates in 372 B.C.

5 Ἰμέρης the only Greek city of any importance on the north coast of Sicily, a settlement from Zankle, 648 B.C., chiefly 'Chalkidic,' but with a Syracusan taint, the so-called *Μυληρίδαι*. Thuc. 6.5.1, Freeman, 1.410 ff. The struggle between the Ionian and Dorian elements might help to account for the tendencies of the tyranny in Himera, and for the intervention of Theron.

ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον the temporal ὑπὸ exactly the same phrase occurs in Aristoph. *Acharn.* 139 ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον 'Ὅτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θέογυις ἠγωνίζετο. The synchronism is further defined in the next chapter.

6 Φοινίκων here plainly Carthaginians, the Phoenicians of Libya (cp. 4.197), known to the Romans as Poeni, Puni (cp. c. 89 *supra*), through the Sikeliotes doubtless.

Λιβύων· presumably Libyan tribes in the neighbourhood of Carthage subject to the 'Phoenicians'—and perhaps mercenaries to boot from the independent tribes. Strangely enough, in the 'Libyan *Logoi*' no account is given of the relations of Carthage to the Libyans, or of the Libyans to Carthage, although those 'Logoi' were surely composed after Hdt.'s migration to the West (cp. Hdt. IV-VI Introduction, p. xcix). On the ethnological position of the Libyans (cp. 2b Appendix XII § 12), A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, c. xiv.

Ἰβήρων· nowhere else actually named by Hdt., but he mentions Iberia (1.163) in a passage which places it in the West, and the 'Iberians' are here no doubt tribes of the Spanish peninsula, and perhaps of some district north of the Pyrenees, an end of the earth about which Hdt.'s information is curiously defective, in part perhaps because he had in this region neglected his Hekataios

(cp. G. Tiopea, *Ecateo da Miletos*, Messina I (1896) Ἰβηρία, Frammenti 1 a 19, II (1897) Κελτική κτλ., Fr. 20 a 57). Ethnologically the western Iberians are related to, perhaps represented by, the fundamental strata of the population from Great Britain to the Nile (Picts, Basques, Berbers), but even in the days of Hdt. the 'Libyans' and 'Iberians' are clearly distinguished, and that, probably, not merely by territorial or merely geographical conditions. (Cp. e.g. Keane, *Ethnology*, c. xiv, Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, Appendix B, *Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic*, by Prof. Morris Jones.)

Λιγύων Ligyes have, rightly or wrongly, figured above, c. 72, among the infantry of Xeires, in the Paphlagonian division. The Ligyes here mentioned are rather to be identified with the *Λίγυες οἱ ἀνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκούντες* of 5.9—the one passage in the whole work wherein (if it be genuine) the greatest of the Phokaiian colonies is named. The Greek adventurers had early made this name known in the East: Hesiod ranked the Ligyes with Skyths and Ethiopians (Strabo p. 300), Hekataios could distinguish *Λιγυστική* not merely from Ἰβηρία but from Κελτική (cp. *Frags.* 11, 24), Aischylos celebrated the *Λιγύων ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν* and makes Prometheus give Herakles a recipe for besting it (*Frags.* 182=Strabo 182, 183). Thucydides, no doubt on the authority of earlier writers, represents the Ligyes as having expelled the Sicani from (a portion of) Iberia, 6.2.2. In the Latin writers and writers of the Roman period the Ligurians extend from Spain into North Italy (cp. Livy 5.35), and geographical nomenclature (sinus Ligusticus, Lugudunum, Ligei, Liguria) attests the extension of the race (cp. Kiepert, *Manual*, §§ 213, 254, etc.). To the modern ethnologist the Ligurian name represents a primitive stratum of population, the main seats of which lie all along the littoral from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, and which penetrated a considerable way beyond the latter barrier into the Italian peninsula, if not beyond the former into the Iberian (cp. Nissen, *Ital. Landesk.* 1. 468 ff.).

καὶ Ἑλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας  
καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων

7 Ἑλισύκων P(S)Vz ἑλυσίκων R εσιλύκων α ἔσιλύκων Cd || Σαρ-  
δονίων Valckenaer σαρδόνων 8 αὐτέων z || ἀμύλκαν || ἄννωνος β-  
an Μάγωνος?

7. Ἑλισύκων not mentioned by Hdt elsewhere Steph B *sub v* ἔθνος Διγύων Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπη (but it is not on Hekataios that Hdt. is here drawing) Avienus, *Ora maris* 584, places them in Piovence, making Naibo 'ferocis maximum regni caput' Freeman, II 172, unfortunately adheres to Niebuhr's 'happy guess' that they were Volscians ('*Italia* in Diod 11 1 at most could prove that Hdt's list is imperfect')

Σαρδονίων Here perhaps a geographical rather than an ethnological expression (ἡ Σαρδῶ, the island of Sardinia, Hdt 1 170, 5 106, 124, 6. 2). In Roman times at least the population was a mixed one (cp Strabo 225), the basal elements being doubtless Ibero-Ligurian (cp O Meltzer, *Gesch der Karthager*, I. pp 32 f). The Carthaginian conquest of the island, or at least of its coasts, is placed in the sixth century B C (cp. E Meyer, *G. d. Alt* II p 697)

Κυρνίων There were Corsicans in Sardinia (Pliny, 3 13. 2, Corsi), but here the term is primarily geographical, for the inhabitants of Κύρνος cp 1. 165-7 (the native elements probably Ibero-Ligurian). Diodor 5 13, 14 (a *locus classicus*) ascribes to the natives the practice of the Couvade (cp E. B. Tylor, *Early Hist of Mankind*, p 293, O. Peschel, *Races of Mankind*, p 24 f), a characteristically Basque custom. At this date the island was dominated by the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans), whose absence from the list here is remarkable

τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν this vast yet vague total (devoid of items) is no doubt a gross exaggeration. if ten times too large, it still presents a less enormous exaggeration than Hdt's elaborate computation of the forces of Xerxes cc 184-7 *infra*. It agrees only too well with his estimate for the army of Mardonios, 8. 113, 9. 32, cp. also c 185 *infra*. But the figures are here of less importance than the composition and leading of the forces. In the seven races, or nations, massed under the command of the Carthaginian we may see a coalition of the western Euro-African peoples, under Semitic lead, to destroy or expel

the Hellenic intruders. How far the army so composed is an army of Carthaginian subjects, and how far a purely mercenary force, recruited voluntarily, is a further question. (See next note.) The Italian, or at least the Sabelian stocks are not present. Rome was at this time probably *ἐνσπονδος* with Carthage (cp Polyb 3 23, Strachan-Davidson, *Selections*, pp 50 ff), but certainly not concerned to aggrandize the Punic hegemony. Stranger is the presence, or at least the invitation of the tyrants of Chalcidic Sicily to the secular foe: a parallel, indeed, to the attitude of Argos towards Sparta and the Barbarian, c 149 *supra* ἐλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρχεῖσθαι ἢ τι ὑπέξειαι (Συρηκοσίοισι)

8 Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα there are possibly two errors, or inaccuracies, in this description —(1) The father's name. Trogus Pompeius (Justin 19 1) represents this 'Hamilkar' as the son of Mago, 'Karthagimensium imperator,' and the brother and successor of Hasdrubal. Meltzer, *G d Karthager* I 193, prefers the later and Latin authority, upon the ground that the data in Trogus represent the results of conscious and consistent research, while the patronymic in this passage is merely an *obiter dictum* (*bloss aphoristische Erwähnung*). the name here may also be a mere textual corruption. Diodorus unfortunately (11 20) does not give the father's name. Trogus gives Hanno as the name of one of the sons of Hamilkar. (2) The kingship. Was the Constitution of Carthage in 480 B C monarchic, or did it even include any magistrate to be properly described as βασιλεὺς? This question Meltzer (*op. c*) answers in the negative. Diodorus I c describes 'Amilkon' as elected General (στρατηγὸν εἰλοντο). Trogus I c. speaks of Mago as *imperator*, and of Hasdrubal (the elder son) as *dictator* eleven times, dying of a wound in Sardinia, after handing over the *imperium* to his brother. On the death of Hamilkar Carthage is ruled for a time by the *familia imperatorum*, until a court of 100 senators (*centum ex numero*

έόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίην τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος  
ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Κρητίνεω<sup>10</sup>  
προθυμίην, δς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοῦς

9 βασιλῆα α || ὁ Τήριλλος secl van H

10 ἀξίλειω α

*senatorum iudices*) is elected to enforce responsibility on the commanders, and respect for the constitution. The Latin terminology and Roman analogies somewhat detract from the authority of Tiogus, but his account is consistent with, or even suggests, an oligarchic or aristocratic state in which one house, or family, has tended to exercise or usurp a dynastic position.

The oldest description of the Carthaginian Constitution is Aristotle's (*Politics* 2. 11=1272 b), on which cp F. L. Newman, *Politics*, II Appendix B, pp 401 ff and O Meltzer, *G d Karthager*, II 2tes Buch (pp 3-152). See also B W Henderson on 'The Carthag Councils,' *J of Phil* xxiv., 1896, pp 119 ff. Aristotle's description may be taken as valid in the main for a long period—perhaps centuries—prior to his time. He classes it with the 'Kretan' and 'Lakonian,' and especially notes that there has been no *στάσις* and no *τύραννος* in Carthage, also he especially notes the analogy between the kings (*βασιλεῖς*) at Sparta and the kings at Carthage, but to the advantage of the latter, as elective and not hereditary. This observation coupled with Livy's comparison of the Carthaginian 'suffetes' to the Roman consuls (30 7 5 etc) may be taken to show that there were two supreme magistrates at Carthage, *Shophetm* = 'Judges,' but what the limit of their term of office is not clearly shown. But that either or both of the *Shophetm* took supreme command in the field, *ex officio*, is not stated, nor is it (*me iudice*) probable for this period, whatever the earlier arrangement may have been. Meltzer has well explained the significance of the military reform which Tiogus enables us to associate with the name of Mago; it consisted in the substitution of an army mainly subject, or mercenary, for an army mainly, or exclusively, citizen soldiers. The first historic example of its employment is at Himeria in 480 B.C. With the new organization of the militia may have gone a development of the command, to which we might refer the language by Isokrates put into the mouth of Nikokles (Newman, p 403) ἐτι δὲ

Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἀρίστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευομένους οἱ μὲν ὀλιγαρχομένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευμένους (*Nikok* § 24), i.e. *domi* an oligarchy, *politikas* a kingship. Whether Hamilkar was technically one of the two *suffetes* in 480 B.C. appears doubtful, but he certainly was 'imperator'. It is not likely that Hdt or even his Sikelote authority took clear note of the difference.

10 Ἀναξίλειω τοῦ Κρητίνεω Anaxilaos (Ion Ἀναξίλειω, Doric Ἀναξίλας) is here given his patronymic, not so in 6 23, where he is simply entitled, as here also, ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος. As far as the use of the patronymic goes, that might suggest the priority of this passage, but the use of the patronymic is a poor test (cp Introduction, § 7), and nothing more than a difference and independence of source can be made out. Anaxilaos overthrew an 'oligarchy' according to Aristotle, *Pol* 8 (5). 12 13=1316 a. Strabo in his account of Rhegion (257) quoting Antiochos (a first-rate authority) would lead us to infer that the oligarchy was 'Messenian,' Rhegion being a joint foundation of Chalkidians (Ionian) and Messenians (quasi-Dorian). It is perhaps by an error that Herakleides Pontikos 25 makes Anaxilaos himself a 'Messenian,' even though Thucyd 6 4 seems to anticipate it, at any rate the policy of Anaxilaos is 'Chalkidic,' phil-Ionian, or at least anti-Syracusan. Cp. c 164 *supra*. He held, however, the Straits against the Tyrrhenoi, Strabo 257 *ad init*. He reigned 494-476 B.C.; cp. c. 170 *infra*.

11. τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα: probably the sons entrusted afterwards to the guardianship of Mikythos, cp. c. 170. An elder son was associated with his father in the government of Zankle-Rhegion (cp Freeman, II 490), a daughter was first wife to Hieron, the brother and successor of Gelon, according to Schol Pind *Pyth* 1 112. Kydippe, the daughter of Terillos, may have been a second wife. The father's name recurs c 190 *infra* in Thessalian Magnesia, and had been borne by one of the Milesian founders of Sinope. Ps-Scymnus 949 f. (The

ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπήγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ·  
 Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν  
 Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν  
 15 Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.  
 166 πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν  
 τε τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν  
 Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὸν Πέρσην.  
 τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρὸθεν  
 5 δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχη-  
 δονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ,  
 ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα

14 κυδίππη B 166 2 τῇ om C 5 συρηκούσιον CPz.  
 συρηκούσιον d 6 ἐγένετο dz ('non male si εἴσσωτο scribitur' van H)  
 7 πυνθάνομαι del Cobet

article in Pauly-Wissowa on Anaxilaos was written, apparently, in complete ignorance of Freeman's *Sicily*.)

166 1 πρὸς, adverb cp cc. 154 *supra*, 184 *infra*

τάδε λέγουσι refers to the asserted synchronism between the battles of Himera and Salamis, which is thus a Sikeliote assertion, and very important for the argument. Aristot *Poet* 23=1459A seems to be reflecting on this account ὅσπερ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἢ τ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐγένετο ναυμαχία καὶ ἢ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων μάχῃ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ συντείνουσιν τέλος οὕτω κτλ. Diodor 11. 24 makes the day of Himera coincide with the last day of the fighting at Thermopylai, which would have given time for the news of Himera to have reached the Greeks—and the Persians—before Salamis

4. Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρὸθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον πρὸς π, cp c 99 *supra*. This notice of Hamilkar's 'Syriacusian' mother is unfortunately not quite articulate: what was her name, status, race? His father's marriage would have fallen probably at least half a century before, for Hamilkar is the younger of two sons, and has apparently three grown up sons of his own—a Hanno among them (Tiogus 19. 2). In 530 B.C. the Gamoroi had not yet been driven out of Syracuse by the Kylleniots (cp. c. 155 *supra*); and Hamilkar's mother must (one supposes) have belonged to the Greek aristocracy. The Greek marriage gives some slight plausibility to the proposal to connect

the Greek version of the *Periplus* of Hanno, *Geogr. min* 1, with a Hanno of this house and period, whether it be with the son or with the father of this Hamilkar—if the father's name was Hanno after all. Mueller (*op. c. p.* xxii) decides in favour of the son, and the possibility that the father's name was Mago, not Hanno, is another feather in the same scale Cp previous c

5. βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων a point in which the Carthaginian is superior to the Spartan constitution is the elective character of the kingships, according to Aristotle, *vide* c 165 *supra*, and cp the case of Darius, 6. 42. Aristotle says the kings (*sofetes*) and generals (*strategoi*), whom he appears to distinguish, were elected with reference to wealth (*πλουτινὸν*) as well as worth (*ἀριστινὸν*), *Pol* 2. 11. 9=1273A. The aorist itself suggests the limited term of the office (not *βασιλεύοντα*)

6. συμβολή a word of many meanings here, as in 1. 66, 74, 4. 159, 6. 110, of 'battle,' 'conflict' (contr. 4. 10 τοῦ ζώσσης), cp. συμβάλλειν absolutely, or *τινὶ passim*, for 'to do battle' 'to engage'

7. ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι such cases interest Hdt., cp 4. 14, and he apparently made special inquiries about the case of Hamilkar, and believed Gelon to have done so too before him. This disappearance takes the place of the battle-piece, to which Hdt. does no sort of justice

φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα. ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὃδε λόγος λεγόμενος, 167 οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὥς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δελίης ὀψίης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὃ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο [καὶ 5 ἐκαλλιέρετο] ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὥς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἐωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὲ κατακαυθέντα

167 1 ὃδε d ὃδε ὁ z 2 οἰκότι Koen εἰκόνι (εἰκῶνι B) || ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ om B 4 τοσοῦτον B || λέγεται del. Cobet. λέγειν B 5 ἐθύετο καὶ del Abicht || καὶ ἐκαλλιέρετο del Krueger, Stein<sup>2</sup> 8 εἰς B, Holder

8 διζήμενον cp. c 142 *supra*

167. 1 ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων it is but seldom that Hdt cites 'Carthaginian' sources, and only (I believe) after his migration to Thuri. He could not read nor speak 'Phoenician'; nor need the phrase here carry with it the implication of personal contact with Carthaginians, much less of a visit to Carthage, nor of access to Carthaginian documents, even in a Greek translation cp. IV.-VI Introduction, § xcvi. f He has heard (or read) this version related as a 'Carthaginian' story, but though there may be genuine report going back to the time and place, the passage bears intrinsic marks, both positive and negative, of its dominant Greek interest and elements. As a matter of fact there must have been many Greeks (from Himera, Zankle, Rhegion at least) in the Carthaginian camp

2 οἰκότι χρεωμένων. cp λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι 3. 111, ἀληθείᾳ χρῆσασθαι c. 101 *supra*.

οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι notwithstanding the composition of the army of Hamilkar, Carthaginians can hardly have spoken of it as 'the barbarians.' The term as here used is characteristically Greek Cp. Aeschyl. *Pers.* 187, 255, 337, where Persians speak of the army of Xerxes as βάρβαροι

3 ἀρξάμενοι middle (*contra*, c 162) The 'barbarians' delivered the attack With ἐξ ἡοῦς μέχρι δελίης ὀψίης cp 8 9 and 8 6 (*πρωτῆν*).

4 λέγεται not surely by the Carthaginians in especial, the Greek version reported a battle of long duration. Cp App. Crit

ἐλκύσαι, apparently intransitive, as we use 'to drag', 6 86 *προφασίας* εἶλον, "paulo aliter" (Baehr)

σύστασιν cp. 6. 117, and for the verb c 142 5 *supra*.

5. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, i.e. ἐξ ἡοῦς μέχρι δελίης ὀψίης. this sacrifice would be consummated in the dark, or at least the dusk

6. σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων this bloody sacrifice and holocaust was doubtless offered to the Baal Moloch, the chief deity of Carthage, whose title (*molech*, the king) appears in the name of his worshippers. In the Greek rite, as a rule, only a small part of the animal was consumed by fire, and the greater part was eaten by the worshippers. On this occasion there was nothing of the Feast in the Sacrifice, which was all offered to the God, evidently in the hope of procuring a favourable answer, divine assistance or intervention, on behalf of the Carthaginian arms. Even if this story be substantially true, we need not picture Hamilkar neglecting his duties as commander-in-chief in order to devote his whole mind to these continuous burnt-offerings.

8. ὥσε ἐωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ. Human sacrifice was especially in vogue at Carthage, cp Justin 18 6 11 "cruenta sacrorum religione et scelere pro remedio usi sunt, quippe homines ut victimas immolabant," etc (Flaubert employs this motif with terrible effect in his romance *Salambô*) Hdt's narrative may record not an act of despair but an act of devotion. the rout was not complete (*γινόμενην*) when Hamilkar, in the act of pouring libation over the last victims,

ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ,  
 10 ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ, [ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ  
 Συρηκόσιοι,] τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν  
 ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλεσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον  
 Καρχηδόνι.

168 Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε  
 ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ  
 τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἷ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκοντο,  
 λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον.

9 Ἀμίλκα del van H 10 ὡς . . Συρηκόσιοι del. Stein: καὶ  
 Συρηκόσιοι om BPz || Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ del de Pauw συρηκούσιοι BC  
 12 ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλεσι damn., ἐν πολλῇσι conl. Stein<sup>2</sup> || τῶν ἀποικίδων  
 del. Sitzler mih quidem verba non nulla post θύουσι videntur excidisse, et  
 sequentia turbata esse· πόλεσι B 168 3 ἀπίκατο B, Holder, van H.

thrust himself into the blazing pyre, in hopes and faith that this supreme sacrifice would bring a favourable intervention from his god (Cp c 107 *supra*) Baehr and Blakesley both approve this idea. Hamilkar's fortunes were probably staked on the success of this expedition: he could remember, perhaps, the reception of the defeated army on its return from Sardinia under 'Mazeus' (Justin 18.7) and had no mind to risk a worse reception. But this 'Carthaginian' legend (ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι) of his self-sacrifice may not pass unchallenged into history: the alternative version of his death, though less romantic, is more probable in itself, and creditable to him as a soldier. Cp *infra*.

10 εἴτε ἐτέρῳ probably as in the story ap. Diodor 11.20, according to which Hamilkar was cut down early on the day of battle as he was engaged, in the naval camp, on a sacrifice to Poseidon, by Syracusan cavalry, who, under a ruse of Gelon's devising, had made their way into the lower Carthaginian laager. In some respects, while the account of the campaign as a whole, and of the battle, given by Diodoros, no doubt ultimately from Sikeliote sources, is very much fuller and more articulate than the curt and rather incoherent account here given by Hdt., the story of Hamilkar's death, as given by Hdt. ('so striking in itself, so thoroughly Semitic, and so effectively told'), is hard to part with, and might be combined, as Freeman suggests, with the main story as told in Diodoros, and indeed more effectively than Freeman

realised, for there is no need to abandon Gelon's 'stratagem,' or to move the burning of the ships from morning until evening, if we may preserve the sacrifice as one not to 'Poseidon' but to 'Baal Moloch,' and move Hamilkar from the naval to the upper camp.

11. οἱ θύουσι Hdt adduces the heroic cult of 'Hamilkar' as evidence for the truth of the story of his devotion and death. Such it might be, if the cult itself were a fact, but such a cult, in Semitic and Carthaginian settlements, Meltzer (i 215), followed by Freeman (ii 521), regards, no doubt rightly, as an impossibility. Hdt. has apparently confused 'Hamilkar,' 'the servant of Melqart' (Ebed-Melqart), with the god, to whom no doubt temples existed in all Carthaginian settlements, and the greatest in Carthage itself.

168 1. ἀπὸ not a mere περί, but suggesting the report, 'brought back' to the Confederates, 'from' Sicily. τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν 4. 54 seems less natural.

3 παρελάμβανον, 'tried to win over,' imperfect. Cp *infra* in the Koikyrian speech.

4 τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους could only apply to c. 157 *supra*. But which was prior, the speech at Syracuse, or the speech at Koikyra? The tenses παρελάμβανον, ἀπίκοντο, ἔλεγον do not appear to decide the point absolutely, though ἀπίκοντο might have temporally a pluperfect force, it need not have that force, and might here be used because Hdt. has previously recorded the embassy to

οὐ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν, 5  
φράζοντες ὥς οὐ σφί περιοπτή ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη·  
ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ  
τῶν ἡμερῶν· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἶη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον.  
ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν,  
ἄλλα νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες 10  
προσέμειξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον  
γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, καταδοκέοντες  
καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέεται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατα-

5 ὑπέσχοντο πέμψειν B 6 οὐ σφίσι van H 7 δουλεύσειν  
Cobet, van H. 9 ἐπεῖτε vel ἐπειδὴ? van H. 10 νοεῖντες B  
11 προσέμειξαν van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> προσέμειξαν Stein<sup>12</sup> || Πύλον Οἰτυλον  
vel Τύλον? van H 14 ὑπερβαλέεσθαι PV<sub>z</sub> ὑπερβαλέσθαι RS:  
ὑπερβάλλεσθαι reliqui || Πέρσην ξέρξεα B

Gelon as the more important part of the service of these envoys; while λέγον certainly is no pluperfect. Doubtless the envoys went to Sicily *via* Korkyra, and may have had interviews with the authorities there both on the outward and homeward voyage.

\*5 ὑπίσχοντο. imp from ὑπίσχωμαι. Hdt. uses also the form ὑπισχνόμαι, cp 9 109 φράζοντες, 'declaring', τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, 'without a day's delay'.

8 τιμωρητέον εἶη by a sort of attraction to περιοπτή (ἐστὶ) the verbal adjective is used, but an indicative promise — ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ τιμωροὶ ἔσονται — would have been more conclusive.

9 εὐπρόσωπα = εὐπρεπῇ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει, 'when the time came for . . .'

10 ἄλλα νοέοντες (καὶ ἄλλα λέξαντες). cp. 9 54 (ἄλλα φρονέειν)

ἐξήκοντα was that half their navy? They had 120 in 435 B.C., Thucyd 1 25 4

μόγις, 'with much ado'

11. προσέμειξαν, as in 6 96, ἀνεκώχευον, as in 6 116

12. γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων goes with Πύλον as much as with Ταίναρον. Hdt regards 'Pylos' as in Lakonian land, since the Spartans had conquered Messenia, cp Kardamyle 8. 73 *infra* (ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὖσα γῆ Thuc 4. 3 2), and Μεθώνη τῆς Λακωνικῆς Thuc 2 25 1. For Tainaron, the most southerly point of Peloponnesos (Cape Matapan), cp. 1 24, 25, Thuc.

1. 128. 1, 7 19 4 (a point of departure on the voyage to Sicily). Van Herwerden's emendation Οἰτυλον (Τύλον) gets rid of the difficulty of coupling Pylos and Tainaron in one breath as the station of the Korkyrean fleet. Oitylos (now Vitylo) is a harbour on the west coast of Tainaron II 2 585, Strabo 360; Pausanias 3. 25 10 (Hitzig-Bluemner)

καταδοκέοντες πεσέεται cp c 163 *supra*. This story, and the story of Gelon's mission of Kadmos, belong to the same earlier draft of the Book, into which cc 165-7 have been inserted; cp. Introduction, § 9

13 ἀελπτέοντες μὲν . . . δοκέοντες δὲ κτλ a merely verbal contrast. ἀελπτέοντες *desperantes*, cp II 7. 310, ἐξ ἀελπτῶ Hdt 1. 111. The description of the attitude of Korkyia in 481 B.C. may be substantially correct, they committed themselves, perhaps, even less deeply to the Greeks than the story here seems to suggest, cp Thuc. 1 32. 4 ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενὸς πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι· but the motivation, and especially the address to Xerxes, are open to suspicion, as coloured by the unpopularity which the Korkyreans earned, and deserved, by their ignoble neutrality. This feeling would have asserted itself from the first, and there is nothing in this passage (*me videtur*) to carry down the composition to the date of the Peloponnesian war; cf. Introduction, § 8

14. ὑπερβαλέεσθαι· f midd. ('to over-

15 κρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐποίευν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃ λέγειν τοιάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, 20 οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι.” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἠλπίζον πλεον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνάς σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν 25 ἐξήκοντα τριήρας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἶοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

169 Οὔτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Κρήτες

15 ὦν οὖν α 16 λέγειν om. α 17 ἡμέας om. β 20  
σοι β || ἀντιοῦσθαι β, van H. 22 καὶ om. α 24 τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
del van H. 25 ὑπερβαλεῖν ὑπερβαλέειν codd.

come, 'surpass'), 'despairing of ultimate victory for the Hellenes', contr ὑπερβαλεῖν *infra*

15 ἐποίευν . . ἵνα ἔχωσι . . λέγειν . cp. ἐποίησαν *ad. viii. c.*, ἐπιτηδές 8 141 ἔχουεν might be more regular, but ἔχωσι is more graphic, and agrees with the point of view in the context (δοκέοντες . . ἄρξειν). The report of this address to the king, in *oratio recta*, though it was admittedly never delivered, shows the very strong *animus* excited by the Korkyreans. The king would hardly have thanked the Korkyreans for their mere neutrality, though Hdt. seems to think they would have benefited by the plea had things come to the worst

17 παραλαμβανόντων (imperf) cp. παραλαμψόμενος c 157 *supra*.

19 ἂν implies the hypothetical condition εἰ τοῖσι Ἑλλῆσι συνεπολεμήσαμεν μετὰ c 139 *supra*

23 σκῆψις, 1 147 ἐπεποιήτο is a little curious in tense, or in sense They had apparently 'made' the excuse before they 'used' it; i.e. they had an excuse ready

25 ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων 'The annual winds' blow from the north during the months of August and September, coinciding with the period of the Nile flood, cp 2. 20 ὑπό, 'by the action of . .'. The 'winds' are

perhaps, in Hdt.'s philosophy, hardly neutral agents

ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην here a nautical term, to round, 'make,' get past Malea τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὑπερβεβλήκει ἤδη τὴν ἄκραν ἣ Κυνὸς σῆμα καλεῖται Thuc 8. 104. 4 (cp the v.l. ὑπερβαλοῦσαι Σούνιον 1b 95 1) In 8 137 *infra* ὑπερβαλόντες of crossing mountains, contr ὑπερβαλέσθαι *supra*. Malea (Cape Angelo), the SE promontory of Peloponnese, cp 4. 179. In 1. 82 Μαλέαι

27 κακότητι, predicative. 'it was not owing to cowardice they had failed to appear at the sea-fight.'

169 1. διεκρούσαντο διακρούεσθαι (τὸ δοῦναι δίκην, etc.), a favourite word with Demosthenes Rawlinson quotes the Scholiast to Thuc. 1 136 as showing that the Greeks afterwards meditated punishing the Korkyreans but that Themistokles interposed and saved them. Plutarch, *Them.* 24, gives a more probable explanation of the *εὐεργεσία*, and αἰτιωμένων c. 168. 23 above, διεκρούσαντο here, do not necessarily imply that things went so far as the Scholiast supposed.

Κρήτες a comprehensive term, primarily geographical, for the Homeric ethnology of Krete cp *Od.* 19 175 ff. (Achaians, Dorians, Pelasgoi, Kydonians, Eteokretans). Perhaps only the Dorian



δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέας παρελάβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοῖόνδε. πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἴ σφι ἄμεινον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο "ὦ νήπιοι, 5 ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οὐ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι

169 4 εἰ σφίσι Stein<sup>1</sup>, van H : εἴ σφι codd., Stein<sup>2 3</sup> 5 γίνεται  
'expectes γενήσεται vel ἔσται vel συνοίσεται' van H. 6 μέμφεσθε  
B. ἔτι μέμφεσθε aut τί μέμφεσθε aut οὐ τι μέμνησθε Reiske : ἔτι μέμνησθε  
coni Stein<sup>1</sup> || μενέλεω B. Μενελάω z. Μενέλεω Wesseling 7 οἱ μὲν  
οὐ συνεξεπρήξασθε (αὐτῷ delete) Cobet, van H.

Kretans would have been applied to on this occasion (Lyktos, Gortyn, etc.), but if so, their answer reveals their complete adoption of the 'Minoan' associations, and their alienation from Hellas proper, and Peloponnese. The isolation of Krete during the 'Hellenic' period offers an extraordinary contrast to the prominence and importance of the island and its culture in Mykenian or 'Minoan' times. That the whole of Krete acted on this occasion as one state, or communion, is not credible, but apparently no Kretan city, of any race or origin, was officially represented on the Hellenic side in the Persian war, there may, however, be some ground for the statement in Ktesias 26 that archais were brought from Krete by advice of Themistokles and Aristides.

2. παρελάβανον. c. 168 *supra*.

5. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο. (1.) the answer almost falls into iambic trimeters of its own accord. Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα is one ready made, (11) the dialect appears to be preserved (Μενελάου, cp App Crit). These observations throw suspicion upon the authenticity of the oracle. Stein admits the supposition that the response is a Kretan forgery. Κρήτες δὲ ψεύσται. But would not a forger have forged in hexameters? Hd1 may here be following a poetic source, in which the real or supposed response to the common Kretan *iheoria* at Delphi was recorded in iambs. Cp Introduction, § 10.

The material point of the alleged oracle is that Krete had already done more than its duty by Hellas. Kretans had taken part in the Trojan war on behalf of Menelaos, though Hellenes

had taken no part with Krete in avenging the death of Minos in Sicily, and the wrath of Minos had already come upon them. The god does not give a direct answer, but with bitter irony adduces a precedent, the moral of which is evident.

6. ἐπιμέμφεσθε: *conquerimini*, Wesseling, *ihr beschwert euch*, Stein, "you are not content with," Blakesley.

ὅσα δακρύματα. "lacrimarum materiam, res illacrimabiles," Baehr (cp "sunt lacrimae rerum," Verg.).

ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων, 'consequent on the assistance (*auxilia*) ye lent to Menelaos' (objective genitive). The reading is obviously right.

Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων this metaphorical πέμπειν is found in *Il.* 15. 109, Aischyl *Eumenid* 203 ἔχρησα πόνους τοῦ πατρὸς πέμψαι (Apoll. loq), and the other dramatists. The μήνις of Minos would doubtless rank still higher than that of Talthebios, c. 134 *supra*.

7. οἱ μὲν is rather vague as it stands; in the original verses (οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντ') its connotation may have been clear from the context; here it may be referred to "Ἕλληνες understood from τῇ Ἑλλάδι *supra*. The emendations of Cobet are brilliant but unconvincing.

συνεξεπρήξαντο, 'joined (you) in exacting vengeance for.' αὐτῷ might be the ethical dative (rather than with συν-, joined him), yet taken immediately with the verb it has a grandiose effect and a high animistic significance. In which case, too, the Kretans are, as it were, one with Minos.

8. τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον. see next chapter

ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλυμένην ἀποθανεῖν  
βιαίῳ θανάτῳ· ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος,  
πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους  
στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκεῖν ἐπ' ἕτα πέντε πόλιν 5

2 καλεομένην α 3 ἀνὰ ἵνα β || σφι z. σφε codd., Holder σφέας  
cod Askev, Bekker, van H 5 πόλιν del van H

Minos assures himself of the presence of Daedalos in the island (at Kamikos) by his royal host's success in passing a thread through the labyrinthine whorls of a shell thereupon, the murder of Minos. To put an end to Daedalos we must hark back to Lykia, where (according to Alexand Polyhust *ap* Steph B. *sub v* Δαίδαλα) he died from the bite of a snake as he was passing through a gnaish, and was buried (should he have drained it?) at 'Daídala,' a city raised in his honour. There are several cities of the name, and perhaps each had a tomb of Daedalos, as doubtless the Attic Deme of the Daidalids. Cp Toepffer, *Attische Gen* 165 ff, who strongly asserts the Attic origin of Daídalos (in ignorance of the prehistoric arts of Krete), but happily notices the connexion of Daídalos with Hephaistos (cp Pindar, *Pyth* 4 59, Plato, *Alk.* i. 121 a).

2 Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην κ Before it was Sicania the name of the island was Τρινακρία, cp Thuc 6 2 2-5. The invasion of the Sicels (from Italy) Thuc. dates 'nearly 300 years before the coming of Hellenes to Sicily,' i.e. by the conventional chronology 735 + 300 = 1035 B.C., but the Sicels of course did not at once give their name to the island, and the delay might account for the name Σικανίη occurring in 'Homer' (to wit, in a late passage, *Od.* 24 306, and only there presumably = Sicily), to whom nevertheless Σικελοί are known, *Od.* 20 383 (as slave-dealers), but whether in 'Italy' or in 'Sicania' is not apparent (and as slaves in Greece itself γυνὴ Σικελὴ γρηύς *Od.* 24 211, 366, 389). The Sicani, according to Thuc, were themselves immigrants from Iberia, though claiming to be autochthonous, but he ventures on no date for that immigration. Niebuhr long ago suggested that the difference between 'Sic-ani' and 'Sic-uli' was a difference of degree, not of kind, cp also Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i. 548. How untrustworthy Thucyd's

theory is may be seen in his statement that the previous name of the island was Τρινακρία. The one thing certain about the Homeric Θρινακίη is that it is not Sicily, nor could a Greek name for the island (meaning 'the Triangular,' or 'the Three-caped') possibly be the primitive name (nor is it likely that 'triquetria' was its 'name' then; cp. Lucilius 1 717, Horace, *Sat.* 2 6. 55). Hdt. in fact is probably right in not going behind the name 'Sikania' for the island as a whole.

3 θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύναντος· presumably Zeus (i.e. 'Minos' himself—if Hdt had only known it). The aorist points to a definite act, or manifestation: a famine, pestilence, or what not.

4 πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων. If the men of Polichne and Praisos took no part with Minos, then presumably they were no subjects of his. Polichne was near Kydonia (*Kamea*) but not on good terms with it (in 429 B.C.), cp Thuc 2 85 5 (though possibly friends with Gortyn). Praisos, at the east end of Krete, still bears the same name, and was undoubtedly an Eteokretan city (cp Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, i. 290), and has recently been the scene of excavations by the British School, cp *The Annual of B.S.A.* viii. This excommunication of the Eteokretans proves how completely the Dorian, or Hellenic, elements had appropriated the past with the present. In the legend followed by Diodoros 4. 79 the Kretans who accompanied Minos to Sicily made good his death. That is Greco-Sicilian theory, Hdt. seems to follow Kretan authorities, cp c. 171 *infra*.

5 ἐπ' ἕτα πέντε the figures 'ten' and 'five' are conventional siege-periods, cp Grote i. 274 (Freeman, i. 115, converts the 'five' to 'seven'). For the temporal use of ἐπί (with acc.) cp. 5 55. πόλιν Καμικόν the last researches apparently fix its site, not between Akragas and Minoa, but "further to the north, among the mountains, which rise

Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ οὐ  
 δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστέωτας,  
 ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι  
 πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν  
 10 γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι  
 κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην πόλιν κτίσαντας  
 καταμεῖναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι  
 Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἡπειρώτας.

6 κάμικον codd. || νέμονται B                      9 ὑπολαβόντας σφας R                      11  
 Ὑρίην ὑρηδῖην Apr B ὑρηλίην Acorr. Cd                      13 τοῦ εἶναι z, van H.

inland above the baths of Selinous", Freeman, *Sicily*, i. 112 (cp xxxi), and Appendix V.

6 τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο. these words might be an insertion from the author's hand, they could hardly have been written before his journey west, they cannot prove a visit on his part to Kamikos. The Akragantines in question were apparently exiles, or rather the representatives or descendants of exiles, who had left Akragas in the days of Theron Schol. Pindar, *Pyth* 6 4. For the temporal use of κατὰ (with accus.) cp. Index

7. λιμῷ συνεστέωτας cp. λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτω 9. 89.

8 κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην. The geographical significance of Ἰηπυγίη (the 'Calabria' of the Romans = peninsula south of Brindisi and Taranto), for Hdt. is determined by 4. 99, 3 138 (cp. Ἰαπυγία ἀκρα in Thuc. 6. 80. 1 etc.) How far the 'Iapygians' extended is a question. The 'Iapygia' of Hdt. is but one of three parts of modern Apulia, which form a natural unity; but Greek writers from Polybios on use 'Iapygia' for Apulia + Calabria. Cp. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, i 539

9 ὑπολαβόντα. What is subtle, or secret, may be gentle and slight, but is apt to be sudden, and so violent. a line of argument which may help to explain the many uses of ὑπολαμβάνειν illustrated in Hdt.; cp 8 96, 118.

ἐκβαλεῖν: cp. 4. 42.

11 Ὑρίην πόλιν Strabo 282, in the classical passage on 'Iapygia,' identifies the Hyria of Herodotus with Oὔρια, i.e. Uria (mod. Oria), situate on the mid-isthmus, and containing still in his days the palace of a former (Messapian) king.

That it was a 'Kretan' foundation is probably but a legendary fiction designed to do justice to the quasi-Hellenic character of the inhabitants and then culture. See further, below.

12. μεταβαλόντας. intransitive; cp. 8. 109, 1. 65 etc.

13 Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους seems to suggest a wider extension of the name Ἰήπυγες than to the Calabrian peninsula. The 'Messapians'—as near neighbours of Tarentum—are the most frequently mentioned division of Iapygians in the Greek writers, cp. Thuc 7 33 4 (where they appear to be under a 'dynast' or chieftain). Polyb., Strab., etc. Their Kretan origin is a fiction ranking with the Arkadian origin of the neighbouring Πευκῆτιοι (Dionys. Hal. i 13) and the Argive (Diomedean) origin of the 'Daunian' cities in Apulia (Strabo 284) Cp H. Nissen, *op c* 542 f. The fiction points, however, to two facts as necessary to account for it. (1) The Messapians were older residents in the land than the Hellenes (2) They had a cognate, though more archaic or primitive, culture. But even the 'Messapians' found in occupation, and subdued or expelled, an earlier (Italic) folk, the Ausoni (Dionys. Halik. i 22), cp. Nissen p 544. The real origin of the 'Messapians' is to be sought in the Greek peninsula, where Thucydides recognizes Messapians in Ozolian Lokris, 3 101. 2. The 'Kretan' parentage of the 'Bottiaioi' through Messapia enforces the conclusion, cp. c. 123 18 *supra*. The two shores of the 'Ionian' sea had a cognate population long before the coming of the 'Hellenes' or of the 'Dorians'

ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι. The construction and the change of construction is remarkable, cp. 6. 32 and App. Crit. There

ἀπὸ δὲ Τρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι  
 χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως, 15  
 ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων  
 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἳ ὑπὸ  
 Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν [καὶ] ἀπικό-

14 πόλιος· πόλις? van H || οἰκίσαι Schaefer, Stein<sup>2</sup>· οἰκῆσαι codd.,  
 Stein<sup>1</sup> || τὰς. ἄς α 18 Σμικύθου? cp Pape-Benseler sub n || φεύγειν  
 ἀναγκαζόμενοι com. Madvig || post ἀστῶν <οὐκ ἐβελόντων ἐξελεῖν παν-  
 δημεῖ> suppl. Sitzler || καὶ del van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>

is also here a pseudo-antithesis between  
 γενέσθαι and εἶναι

14 τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι Ulla is given  
 a kind of metropolitan position, but it  
 can hardly have been an earlier 'Mes-  
 sarian' foundation than Brundisium,  
 for example. The other Messarian cities  
 are scarcely known to fame. Strabo  
 281 gives the number as thirteen in  
 the most flourishing days (Cp. for  
 nomenclature Forbiger, *Geogr* iii 751 ff.,  
 without any adequate attempt to distin-  
 guish Hellenic, Messarian, and Ausonian  
 names or settlements)

Ταραντῖνοι. The men of Taras,  
 or Tarentum (cp 4 99) were accounted  
 Dorians or quasi-Dorians of Sparta  
 ("Lacedaemonum Tarentum," Hor *Od.*  
 3 5 56), but the purity of their Dorism  
 was confessedly doubtful, and tradition  
 hints also at an 'Achaian' element (from  
 Sybaris and Kroton) in the foundation  
 (circa 705 B.C.) The legend of the  
 'Paithenai' is reported by Strabo 278 f  
 in two versions, from Antiochos, from  
 Ephoros, the latter version making them  
 in effect better Lakedaimonians, better  
 Dorians. No stronger contrast could be  
 devised than that between the austere  
 Spartan discipline and the luxury of  
 'molle Tarentum,' already proverbial in  
 the time of Hdt (cp 6 127 and 1. 24).  
 The Tarentines were no doubt Hellenes,  
 and from Peloponnesse, perhaps from  
 Lakedaimon, but the 'Dorian' element  
 in them was surely very small—Dorians  
 could ill be spared by the conquerors in  
 Sparta. Tarentum was a 'Messarian'  
 before it was a 'Lakedaimonian' settle-  
 ment, and the Peloponnesian hellenized  
 Tarentines aimed at exploiting or subdu-  
 ing (ἐξανιστάντες) the whole of Calabria  
 —in which attempt they encountered  
 the disaster next reported. (προσέ-  
 πταισαν· cp πταῖσμα πρὸς c 149  
*supra*.)

15 χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ. in the  
 year 473 B.C. according to Diodor.  
 11 52

16 φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος . .  
 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν on the formula cp.  
 c 111. 2 *supra* Blakesley observes  
 that this must have been written  
 before the Athenian disaster in Sicily:  
 of course—there is no clear reference  
 in Hdt to any event even within a  
 decade of that, cp Introduction, § 9.  
 Notwithstanding the immense but un-  
 defined losses of Tarentum on this  
 occasion, the power of the Messapians  
 declined and that of the Hellenes  
 continued to increase thereafter the  
 loss affected the inner more than the  
 external relations of Tarentum. (About  
 510 B.C. there had been a tyrant or  
 'king' at Tarentum, 3 136) Aristot  
*Pol* 8. (5) 3 7=1303 A explains the  
 conversion of the city from *Politeia* to  
 democracy by the losses of the *γνώριμοι*  
 on this occasion; and no doubt the  
 influence of the 'Pythagoreans' was  
 destroyed. Hdt has probably exagger-  
 ated the actual numbers, but such were  
 the resources of Tarentum that it could  
 well sustain the blow, Strabo *l.c.* puts  
 the land forces of Tarentum, under the  
 extreme democracy, at 30,000 foot, 3000  
 cavalry, 1000 'hipparchs' Why is  
 nothing heard of an application to them  
 from Sparta, or the Hellenes, in 481 B.C.?

17 Ῥηγίνων The association with  
 Tarentum was apparently not voluntary  
 (ἀναγκαζόμενοι), and was, indeed, a little  
 unnatural, as the subsequent relations of  
 Rhegion and Taras to Athens might  
 suggest. It was only, however, a part  
 or a party of the citizens (τῶν ἀστῶν)  
 which was thus treated by Mikythos or  
 Smikythos (Pausan 5 26 3), and so  
 came to an involuntary end (οὕτω: but  
 cp App. Crit.) Probably 3000 was the  
 whole contingent

μενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνουσι ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν  
 20 δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὴν ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος οἰκέτης  
 ἔων Ἀναξίλειω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο, οὗτος δὲ περ  
 ἔκπεσών ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε

19 οὕτω del. Reiske. οὔτοι Pingel, Holder, van H.: ἔοντες vel ἀριθμῶ  
 coni Stein 20 δὲ. γε R· γε V || ἐπὴν: ἐπὴν codd || Σμίκυθος?  
 vide 18 supra 21 ὅς περ ὥσπερ B 22 ἐκπεσών ἐκ περσών R

20 ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος We have here, and indeed in the whole *παρενθήκη*, one of those invaluable *aperçus* into the history of the *Pentekontaetis* for which Hdt. must rank as an even better authority than for the Persian war, cp Introduction, § 10.

It is matter for regret that Hdt. should not have felt himself moved to relate more fully the life and adventures of Mikythos, which undoubtedly would have well repaid fuller treatment. Diodoros 11 66 has to some extent attempted to fill the void, Strabo 253, Pausanias, Justin, etc., confirm or amplify the biography. Hdt.'s brief note supplies five *capita*, as will be seen from the commentary (i.) Mikythos, his antecedents, (ii.) his stewardship, or *ἐπιτροπή*, including the alliance with Tarentum, (iii.) his expulsion or retirement from Rhegion, (iv.) his residence in Tegea, (v.) his Olympian offerings.

οἰκέτης ἔων Ἀναξίλειω. That Mikythos the *famulus* (οἰκέτης, Hdt., δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης Pausan., *servus spectatae fidei*, Justin) has a father Χοῖρος, is of known paternity, shows him to have been born a freeman. Diodoros calls him merely *ἐπίτροπος*. Freeman, ii 546, justly doubts his 'servile' condition and cps. case of Maandrios, 3. 142, and 'fancies' that he was an Arkadian of Tegea who had come to seek his fortune in Sicily. The father's name Χοῖρος forestalls 'Veries' (Freeman). The name is found on several inscriptions, and oddly enough the feminine Χοῖρα as a nickname of Maipessa or Perimene at Tegea, Pausan. 8 47. 2 (cp Χοιρεῖται at Sikyon, 5 68 *supra*). The diminutive Χοῖριλος is more common. The son's name in both forms is comparatively common, as in Athens (Aristoph. and Inscr.).

21 ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο. of course by Anaxilaos (cp c. 165 *supra*), who died 476 B.C. The Regency of Mikythos lasted apparently some ten

years till 466 B.C. (Diodor. 11 66), in Rhegion and Messene (where Kleophron had predeceased his father). The disaster in Messapia (473 B.C.) does not appear to have weakened his position, perhaps it did not fall chiefly upon his own supporters. The jealousy which his rule excites in Hieron suggests that Rhegion under Mikythos was formidable to Syracuse.

22 ἐκπεσών ἐκ Ῥηγίου Diodoros / c gives details, and represents the retirement of Mikythos as voluntary. The two sons of Anaxilaos were now of age (cp c. 165 *supra*), and were incited by Hieron of Syracuse to demand of Mikythos an account of his stewardship (*ἀπαγγέλλαι λόγον παρὰ Μικύθου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος*) and themselves to assume the reins of government. Mikythos acquits him of this audit to the astonishment of the auditors, and the young men—no doubt thoroughly ashamed of their suspicions—beg the just steward to resume authority. But Mikythos (respectfully yet firmly) declines, and embarking with his private belongings *ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου, προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀχλῶν εὐνοίας*. The story is obviously moralized, and coloured. The main elements in the political and domestic drama are simple enough, but they have been fabulized in the search for another 'just' man. Busolt emphasizes Hdt.'s 'was expelled' (*ἐκπεσών*), Freeman (less wisely) prefers Diodoros (*ἐξέπλευσε*).

Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, 'after taking up his abode at Tegea in Arkadia.' How long he lived there Hdt. unfortunately does not say, but probably he survived, not merely the death of Hieron (466 B.C.) and the fall of the *tyrannis* in Syracuse (465 B.C.), but likewise the expulsion of the sons of Anaxilaos from Rhegion and Messene 461–460 B.C. (Diod. 11 76. 5) and the general pacification of Sicily—to which he had, at least indirectly, contributed, and then died full of years and honours, leaving a

ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ 171  
 'Ρηγίνοις τε καὶ Ταραντίνοις τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη  
 γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρμωθεῖσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι,

handsome property to his son. (Cp *infra*)

ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 ἀνδριάντας A description of these, with  
 express reference to this passage, is given  
 by Pausanias 5 26 2-5, where upwards  
 of a dozen large statues (some of them  
 forming groups) are enumerated, others  
 from the same donor had been removed  
 by Nero, before Pausanias' time

Pausanias understands Hdt to say  
 that the offerings at Olympia were made  
 after Mikythos had taken up his abode  
 at Tegea, and this statement, whether  
 right or wrong, is (*pace* Freeman II 545)  
 the plain meaning of the words (οἰκήσας  
 ἀνέθηκε) Pausanias thinks it wrong,  
 because the dedications not merely gave  
 his father's name but also named 'Rhegion  
 and Messene on the straits' as the father-  
 land (πατρίς) of Mikythos, but said  
 nothing about his residing at Tegea. It  
 is, however, conceivable that the son of  
 Choiros might have preferred to go down  
 to posterity as the citizen of Rhegion-  
 Messene rather than as the metec of Tegea.  
 It is also conceivable that Hdt has  
 made a mistake, and that the statues  
 were dedicated while Mikythos was still  
 governor of Rhegion-Messene. Freeman,  
 indeed, holds that "the offering is much  
 more like the act of a ruler than that of  
 a private man," and that "the inscriptions  
 show the statues to have been dedicated  
 while the two cities were in his charge,"  
 in 545. If so, that would settle the  
 date of the name 'Messene' (for 'Zankle')  
 in a sense adverse to Freeman's own  
 argument, cp p. 231b *supra*.

Pausanias adds that the Olympian  
 dedications of Mikythos were made in  
 fulfilment of a vow for the restoration of  
 a son to health. Such a dedication  
 might be a private one, but does the  
 remark apply to any of the statues save  
 the Asklepios-Hygieia group? And  
 need all the statues necessarily have been  
 dedicated at the same time?

Hdt's reference to these statues proves  
 them to be celebrated in the Greek world  
 at the time of writing. years no doubt  
 have elapsed since the date of dedication.  
 Mikythos himself is probably no more  
 (ἐν Τεγεαῖς τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατεβίωσεν ἐπαι-  
 ρούμενος, Diodor. I c). Hdt. had proba-  
 bly seen the dedication at Olympia,

perhaps on his way to or from the west  
 (cp 4 195), and he may have got the  
 patronymic from the Olympian dedica-  
 tion. But his main interest in this  
 παρενθήκη is the Tarento-Rhegine episode,  
 in the account of which the note on  
 Mikythos might itself be an insertion.  
 If so, we have in the passage the three  
*strata* of composition. I The original  
 'Kretan' λόγος. II The western λόγος.  
 III The note on Mikythos added last.  
 Cp Introduction, § 9.

171 2. τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε  
 The λόγος here is not the whole history  
 (as in I 95 perhaps) but simply the  
 Kretan λόγος started in c. 170, λέγεται  
 γὰρ Μίλων κτλ.

παρενθήκη. cp 6 19 of the παρενθήκη,  
 of four verses, applying to Miletos, in a  
 Delphic response obtained for Aigios  
 also c. 5 *supra*. Those passages are  
 enough to show that the mere word could  
 not by itself be taken to prove the  
 digression, or excursus, of younger com-  
 position than the main story, or text.  
 On the other hand, granting that the  
 passage on Tarentum in c. 171 appears to  
 be from a different source, and to belong  
 to a different date in composition, as  
 against the main story in which it is  
 inserted, we must admit that it might  
 be called a παρενθήκη, just as in I. 186  
 architectural works are spoken of as a  
 παρενθήκη, in relation to others with  
 which they are not structurally con-  
 tinuous.

In this case, then, Hdt has notified a  
 fact in regard to the composition of his  
 work, but he no more as a rule notifies  
 all παρενθήκαι in his work which are  
 later insertions or additions than he  
 notifies παρενθήκαι which are mere paren-  
 theses in a text of uniform date. Even  
 here is certainly a παρενθήκη (on Miky-  
 thos) within the παρενθήκη (on the  
 Tarentines), which may also well be a  
 still later insertion.

3 ἐρμωθεῖσαν absolutely deserted  
 the island was not, as the men of Polichne  
 and Praesos at least had not taken part  
 in the expedition besides, what of the  
 women and children of the absentees?

ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι where Hdt  
 picked up this Eteokretan yarn there is  
 no telling. It may have come to him  
 already in writing (from a logograph,

ἔσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνας,  
 5 τρίτη δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γίνεσθαι τὰ Τρωικά,  
 ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἔοντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς  
 Μενέλεω. ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμὸν  
 τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι,  
 ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

171. 5 Μίνων: μίνων A<sup>2</sup> μίνεω ceteri Μίνω z || γενέσθαι B,  
 Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder, van H. 7 ἀπὸ ἀντὶ B, Holder, van H

or from a poet) It is probably the same authority as underlies the λέγεται in c 170, or is taken from it

4 ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνας this would account for the presence of Pelasgoi and Achaeans in the island. to Hdt the Pelasgoi are non-Hellenic (cp. 1 57 f), but the Achaeans of course Hellenes (on Homeric authority) See further *infra* ἀνθρώπους, without prejudice<sup>1</sup>

5 τρίτη δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γίνεσθαι τὰ Τρωικά. we are here obviously in the presence of learned and rationalizing logography based on Homer. The generations are of course reckoned inclusively. Minos—Deukalion—Idomeneus (*Il* 13 449 ff., cp Diodor. 5 79). The Trojan war is but some 60–70 years after the death of Minos. Minos is, to Hdt as to Homer, the son of Zeus, cp. 3. 122

6 οὐ φλαυροτάτους τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω they furnished eighty black ships, *Il*. 2. 652, and what is more, Idomeneus and his squire Meriones (*Il*. 7. 165 f) are among the bravest and most efficient warriors cp. *Il*. 3. 230, 4. 250 ff, 5. 43, 13 361 ff. (Ἰδομενεὺς ἀριστεύει), 16 342 ff, 17. 605 ff, 23. 450 ff.

7 ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ. προβάτοισι. The meaning of the first two words is not very clear, taken chronologically = μετὰ ταῦτα (cp. App Crit) In the Homeric tradition Idomeneus and his surviving men returned happily to Krete, *Od*. 3. 191 f., and Diodoros (5 79) has a tradition, fortified, or discredited, by a transparently fraudulent epigram, that Idomeneus and Meriones were buried in Knosos, and enjoyed heroic honours though he contradicts himself by having made Meriones follow the first flight of Kretans to Sicily: 4 79 Hdt here seems to be acquainted with the rudiments at least of the saga, underlying

Vergil, *Aen* 3 121–3, 400 f, which represented Idomeneus as expelled from Krete, after his return from Troy, and settling in Iapygia

The cause of his expulsion is explained by Seivius to have been a pestilence, which broke out in Kiete in consequence of the immolation of his son to Poseidon, in fulfilment of a vow, to sacrifice the first thing that should meet him on landing. This is very *marchenhaft*, but Hdt has the famine and pestilence

9 τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης. the migration of Minos himself is not reckoned by Hdt as having entailed a devastation, or evacuation of Krete, though he does not assert that Minos went alone to Sicily. The first great loss of population is caused by the μέγας στόλος for the purpose of avenging Minos, the second, by the famine and plague after the Return of Idomeneus. Hdt does not clearly state that there was a fresh migration west, but at least he leaves the door open for it. The losses here fall upon an already Hellenic Krete

μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. These words contain a clear reference to the coming of the Dorians into Krete. Hdt and his logographic authorities were of course well aware that the *Iliad* nowhere recognized Dorians on the map of Greece, and that the *Odyssey* placed Dorians in Krete 19. 172 ff. The Kretan ethnography of that passage relates itself to the Kretan history in Hdt as follows. Minoan Krete is represented in Homer by Eteo-kretans and Kydonians, in Hdt by Polichne and Piasos. The Pelasgoi and Achaeans of Homer correspond to the ἄλλοι τε ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλλήνες whom Hdt. has introduced after the evacuation of the island by the avengers of Minos. And the Dorians come in as

τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. <Κρήτας> μὲν δὴ ἡ 10  
Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι  
Ἕλλησι.

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς 172

10 νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη Stein<sup>1</sup>: νέμεσθαι Κρήτας μὲν  
δὴ Πυθίη Stein<sup>3</sup> (preli errore) νέμεσθαι. CLXXII Κρήτας μὲν δὴ ἡ Πυθίη  
van H An Κρήτας <Κρήτας> μὲν δὴ κτλ. ? 172 1 ὡς  
<δμ>ως <δὲ> Schenkl, Holder

the 'Kretans' of the present day, who take a superior place among the remnants of the previous population (μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων) Stein's emendation spoils this last point, and destroys the article before Πυθίη (but cp App Crit.)

11. ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα, 'reminded them of these things' (ὑπομνήσαι τινά τι, frequent) Whether this Kretan story was to any extent manufactured in Delphi, who can say? The influence of Delphi upon Hellenic logography and historiography can never perhaps be worked out or verified in detail, but it must have been immense, not merely through the normal action of the oracle, and the nucleating effects of the offerings, but also owing to the stimulating and synthetic tendency of the periodic *Agones* or *Panegyrics* upon poets and historians, cp Introduction, § 10

ἔσχε, a strong *εἶπεν*, 'stayed', 'withheld', cp c 169 l 10 *supra*

172 1 Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ the case of the Thessalians, as presented by Hdt, involves grave difficulties. Was Thessaly unrepresented at the *Sylogos* recorded above, c 145 ff? If not, did the confederate Hellenes, of that passage, while sending envoys to Koikyra and Sicily, to Argos, and to Krete, in the hopes of uniting Hellas against the Barbarian, leave the Thessalian question wholly unconsidered? Yet the initiative here appears to come from the Thessalians, in the form of an application to subscribe, or to be defended by, the already formed Confederacy. This representation may be erroneous the ἀγγελοὶ here introduced are really perhaps πρόβουλοι, the Thessalians having been admitted already to the Symmachy, the Council of which is here simply discussing 'the plan of campaign', perhaps this is the same session of the Council as that which despatched embassies to Sicily and Krete, the Thessalians themselves being parties thereto. This story, which appears to

be from an Athenian source, is favourable to the Thessalian commons, and may possibly (with cc. 173, 174) belong to the second draft of the Book, cp. Introduction, § 9

ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, 'it was under compulsion the Thessalians (had) medized the first time.' τὸ πρῶτον implies τὸ δεύτερον—as surely as the latter implies the former. Hdt. writes these words with obvious reference to the list in c. 132 *supra*, which, however, really belongs, or may belong, to a much later point of time than he should here have in view. The 'second medism' of the Thessalians is recorded in c. 174 *infra*, and follows on the abandonment of Thessaly. If the suggestions above made are sound, the second is the one and only medism of the Thessalians as a *κοινόν*. Hdt, however, represents the Thessalians as having 'medized' under compulsion in the first instance, though what form the compulsion took he fails to specify, he infers the compulsion, however, from the appearance of Thessalian envoys at the Isthmos, which he dates subsequently to the first medism, though somewhat inconsequently, as soon as ever they had news of Xerxes' project, see below. The second medism he apparently regards as voluntary (*προθύμως οὐδ' ἐτι ἐνδοιαστῶς*). His logic would here seem to be at fault. The abandonment of Thessaly by the Hellenes was a much more coercive act than any mere machinations of the Aleuads. But there was a deal of latitude about this ἀναγκαίη formula, a proper definition of ἀναγκαίη was badly wanted, cp c 132 *supra*, and below.

ὡς διδῆξαν διαδεικνύναι is of course stronger than *δεικνύναι*. "perspicue ostenderunt" How then does Stein get his "wie sie errathen liessen"? The *wie* 'as' may be right, but Schenkl's emendation (App Crit) gets us out of a tight place.



διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφί ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμχανῶντο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ  
 5 τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρη-  
 μένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι  
 ἔλεγον “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν  
 Ὀλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλὴ τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐν  
 10 σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφύ-  
 λασσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν, ὥς,  
 εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ·  
 οὐ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσούτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος

2 δὲ ἔδοξαν S || ἐμχανῶντο A<sup>2</sup>BB, Stein<sup>23</sup> μηχανῶντο A<sup>1</sup> ἐμ-  
 χανέοντο CP, Stein<sup>1</sup> ἐμχανέωντο dz 3 ἐπύθεατο B 4 πέμπουσι  
 γὰρ B 5 ἀλισμένοι <οἱ> Mehler 6 ἀπὸ ὑπὸ? van H || προ-  
 νοεουσέων B 9 ἡ post πολέμου B || ἐν om B 10 ἐσμεν α  
 12 πέμψετε B 13 τι τοι SVz || τοσούτον B

2. ὅτι οὐ σφί ἦνδανε κτλ. these words are not as simple as they look. Are they constructed with ἐμῆδισαν ὑπ' ἀναγκαιῆς, or with ὥς διέδεξαν, or are they virtually a substantive and independent proposition related indeed to both? The last seems the best alternative 'inasmuch as they disagreed with' (*non-placated*) 'the devices of the Aleuadae'. But cp. App Crit.

3 ἐπεῖτε . ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην professes to give a date, but gives it vaguely: is it to be fixed by the first news of the projected invasion which reached Thessaly, or by the actual move from Sardes in the spring of 480 B.C.? Hdt. here intends the latter, cp. c. 174

4 ἀγγέλους, i.e. πρέσβεις cp. c. 11 6 ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα If Thessalians appeared at the first *syllagos* of the Confederacy, this phrase might settle the venue, cp. c. 145 f. *supra*. Hdt. seems to conceive this meeting as taking place in the spring of 480 B.C., but ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι, 'had been collected' (and still were so), is not really an absolute pluperfect πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, presumably the technical phrase, and in any case a remarkable one: alas, that Hdt. tells us neither their names nor their cities! ἀραιρημένοι is absolute, cp. c. 118 *supra*. ἀπὸ, 'from,' i.e. hailing from, with the remainder of the phrase cp. c.

145 *supra*. As the two passages are from quite different sources, or at least of quite different date probably, περὶ might be 'local' there, though it must be 'causal' here

7. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους can the phrase be used with a suggestion of ἐπελθόντες? ἀπικόμενοι seems rather to suggest the length of their journey (probably overland).

8 τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν· whether this phrase means the Tempe-pass, or the Petra-pass, or more vaguely both, or no particular pass, in the speech of the Thessalians, is not quite clear. Hdt. plainly understands it of Tempe, though he knows of another pass which is even more strictly 'Olympian', cp. c. 173 *infra*. Anyway, the Olympian line of defence will cover Thessaly and all Hellas withal (ἡ singular) ἐν σκέπῃ τ. π., 'under cover from,' sheltered from invasion, warfare, cp. c. 215 *infra*, l. 143

10 συμφύλασσειν: the Thessalian proposal is badly developed (a) nothing is said of the other pass, or passes, cp. c. 128 *supra*, (b) nothing is said of the sea and navies.

11 ὥς with the imperative (ἐπίστασθε) is peculiar, and so is ἐπίστασθαι with accus. and infin.

13. πρὸ . . πρὸ local and causal respectively, cp. Index. As to the matter,

μόνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τε ἐστὲ προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ 15 γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι.” ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. 173 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλευσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δι’ Εὐρίπου· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἐς Ἄλουν, ἀποβάς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς 5 νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν ἣ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνειόν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὄρεος [έόντα] καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίτας συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν 10

14 βουλομένοισιν sine οὐ β 15 οὐδεμῖν β 17 μηχανώμενοι  
Stein<sup>2</sup> (αβ) μηχανώμενοι P, Stein<sup>1</sup> · μηχανώμενοι Cdz 173. 7 ἡ  
ἡι α 8 Πηνειὸν ποταμόν z ποταμὸν et οὐρεος (ὄρεος) abesse vult  
van H. 9 έόντα secl Stein<sup>2</sup> έέοντα Dobree, quod δὲ deleto probat  
van H. 10 ὀπλῖται Cz, Holder, van H.

the Thessalians refuse to do just what the Athenians loved to boast they themselves had done at Marathon, cp 9 27

14 βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι “probably only an oversight for μὴ βουλόμενοι,” Stein, who adds that οὐδέτερον stands for μηδέτερον c 149, οὐτε for μήτε c. 186, οὐδεμία for μηδεμία 3 115, and vice versa μὴ for οὐ 3. 65, 6 94, 7 51, 214. It would seem more natural to substitute an hypothetical for a categorical statement than vice versa

15 οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν a paradoxical gnome which anticipates the Andrian fable of a few months later, cp 8 111 Both gnome and fable are presumably of Athenian provenience.

16 πειρησόμεθα . . μηχανώμενοι cp cc 139, 148 *supra*. μηχανώμενοι is a reminiscence of ἐμνηχανῶντο above

173. 3 κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν the force, though a land one, is conveyed by sea through the Euripos channel (by Chalkis; cp 5 77, and c. 183 *infra*) The point is remarkable, but unfortunately the tradition does not specify the place, or places, where the force embarked, nor the state, or states, which supplied the transports.

5. τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἐς Ἄλουν 1 e Achaia

Phthiotis, cp 1 56, and c 132 *supra* For Alos cp c 197 *infra* Why Alos was the point of disembarkation rather than Pagasai (cp c 193) is far from self-evident ἐς Θεσσαλίην one might rather expect διὰ Θεσσαλίας, cp c 196 In 1 57 Hdt has the term Θεσσαλιῶτις for a part of Thessaly, cp c 128 *supra*.

6 τὰ Τέμπεα τὴν ἐσβολήν ἣ περ κτλ the name Tempe (plural) has not been used before, though the pass has been described in c. 128 *supra*, a passage quite independent of this story

7 Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω seems here to mean very much the same as Πιερία c 131, or Μακεδονίς c. 127; cf. notes *ad* U c.

10. κατὰ, ‘about,’ *circiter* an extension of the local force of the preposition; cp 5 79, 6 44, 79 Perhaps Athens and Sparta each furnished about 5000 hoplites to the expedition, though συλλεγέντες might suggest a larger number of contributories, and if Athens supplied all the ships, there may have been fewer Athenian hoplites on service (cp. Athenian resolution c 144 *supra*) The soft 2nd aor (συλλεγέντες) is less usual in early Greek than the 1st Cp. 9. 27, 29 *infra*, Aristoph *Wasps* 1107, but more common in later Greek (Baehr).

ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιλίου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι

11 μὲν om. B

12 ἐκ om. B

13 οὐ om. z, secl. van H.

11 ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος the armed men of Thessaly seem all to have been mounted. Neither their numbers nor their leader are here given. Diodoros, whose record of this expedition leaves much to be desired (11 2 5 f), takes no account of them at all.

ἐστρατήγεε the singular verb with the two named subjects may be the more appropriate as the Spartan doubtless had the ἡγεμονία.

Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου 'Karenos' is of course the Ionic form of 'Karanos,' which occurs as the title of a 'Headman,' or chief, Xenoph. *Hell* 1. 4 3, and as a proper name in the Temenid, or at least the Makedonian pedigree, cp. Plutarch, *Alex* 2, Diod. 7 15-16, 8 139 *infra*. It is a lordly name, but nothing more is known of this Spartan, nor of his son Euainetos, except what is here recorded though not of Spartan Herakleid blood (cp. App. Crit.), he still has been elected (ἀραιρημένος, by the *Apella*) 'strategos' *ad hoc*, being already indeed one of the 'war-lords'. The record would be interesting, if for nothing else, as exhibiting the arrangements in Sparta for the supreme command, which was by no means always *ipso facto* in the king's hands on foreign service; cp. 5 63, and 9 10 *infra*. That neither Leonidas nor Leotychidas was in command on this occasion is a remarkable fact, and may favour the suspicion that the Spartans at least hardly meant business, while the fact that Themistokles, son of Neokles, is in charge of the Athenians, points to a more strenuous policy on their part and his.

12 πολεμάρχων The term is found in technical use at Athens, Thebes, and Sparta. The Spartan 'polemarchs' in the fourth century at least each normally commanded a *mora*, and there were six *morai* in the militia, Xenoph. *Resp Lac* 11; cp. *Hell* 4 5. 11. Whether that was a new development is not quite clear. At the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. the polemarchs appear as aide-de-camp in immediate attendance on

the king, Thuc. 5 66 3. Cp. Xenoph. *Resp Lac* 13. Here again a polemarch appears in command of a foreign expedition. The three positions, or functions, are obviously not irreconcilable, but the full powers of the polemarchy, the conditions of tenure, and so forth, remain obscure.

13 Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος The repetition of the patronymic here (cp. c. 143 *supra*), though not in itself conclusive, bears out the argument for the independent provenience of the story in which it occurs. If this expedition takes place in the spring of 480 B.C., as the Athenian strategoi probably entered office in Hekatombaion, Themistokles must have been one of the strategoi for 481-480 B.C. as well as for 480-479 B.C.

14 ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης This man of Makedon is already well known from Bk. 5 17-22. Still, the introduction of the patronymic here would not in itself disprove the priority of that passage, albeit the addition of ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης is more startling. When, however, it is observed that the man thus elaborately introduced here, and further commented 8 137-39 *infra*, is simply named and no more, and his father Amyntas likewise, in 5 17, the argument for the prior composition of these later passages becomes a good deal stronger. The argument extends to the relation of this passage to the passage in Bk. 8, and points to that as of older composition than this—in other words, confirms the conclusion that this whole story of the Thessalian undertaking is later in composition than the bulk of these Books. It might have been on artistic grounds that Hdt. postpones the account of the Makedonian kings to the personal entrance of Alexander on the scene, but the alternative explanation also accounts for the phenomena, and is confirmed by so many other indications that it rises to the dignity of proof. Cp. Introduction, §§ 8, 9.

Were these ἄγγελοι mere 'messengers,' or were they envoys, ambassadors,

παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης συνεβού- 15  
 λευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ  
 καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες  
 τὸ πλήθος τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι  
 ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν καὶ  
 σφι εὐνοος ἐφαίνετο ἔων ὁ Μακεδών, ἐπείθοντο. δοκέειν δ' 20  
 ἐμοί, ἄρρωδὴ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην εἴδυσαν  
 ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ

15 ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνης secl. van H 17 στρατοῦ τοῦ S στρατοῦ ||  
 σημαίνοντες . νέας del. Naber 18 τε om B, Holder 20 σφιν  
 α || ἔων om. B || δέ μοι, Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder, van H. 21 ἄλλῃ B, van H  
 22 ἐσβολὴν B

negotiators? Was no attempt made by the Greeks to detach Alexander from the Persian, or to induce him at least to play the Persian false in his passage of the mountains? If the Makedonians could have been induced to cut off the Persians from behind, to assail them in the rear, while the Greeks and Thessalians attacked, or defended, in front, what might not have been effected? Alexander was πρόξενος of Athens (cp 8 136). Alexander was manifestly well disposed to the national cause (εὐνοος ἐφαίνετο ἔων ὁ Μακεδών just below) the absurd message here put into the mouth of his envoys was hardly of his dictating. Themistokles may well have endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of Makedon, the loyal co-operation of Makedon might have rendered Hellas and Thessaly secure. We can hardly suppose that Alexander took his cue from Argos, but his Persian connexion was strong (8. 136), and he was probably better disposed towards Athens and Sparta than towards the Thessalians.

17. καταπατηθῆναι: the last thing that could have happened to the Greeks, if they had kept their station ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ, where mere numbers would have counted for nothing. The sting of the message may lie in the tail. καὶ τὰς νέας (pace Naber; cp App. Crit.). The Greek expedition to Thessaly is represented as a purely land-force, though conveyed thither by sea. The Persian fleet, if unopposed, would assuredly have rendered the position at Tempe quite untenable, even if no other pass into Thessaly had existed. But it is hardly conceivable that the Greeks were ignorant of the naval preparations on the Asiatic side; and only discovered, on

their arrival at Tempe, and through the message from Alexander, that the king had a great fleet in motion. It is, however, conceivable that they were not yet fully assured that the king's fleet was all coming round by the north Aegean route. The Persian fleet might have been expected to follow the old island route, by Delos, and to strike direct at Athens. It was only after the rendezvous at Doriskos that the Greeks could feel quite sure that the king's forces might not act independently, and compel them likewise to separate fleet and army, if they were to defend Thessaly, or even northern Greece. The assurance that the king's land- and sea-forces were to act in strict concert, advance by one route, and remain in touch, Themistokles probably obtained by his visit to Tempe, and perhaps through the medium of Alexander. These considerations would, however, tend to throw some doubt upon the exact date of the expedition given in the next c.

20. δοκέειν δ' ἐμοί, κτλ. Hdt's own expressions of opinion are always, of course, important to the students of his mind and work; but they rarely show much insight into strategic or military conditions. 'Fear was the determining motive' (ἄρρωδὴ ἦν τὸ πείθον), but he hardly makes it clear whether the Greeks were afraid of being trampled to death in Tempe, or circumvented by the fleet, or taken in the rear owing to the existence of another land-pass. Moreover, Hdt.'s account of this ἄλλῃ ἐσβολῇ is lamentably inadequate and incorrect.

22. κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόντον there was and could be no such pass. A pass

Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ  
στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας  
25 ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν.  
174 Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατιή, βασιλέως τε

23 περαιβῶν α 24 ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸς νέας β  
Valckenaer στρατιή || βασιλέως α

174. 1 στρατιή

from Upper Makedonia could not issue by Gonnos, and a pass by Gonnos could not lead into Upper Makedonia. Gonnos is itself in the pass of Tempe, and the starting-point, or terminus, of a difficult mountain route, between the land entrance of Tempe and Lower Makedonia, οἱ Pieria, and stands in the same relation to Tempe as Anopia to Thermopylai, but it is hardly credible that 'the army,' or even any part of the army, of Xerxes actually traversed this difficult route. It was not by this route that Alexander in 336 B.C. turned the position of Tempe: he led his army past the gorge, cut steps up Ossa, and descended into the plain behind the enemy. Cp. Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, II 329. The only pass leading from Upper Makedonia into Thessaly is the Volustana, or Servia, from the upper valley of the Vistrizza (Haliakmon) down to Ellassóna: it is quite possible (and probable) that one of the Persian columns used this pass. The third main pass neither starts from Upper Makedonia nor ends at Gonnos, or anywhere near it; but it may nevertheless, as Rawlinson (III 142 n.<sup>6</sup>) suggests, be the one here intended (so far as Hdt. can be said to intend one). The Petra pass starts (like the Tempe route) from Dion, and crosses the Olympic range (deserving especially the title ἡ ἐσβολή ἡ Ὀλυμπική c. 172) by Petra to Dolche (*Dakhlista*), descending to Pythion and so to Oloosson (Ellassóna). From Oloosson the plain of Larissa would still have to be gained by various passes through the lower range of mountains, which now form the political frontier of Greece, and leave Thessaly strategically at the mercy of the Turks; cp. c. 128 *supra*.

24 καταβάντες . ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν  
The real reasons for the evacuation of Thessaly were, (1) the failure to secure the co-operation of Makedon; (2) the manifest divisions among the Thessalians, so that even a united Thessaly was too much to hope for; (3) the assurance

that the Persian fleet was advancing side by side with the Persian army, rendering Tempe untenable by a land-force alone, (4) perhaps the discovery that there were several other passes by which Thessaly could be entered from Makedon, or at least the assurance that the Persians were so numerous as to make a diversion of that kind easy to them. The difficulty, indeed, is not to understand why the Greeks abandoned Thessaly, but to explain how they ever came to think of defending it. They must have hoped for the co-operation of Makedon, or at least for an absolutely united Thessaly; they must have under-estimated the land-force of Xerxes, and also, probably, have believed that the fighting fleet was not accompanying the land-army. The visit to Tempe enlightened them on the attitude of Makedon, the condition of Thessaly, the magnitude of the Persian forces, the king's plan of campaign. But the expedition had probably not been in vain. It was an earnest of the resolution of the Confederates to draw the first line of defence as far north as possible: it enabled Themistokles to take stock of and to survey the north Euboean channel and Thermopylai: it assured him of the king's exact designs. He returned to the Isthmos—the Athenian ships and men will presumably have put in to Phaleron or Peiraeus—with a perfectly clear view of the right plan of defence.

174. 1. αὕτη ἐγένετο . ἐν Ἀβύδῳ  
This index of time is probably not worth very much, cp. c. 172 *supra*, where words occur which might or might not come to very much the same thing. To have occupied Tempe when the king was still in Asia, at Abydos, would have been an unnecessary providence. Moreover, it was only after the rendezvous at Dioniskos (*ἐνταῦθα μετεπέμψατο τὸ ναυτικόν* Diod. II. 3 7) that the assurance about the king's fleet could have been conveyed to the Greeks (see previous c.) The occupation of Tempe

μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ  
 ἑόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρμωθέντες συμμάχων  
 οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὥστε ἐν  
 τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἑόντες χρησιμώτατοι. 5  
 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπέιτε ἀπύκατο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, ἐβου- 175

3 ἡρμωθέντες B 4 οὐδ' ἔτι Reiske . οὐδέτι vel οὐδέ τι 5  
 βασιλεῖ α 175 1 ἀπύκατο Pz

will more probably have coincided with the king's arrival at Eion, at Akanthos, or even at Therme, than with his week's, or month's, pause at Abydos (cp c 56 *supra*). Hdt's synchronisms are not to be trusted, p c 166.

3 ἡρμωθέντες συμμάχων supplies to some extent an excuse for the mediocrity of the Thessalians, and carries on the apologetic tone with which the passage starts in c 172

4 ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς i.e. the Thessalians all, as a body, adopted the king's cause, the Aleuad policy. ἐνδοιαστῶς is found in Thuc 6 10, 5, 8 87. 4, and the verb (ἐνδοιάζω) thrice. Homer has the neut pl. δοῖα as adv. 'of two kinds,' twofold. *Od.* 2 46, and the subst δοῖη (uncertainty, doubt) *Il.* 9 230 (ἐν δοῖῃ), but the word here may be a trace, or reminiscence, of the Attic source from which Hdt derived the story

ὥστε (with indic.) here gives not the intentional but the actual result. cp 2 120 οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὥστε κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλετο: 3 12 αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλὰι εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μόνῃ βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις. Cp also c 118 *supra*

175 1 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπέιτε ἀπύκατο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. The words relate themselves immediately to the last words of c. 173, yet the 'Hellenes' who embarked at Alos in c 173 can hardly be the 'Hellenes' who discuss the plan of defence in this: the ten thousand hoplites are too many, and the two strategoi are too few. But the question arises whether by the 'Hellenes' here are designated the πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος left apparently sitting in c 172, or a new body, a new entity, the strategoi, or the syndrion of strategoi. The following reasons decide this question in favour of the probouloi (1.) The plan of defence is too important a matter to have been decided except by the Council of the Confederacy, especially as it involved not

merely strategic but political interests and issues (ii) There is no such thing as 'the syndrion of strategoi' (*pace* Busolt, ii<sup>2</sup> 667, cp *Lakedaimonier*, 407 f) There appears in the story of Salamis subsequently a Council of Strategoi, that is, of Admirals, but where then were the strategoi of the land-forces? There appears in the story of Plataea something approaching to a Council of War in the camp of Pausanias, but where are the admirals? Nowhere does a single Board or Council of Strategoi make its appearance determining the general plan of campaign. (iii) The Councils of War which do appear are advisory, not executive. This is true even of the story of Salamis in which 'voting' is talked of, for Euribiades is clearly supreme to act according to his own judgement. Equally certain is it that Pausanias acts as commander-in-chief at Plataea, Leotychidas at Mykale, and at Plataea and Mykale the plan of campaign has been settled long before. The discussions in the fleet (9. 106, 114) practically lead to a schism; but Leotychidas may be considered to have acquiesced in the action of the Athenians (iv.) The formal hegemony of Sparta in the war favours the view that no single Board of Strategoi met to decide the strategy of the campaigns. Either Sparta decides the plan at home and leaves her commander and her navy to carry it out (with such advice as each may take separately in emergencies from a Council of War), or else the general plan of campaign, embracing the operations by sea and by land, is discussed and settled by the 'Hellenes,' i.e. by the probouloi of Hellas (who may of course in many cases be strategoi too), and the hegemony of Sparta is restricted to the actual conduct of operations subject to the general scheme agreed on. The latter view seems to suit the facts and stories best. What, for example, but the *dogma* of

λεύονται πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγίνετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στενωτέρῃ

2 ἐξ om. B || τῇ . η

3 οἷοις B

a general Synod of Probouloi could have decided the Athenians, who had resolved τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημί (c. 144), either to send 5000 hoplites to Thessaly in 480 B.C. or 8000 hoplites to Plataea in 479 B.C. ? See further, Appendix III § 5

2. πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου. The introduction of these words has the effect of making it appear that the Greeks had no plan of campaign before their visit to Tempe. Yet the subject must surely have been considered before the expedition to Thessaly, perhaps by the πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος who are brought to the Isthmos, or detained there, in the spring of 480 B.C. according to the previous story (c. 172), if not by the πρόβουλοι at the meeting in the previous autumn. It may be that these words are a clever piece of Herodotean dovetailing introduced by him, after the insertion of the Tempe story (cc. 172-174), to rationalize the perspective, with the result that the discussion on the first line of defence has perhaps been thrown out of gear, or at least brought down to a later point than was explicitly fixed in the first draft of the work. Cp. Introduction, § 9

τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι. This is the fundamental question of the defence τῇ is not a simple locative (making ἐν οἷοισι χώροισι tautologous), but modal *quia ratione* (Baehr), not merely *quo loco* (Schweighauser) *instituti sint bellum*? The locality would to some extent depend upon the mode, and the mode upon the locality. There was plainly an obstinate contest on these cognate problems, for the plan adopted is a 'victorious' one (ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη ἐγίνετο), not, indeed, over the Persians, but over an opposition in the Council or Synod. Whose was the victorious plan? Doubtless the Athenians.

4. τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· a very inadequate formula for the plan, in which Artemision is as vital a point as Thermopylai. Hdt. thus unwittingly heralds the Spartan prejudice which dominates the story

of Thermopylai. The rationale for the decision betrays the same obsession. The despatch of the fleet to Artemision is added as an independent item, recommended by the consideration that Thermopylai and Artemision were near enough to admit of information passing from one to the other. In reality, of course, the defence of the line Artemision-Thermopylai is strategically one and the same operation, conditioned by the fact that the attack is directed simultaneously, interdependently, and unilineally on sea and land.

στενωτέρῃ . . τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην. This would seem to compare the relative widths of Thermopylai and Tempe: the comparison seems to imply that the occupation of Tempe was in debate, and was rejected on the ground that (1) it was a wider pass than Thermopylai, (2) further from their home-bases, (3) liable to be circumvented, (4) out of touch with the fleet. On all these points Thermopylai had the advantage, and therefore Thermopylai-Artemision was chosen as the first line of defence in preference to Tempe. There would have been no sense in mentioning 'the pass into Thessaly' in this connexion unless its merits had been discussed in comparison with Thermopylai. It would follow that the discussion here indicated arose before the decision to occupy Tempe. It is possible that the plan (for Artemision-Thermopylai) represents the original plan of campaign, or that the plan was to defend Thermopylai, and the station of the fleet at Artemision was only determined on after it became known that the king's fleet was accompanying the king's army, i.e. after the occupation and abandonment of Tempe. In that case, what was now decided was not so much to defend Thermopylai as to defend Artemision in connexion with Thermopylai.

But τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην is capable of another interpretation. It might refer, not to the pass from Makedon into Thessaly, but to the pass from the south, across Othrys, into Thessaly; not to the Tempe but to the Phurka. The

γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἴουσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρη τε 5  
τῆς ἐωυτῶν <χώρης καὶ μούνη>. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν  
ἤλωσαν οἱ ἄλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν  
εἴουσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλῃς ἐπύθοντο  
Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὧν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν  
μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν 10  
στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα  
γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ  
ἐκατέρους ἐόντα, οἷ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ 176

5 ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ BPz || ἅμα μία B, Holder, van H ἅμα μία Dietsch ||  
τε corruptum pro γῆς hab Stein<sup>1</sup>, lacunam tamen post ἐωυτῶν indicavit,  
ubi deesse χώρης καὶ μούνη coni. Stein<sup>2</sup> eadem in textum introduxit  
Stein<sup>3</sup> τε <γῆς> τῆς et ἀγχοτέρω vult van H. post μία intactum praebet  
textum Holder 7 ᾗδε εἴουσαν B 11 γῆς om. B 12 κατ'  
ἐτέρους BPz 176. 1 τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον secl. Stein<sup>1</sup> approb. van H.  
post Ἀρτεμίσιον interpunxit Stein<sup>2</sup>, comma tantum pos. Dietsch, Holder

Othrys-line was a possible line of defence, which is nowhere contemplated in Hdt., and indeed plays a curiously small part in ancient warfare, perhaps from the very proximity of Thermopylai, but which yet might have had to be considered on this occasion. The embarkation at Halos, instead of Pagasai, c 173 *supra*, seems to relate itself more naturally to a reconnaissance at Thaumakoi (Domoko) than to a reconnaissance at Tempe, to a defence of Pharsalos than to a defence of Larissa.

6 τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν . . Τρηχινίων For the description of this path see c 212 *infra*. The statement here is one of those very hard to stomach. On general principles, the Greeks, of all peoples in the world, would have known that there is always a second pass, or a way round a mountain, sooner or later, and even if they knew nothing of the existence or character of this particular path, they can hardly have been ignorant of the existence of ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἑσόδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα (see c 176), by which the Persians, who were numerous enough to turn Tempe by Petra or Volustana, would surely be able to turn Thermopylai. In this remark we have the second apologetic note in the story of Thermopylai, by which οἱ ἄλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι were to be glorified.

10 τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν . . ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον This order is really co-ordinate with τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι, though Hdt. has obscured the co-ordination, or at least its material significance, (a) by

inserting a list of reasons and excuses for the occupation of Thermopylai, (b) by the inadequacy of the reason given for the occupation of Artemision.

11. γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος: so named from Histiaia, 8. 23 *infra*, or Hestiaia, as the Athenians seem to have called it, Thuc. 1 114 3, cp. 7 57 2. Not to be confounded with the Histiaotis in Thessaly, which Hdt. 1. 56 erroneously identifies with τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ολυμπον χώραν (Pelasgiotis). The occurrence of the same name in North Euboea and in Thessaly can hardly be mere accident, but it seems more natural to derive the Euboian from the Thessalian than *vice versa*.

Ἀρτεμίσιον Without the article. Rawlinson rightly doubts there having been any city on the spot. a temple on the shore (cp. next c) must have originated or localized the name, which apparently extends to the neighbourhood. Baehr understands it especially of the headland, cp. Diodor. 11. 12, Plutarch, *Them.* 8. Larcher thought that the straits, the water itself, might possibly be covered by the name, and Blakesley adduces our 'Spithead' as a parallel. Hdt. himself says just below τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρὸν, c 176 *ad f.* The χρυσалаκάτου τ' ἀκτὰν κόρας of Sophokles *Tr.* 637 seems to apply not to the Euboian coast but to the opposite and mainland shore.

176 1. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, 'in the first place Artemision'—the article here owing to the repetition of the name.



Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συν-  
 ἄγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἔοντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε  
 Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς  
 5 Εὐβοῆς ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος  
 ἱρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ

3 στεινὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ τε ἔοντα B, Holder: στεινὸν πόρον τὸν  
 μεταξὺ ἔοντα van H 5 ἐκδέκεται z, van H 6 ἐστὶ, Stein<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐστὶ Stein<sup>3</sup> preli errore || τῇ BPz ἡ

The construction is pendent, and more like English than Greek idioms. The punctuation is due to Stein. The description of Artemision before Thermopylai is an apparently unconscious witness to the primary import of the naval station, but the descriptions, or the greater part of them, appear to be insertions, cp note on l 27 *infra*.

2 τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηκίου: that is, the northern portion of the Aegean, clearly cut off from the middle portion (οἱ Aegean proper) by a line of islands extending from the Artemisian straits to the Hellespont (Skiathos, Peparethos, Ikos, and the remaining north Sporades, Halonnesos, Lemnos, Imbros). Cp Strabo 28 κατὰ τὴν Θρακίαν θάλατταν . . . αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αἰγαίου μέρος οὖσαν (The *Mare Creticum* supplies a balance in the south.)

ἐξ εὐρέος corresponds with στεινὸν ἔοντα, which is a predicate. With ἐκ τοῦ π. ἐξ εὐρ. cp ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν c 173 *supra*.

συνάγεται in neuter passive construction *contrahitur*.

3 τὸν πόρον here plainly of the actual water-way, and that considered, not across, but lengthways, cp. c. 36.

4. Σκιάθου Skiathos appears frequently in the story of the naval operations (cc 179, 182, 183, 8. 7, 92), but was not intrinsically an important island. It was afterwards included (with Peparethos and Ikos) in the Θράκιος φόρος on the Attic lists, and paid one thousand drachmai tribute. The population was said to be 'Pelasgian' from Thrace, like that of Skyros (while Peparethos and Ikos were said to have been occupied by Kretans from Knossos), ps.-Skymnos, 579 ff.

Μαγνησίας, sc. γῆς (ἡπείρου being co-ordinate with νήσου) i.e. the land of the Μάγνητες (cp. c 132), which has a geographical record out of all proportion to its apparent historical importance. It comprised the mountain

systems of Ossa and Pelion (cp c 129 *supra*) and Hdt marks it with the names of Kasthanaiia (cc 183, 188), Meliboia (c 188), Ἰπνοί (ib.), Cape Sepias (cc. 183, 188), and even reckons Pagasai (c. 193) to the Magnesian territory.

τῆς Εὐβοῆς, with the article, although this is the first mention of Euboea (in these Books), the island being notorious. The word goes with what follows, not with τοῦ στεινοῦ (neuter) ἤδη is practically local, but like δέκεται suggests motion in time to the place. On Artemision cp previous c.

5 ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν, 'on it is (ἐνεστί) a *Hieron* of Artemis'. This Holy Place must account for the extended local use of the name, and no doubt existed long before 430 B.C., though Hdt here writes in the present, and the fullest description (Plutarch, *Them* 8) describes the place as it was when enlarged and beautified in honour of their naval achievements by the Athenians, after their occupation of the island (cp 8 23 *infra*). This Artemis had the title Προσηΐα, which seems to suggest that the temple was on the extreme promontory (NE) of the island (a welcome beacon to mariners on the Thracian sea), though a site about half a mile from the modern Kourbatsi, and therefore far to the west of the point, has been preferred by the archaeological travellers (Lolling, *Ath. M* viii 7 ff., 200 ff.)

6 ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος. δὲ αὖ seems in reply to τοῦτο μὲν *supra*, but carries a long way. By 'the pass through Trachis' Hdt. is generally, and perhaps rightly, taken to mean Thermopylai; but would not the term as well or better suit that other pass, which led from the Trachina into Doris, a pass by which at least one column of the Persians afterwards marched (cp 8 31 *infra*), and by which they might have circumvented the Greeks at Thermopylai, sooner or later, had the

στενωτάτη ἡμίπλευρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθ' τε Θερμο-

7 στενωτάτη, Stein<sup>1</sup> || τὸ del. Krueger, van H. 8 ἄλλης παραλίας van H. Μηλίδος? Stein<sup>1,2</sup>, 'ni potius transponendum ἀλλὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης ἔμπροσθ' τε' Stein<sup>1</sup>

Anopia path been successfully defended? Just as Hdt misapplies the term τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν to Tempe (c 172 *supra*), so he may misapply here the term ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἐσόδος to Thermopylai.

Τρηχίς is a city (cp c 199 *infra*) but might in this phrase be used as = Τρηχινίη (cp 1b), itself a part of Μηλίδος (c 201), cp 9 17, ἐς Μίλητον 1 15

ἐστὶ τῇ στενωτάτῃ ἡμίπλευρον i.e. the twelfth part of a stade, or about 50 ft. To say that 'where the pass is narrowest it is but 50 ft wide, but that there are two other spots in the neighbourhood (τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης) 'where it is still narrower' is to commit a *contradictio in adjecto*. This contradiction arises when the term ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἐσόδος is erroneously taken to signify the pass of Thermopylai (τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν), and Hdt himself may be guilty of this error in common with all his commentators hitherto. Certainly his description is confused and obscure. But it is just possible that he intends to say what he probably ought to have said 'the pass *via* Trachis is in its narrowest part less than 50 ft wide, but the pass *via* Thermopylai is even narrower. for there are two spots on the latter road barely 6 ft wide' τῆς ἄλλης below and *αὐ* above support this charitable criticism, which would be destroyed by the conjectural emendations of the text; cp. App Crit (Grundy, p. 261, makes the Asopos-chasm "only twelve feet wide" at one place)

7 οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης. We may, then, fairly take these words to mean, 'it is not the pass διὰ Τρηχίνος which is the narrowest pass in the immediate neighbourhood.' See the two previous notes.

8 ἔμπροσθ' τε Θερμοπύλων καὶ ὀπίσθ' τε: i.e. to the west and to the east of Thermopylai there is a road which in those two places, at the river Phoinix, near Anthela, and at Alpenoi, is only wide enough for a single wagon

Hdt. indeed by ἔμπροσθ' means 'north' and by ὀπίσθ' means 'south,' for the next sentence shows that he was in error to the tune of 90° in his orientation of the pass

The immense change in the contour of the coast has destroyed the applicability of Hdt's description to the pass of Thermopylai as it presents itself to the eyes of the modern traveller (e.g. *arsius mei*, 9th April 1899), but the inner wall of the pass, so to speak, the ἔρος ἀβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, has altered but little in two thousand years, it is the sea which has fled, vastly extending the *τενάγεια* and alluvial deposit, allowing the lowland to advance, altering the courses of the rivers, and largely destroying the picturesqueness of the scene. Yet, thanks mainly to the inner frame of rock, it is possible to think away the accretions and alterations and to restore the physiographical conditions as they were in 480 B.C., and now more easily than ever before, thanks to the map based upon the accurate survey of Dr G B Grundy. See his *Great Persian War*

The description of Hdt, though incorrectly 'oriented,' reproduces the main structure and features of the scene, as it was in his time. The pass of Thermopylai then lay between a precipitous mountain and the land-locked sea—such was its peculiarity, like the Klimax in Pisidia (cp Arrian, *Anab* 1 26, Strabo 666), but, unlike the Klimax, it was at no time rendered actually impassable by tide-water. The pass consisted, further, of three parts or sections: the western gate, the eastern gate, both extremely narrow, and a wider amphitheatre, or rather two half-amphitheatres, lying between them. The western gate is formed by the projection of a mountain ridge, or spur, which descends with an accessible slope towards the sea, its extreme point being abruptly cut off (perhaps in part by human agency) so as to form a sheer but not lofty cliff, below which curved the road, ἀμαξίτος μόνον, for some considerable distance.

πυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνούς ὀπισθε ἔοντας ἑοῦσα  
 10 ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ  
 Ἀνθήλης πόλιος ἄλλη ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων

9 εἶσα om α

10 ἁμαξιτὸς R

The 'city' of Anthela may have been situate on the slope or lower plateau (nowadays crowned by the remains of a Turkish barracks), commanding this passage, though the words of Hdt rather suggest a site for Anthela outside the passage or the Gates proper. The Phoenix certainly flows just beyond the gate, now into the Spercheios, at one time formerly into the Asopos (Strabo 428). Beyond, or west of this river, the plain extends, ringed round on the left by a great circle of cliffs, and hills and mountains (as not badly described c 198 *infra*). This western gate, however, is ill to defend, as the projecting spur of mountain forming it might easily be attacked and crossed from the west or Trachinian side.

At the other or extreme eastern end, distant about four E miles or more by road, the cliffs and mountain wall again sweep forward and decline to the sea, and form another 'gate,' a little in front of the probable site of Alpenoi, as narrow of yore as the western (ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη), perhaps even narrower, and probably in itself more defensible, being backed rather than fronted by the hill, and only to be turned by a force that should have made its way right round behind the ὄρος ἀβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον on the left, inland. A path, however, ascends in front (W.) of this gate, and strikes across the projecting ridges or spurs of the mountain to join the Anopaea route, to and from Alpenoi, and this ascent (which might enable a force attacking the Eastern Gate in front to turn the position) must be reckoned with in any reconstruction of the story of Thermopylai.

Between the Western and Eastern Gates lies, and lay (to a less extent), a double amphitheatre, between the mountain and the sea, roughly comparable to a double U (U). It is here, along the chord of these two rough arcs, that there is most room for doubt in regard to the ancient line of coast. Dr. G. B. Grundy contracts the interval between sea and mountain-spurs about half way between the Eastern and the Western Gate, and recreates for 480 B.C.

a third, i.e. Middle Gate, or rather low pass, the road deserting the level and rising over the slopes, in order to avoid the sea, which here for a longer space than at the western or eastern ends is made to wash the very skirts of the hills. This is a feature of which no clear account is taken in Hdt's description of the pass as a whole. The West Gate he recognizes (making it north), the East Gate he recognizes (making it south), but the Middle Gate, or Passage, he does not well describe, it is, however, at this middle gate that he apparently locates the name Thermopylai, and so the expression ἡ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολή may be taken to signify, in the strictest sense, not the whole road from the western to the eastern ends, or gates, but the col, just about half way between them. (But in no sense could this be called ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἐσόδος, cp 1 β *supra*, though possibly διὰ Μήλιδος, cp. c 216 *infra*.)

9. κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνούς ὀπισθε ἔοντας : sc ὀπισθε Θερμοπυλέων. The description is from a Greek point of view, from the point of view of the defence, of the source Ἀλπῆνοι is described as a κώμη here lower down (I 27), and appears in c. 216 in the singular (from a different source?). The form Ἀλπανός is given by Steph. B. from Hellanikos, and confirmed by Aischines 2. 132 (Ἀλπανον καὶ Θρόνιον καὶ Νίκαιαν, τὰ τῶν παρόδων τῶν εἰς Πύλας χωρία κύρια), and still more by inscription (Delphi), Dittenberger, *Syll.* 1<sup>1</sup> 185. Its identity with Ἄλπα (see Hirschfeld *ap* Pauly-Wissowa, 1. 1599) is more questionable. It was in Lokris Epiknemidia (Steph. B.), and probably just east of the 'Eastern Gate,' or on the hills about Cp Grundy, *Great Persian War*, p. 291, 'half a mile beyond the east gate' (against Leake).

ἔοντας ἑοῦσα is not very elegant : cp c 104. 11 *supra* (ἔοντα ἑοῦσα would have been worse : hence the plural?). Cp. App Crit.

10 Φοίνικα ποταμόν a tributary of the Asopos? Strabo 428. Cp. c. 200 *infra*, as also for Ἀνθήλη.

11. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων has been generally taken to embrace the whole

τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέρης ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον,  
 ὑψηλόν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οὔτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡὼ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ  
 ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρον καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ 15  
 βωμὸς ἱδρυταὶ Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος

12 τὸ μὲν om. B || ἑσπέρην B 13 ὑψηλόν del. Valckenaer, Holder,  
 van H || ἔω B 15 Χύτρος Eustath Dion 437

passage, with its two or even three 'gates', and so, no doubt, the word frequently may do. But here, to clear up many difficulties, let us take it in a stricter and narrower sense, as the middle passage, laying stress, as it were, on the *Θερμὰ* rather than on the *Πύλαι*. It would, perhaps, be pressing the words of Strabo 428 unduly to see in them a recognition of the tripartite character of the pass. τὴν μὲν οὖν παράδον Πύλας καλοῦσι καὶ Στενὰ καὶ Θερμοπύλας. Strabo seems to mean that the three names are interchangeable: but what if they properly designated the Western, Eastern (cp c 216 *νηῖρα*), and Middle Gates?

13 ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οὔτην. This statement is hardly quite correct, but not inconsistent with c 217 *νηῖρα*, where the *ὄρεα τὰ Οὔταιων* are separated from τὰ Τρηχινίων, by the valley of the Asopos and by the Anopala-path. But in a more general sense, perhaps, the mountain above Thermopylai (Kallidromos) might be regarded as belonging to the Oitaian group. So Strabo 427-8 regards Oita as extending from the Ambrakian Gulf to the Malian (Thermopylai) and cutting the range of Pindos-Parnassos at right angles, the name 'Oita' belonging particularly to the eastern portion of this (rather schematic) range. Strabo's assertion that the highest point is immediately above Thermopylai is incorrect.

14 ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ: if ταύτῃ is taken as agreeing with τῇ ἐσόδῳ, then αὕτη ἡ ἐσόδος may be taken to signify 'Thermopylai pass,' ἡ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολή, in the narrowest sense, the so-called 'Middle Gate.' But if ἡ ἐσόδος means (as more probably) the whole passage, from east to west, or *vice versa*, then ταύτῃ may be taken as locative adverb, 'here,' that is at Thermopylai proper, or had by 'the Middle Gate.'

15 θερμὰ λουτρά, 'hot baths' or bathing water: not necessarily springs. So θερμὰ λουτρά II 14 6, θερμὰ λουτρά

Aischyl. *Choeph.* 670, Aristoph. *Clouds* 1045, of the ordinary domestic tub, and πετραῖα θερμὰ λουτρά Sophokles, *Trachin.* 633, of the actual waters here in question. They were, and are, undoubtedly in this case natural hot springs, emerging from the rock under the foot of Kallidromos, at an easily identified spot, now fitted with rude appliances for bathing, and possibly used therapeutically in Hdt's day. The term λουτρά might, however, apply to the way in which the springs wash over the surface of the ground, leaving heavy deposits of sulphur etc behind them. The water is very hot ("over 120° F." Baedeker), is bluish in colour, and leaves a white deposit.

τὰ Χύτρον καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· χύτρος (ῆ) is a vase, 5 88, or earthenware vessel, diminutive of χύτρα. It is observable that Hdt uses the Attic forms there and here. The name seems to suggest bathing arrangements, earthenware baths; cp Paus 4 35 6 γλαυκότατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὗτι που πᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρον γυναικέων. Pausanias declares that he saw, Hdt. only reports the local name, and the formula here by no means justifies an inference to a personal visit or autopsy.

16 βωμὸς . . Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι, sc τοῖς λουτροῖς. The cult of Herakles was especially prominent in the Oitaian region, and the hero himself was especially associated with hot water (always in it! Aristoph. *Cl.* 1051 τοῦ ψυχρὰ δῆτα πάσος' εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρά,), the Schol. on which passage records that Ibykos represented Hephaistos as having produced λουτρά θερμῶν ὑδάτων, others Athene, and quotes Pseandros τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη ποιεῖ θερμὰ λουτρά παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης. So too Hesychios and Photios, *sub vv* Ἡράκλεια λουτρά, both also recording a third variant, that the nymphs had produced them for Herakles in Sicily, and Photios

κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν.  
ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δέισαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον  
ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκῆσόντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν

17 καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν βζ καὶ τό γε τὸ παλαιὸν α τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ  
Eustath. τῷδε τὸ παλαιὸν Koen 18 ἐπέιτε? van H. 19 οἰκή-  
σαντες α

a fourth, that the hero had produced them himself' Strabo 428 explains the name 'Thermopylai' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ θερμὰ πλησίον ὕδατα τιμώμενα ὡς Ἡρακλέους ἱερὰ. The greatest literary monument we have of the association of Herakles with this region is the *Trachiniae* of Sophokles, the foundation of Heirakleia by Sparta in 426 B.C. (Thuc. 3.92.1) is a significant witness of another order.

ἔδειμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς one of the most genuine pluperfects, temporally, in Hdt., for it is related not to the date of writing but to the date given in the narrative, at which time, indeed, the wall was in ruins, and required rebuilding; cp 1.25 *ἤνθα*. But there is no call to insist on a pluperfect force for ἔδειμαν.

17. κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς would be almost unmeaning, or too vague at least, if it referred generally to the whole pass-way, some five miles long, the words, though in the plural (by a sort of attraction to Thermopylai), refer specifically to this part of the pass near the Hot-springs, and the Chytroi, or Baths, in fact to 'Thermopylai proper,' or 'the Middle Gate.'

τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν hence the specific name of Thermopylai (to distinguish this spot from the Pylai, or western entrance?) τὸ παλαιὸν is adverbial, = πάλαι, not merely from the writer's point of view, but in relation to Ol. 75, 480 B.C.

18. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες κτλ. That 'Phokians,' not 'Lokrians,' built this wall is noticeable; it was, properly speaking, in Lokris. If the Phokians were its builders, it must have been built at a time when the Phokians exercised a hegemony, or suzerainty, over the Epiknemidian Lokrians at least. Strabo 424-5 describes Δαφνοῦς as a Phokian inset, reaching to the sea, and dividing the eastern Lokrians into 'Epiknemidian' and 'Opuntian' Phokis as a whole may be regarded as a larger

wedge, splitting primitive 'Lokris' into the eastern and western (Ozolian)

Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν. The 'Thessaloi' are absolutely unknown to 'Homer,' or more completely ignored than the 'Dorians' themselves. (A Herakleid 'Thessalos' appears in the Catalogue, B 679, as father of Pheidippos and Antiphos, the leaders of thirty ships from Kos, Nisyros, Krapathos, Kasos, Kalydnai, i.e. Asiatic islands (afterwards) occupied by 'Dorians'.) Their migration from Epeiros (a term first expressly found in Xenoph. *Hell.* 6.1.7), into (historic) Thessaly was therefore dated after the Trojan war, and there the historic 'Thessalioi' (cp 1.57), with its capital Pharsalos (not mentioned by Hdt.), may naturally be regarded as one of the chief seats of the conquerors. The 'Thesprotia' from which they came was not merely the restricted territory bearing that name in the days of Hdt. and Thuc. (cp 8.47 *ἤνθα*), but probably co-extensive with southern Epeiros, in which region 'Homer' already locates Thesprotai on the sea-coast, and only clearly there *Od.* 14.315, etc. As the Molossai (unnamed by Homer) are the dominant element in S. Epeiros during the historic period, we may infer that the Molossian invasion (from Illyria?) burst up the Thesprotians from the mountain to the sea, and that the Thesproto-Thessalians under this pressure went across Pindos into historic Thessalioi and Thessaly. (To speak of Homeric 'Thessaly,' with, for example, Buchholz, *Homeric Realien*, 1.88, etc., is rather misleading, though of course none knows better that it is not a Homeric term, cp 1.97 ff.)

19 γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτίεται cp Diodor. 4.67.2 τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰολίδα νῦν δὲ Θερραλίαν καλουμένην. 'Aiolos' is at home at Alos in 'Achaia,' c. 197 *ἤνθα*, in Hdt.'s own time 'Aiolis' was a definite region in Asia (cp 1.149, 5.123). 'Aiolian' and 'Achaian' may be different forms of the same name, Bury, *Hist. Gr.* 1.42 n.

ἐκτέαται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι 20  
σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκῆες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ  
θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθῇ ὁ  
χώρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ  
ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιού  
τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι 25  
δὲ <Ἑλλησι> αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς

21 τοῦτο om. B 23 μηχανώμενοι α, Stein<sup>2</sup>. μηχανεόμενοι P,  
Stein<sup>1</sup>: μηχανεόμενοι Bz || ἐμβάλοιεν B || οἱ om. B 24 ἐπὶ: ἐς B,  
Holder, van H. || τὸ post τεῖχος om B 25 πλέον BPz· παλαιὸν α  
26 <Ἑλλησι> Stein<sup>3</sup> || ταῦτα α 27 ἀγχοτάτω B(S)· ἀγχοτάτωι A  
ἀγχοτάτῃ R ἀγχοτα cum τ lit ult. superscripto V

20. πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατα-  
στρέφεσθαι σφέας one might be tempted  
to suppose that the wall had originally  
been built (by the Lokrian 'Leleges')  
to bar the invasions of 'Boiotians' and  
'Phokians' (expelled by 'Thessalians')  
from the north. However that might  
be, the secular hostility of 'Thessalians',  
properly so called, and Phokians (cp 8  
37-30) may confirm the view that this  
wall had last been used as a bar to  
Thessalian inroads. Whether these  
aimed at the actual conquest of Phokis  
or not is another question.

21 οἱ Φωκῆες the ethnology and  
origin of the 'Phokians' is open to  
discussion. Thucydides believes, per-  
haps rightly, that the 'Boiotoi' of  
his day had been driven out of Arne  
(= Kierion, of Thessaly) by the Thes-  
salians, 1 12 3, but he has nothing  
to tell us of the local antecedents of the  
Phokians (any more than Hdt.) except  
apparently that the land 'now called  
Phokis' had once been occupied by  
'Thrakians', 2 29 3. The Homeric  
Catalogue places the Φωκῆες in their  
historic habitat, B 517-26, and then  
best man before Troy was Schedios, son  
of Iphitos, from Panopeus, II 17. 306;  
the eponyms (1) Phokos, son of Ornytion,  
son of Sisypheos, and (2) Phokos, son of  
Aiakos (son of Zeus), they meet us in  
Pausanias 10. 1 1 (cp. 2. 4 3, 2 29.  
2 f, 9 17. 4), and the supposed connexion  
with Korinth and Argina rests, perhaps,  
upon a mere verbal confusion (φῶκος=  
φῶκαινα, a porpoise, cp φῶκη, also  
Δελφοί and Δελφίς). It seems most  
natural to bring the historic 'Phokians'  
from the north, and to date their enmity

with the 'Thessalians' even back to the  
days when these came from 'Thesprotia'  
into 'Aiolis' the invasions of Boiotians  
and Phokians then account for the dis-  
ruption of eastern and western Lokrians

τὸ ὕδωρ . ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον. Hdt  
here perhaps ascribes to human agency  
what was a purely natural phenomenon,  
the overflow of water and deposit of  
irregular mineral alluvium over the  
whole area between the 'west' and  
'middle' gates. The date (τότε) is  
sufficiently vague, but at any rate it is  
out of the memory of living man in  
Hdt's time. Strabo 428 extends the  
observation to the whole district: ποιεῖ  
δὲ δυσείσβολα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἢ τε τραχύ-  
της καὶ τὸ πληθὺς τῶν υδάτων φάραγγας  
ποιούντων, ἃς διέξεισι.

25 ὑπὸ χρόνου. owing to, under the  
influence of, by reason of, time, i.e. length  
of time; cp Index s.v. ὑπό. ἔκειτο  
had fallen down, lay in ruins.

τοῖσι δὲ without the emendation  
would refer back to c 175—a rather  
remarkable carry. They resolved to  
restore the wall (αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι: the  
resolution is prior to the restoration),  
and in this place (ταύτῃ, predicative) to  
make their first attempt to repulse the  
attack on Hellas (Cp. c 175 μὴ παρῆναι  
ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον). This is a  
κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων (ἔδοξε), cp.  
notes to c 175.

27 κώμη δὲ Ἀλπεινοὶ ὄνομα a  
clumsy note, after the mention of Alpenoi  
just above, and (1) this note, (2) the  
τοῖσι δὲ, (3) the wild confusion of the  
preceding description of Thermopylai,  
(4) the subsequent descriptions of the  
same places in the course of the narra-

όδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

- 177 Οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι· ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες οὔτε οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτη σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ  
5 ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃν ἔόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.
- 178 Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες,

28 ἐσόδου coni Stein<sup>2</sup> prob van H 177 1 μὲν οὖν B 2  
πάντα αP, Stein<sup>2</sup> 6 Ἰσθμοῦ στρατοῦ S || πεζοὶ B 7 ἐπ'  
ἐς B 178. 1 διέ<χ>α ταχθέντες Naber

tive, suggest the hypothesis that the greater portion of this chapter is a later insertion (probably in the second draft), made perhaps after Hdt had been past the scene in a ship, cp Introd § 9

28 ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. a welcome though purely incidental indication that the Greek warfare was conducted on rational principles, and took account of the 'Realien,' quickly followed up by one still more elaborate

177. 2 ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες οὔτε κτλ. cp προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σκευῶν, c 10 *supra*, where the act is a purely mental one. It would, however, give a stronger sense here, and avoid a false antithesis between *προ-* and *ἐπι-*, to take the word in more concrete sense, after inspecting, spying out—'after full inspection, and careful reflexion' προσκέψομαι τὸν Παφλαγῶνα, Aristoph. *Kn* 154, is of actual sight. Cp προσκοπή Thuc 1. 116, πρόσκοπος Xen *Resp. Lac* 12. 6, *Kyrop.* 5. 2. 6. The evidence afforded of the careful and scientific strategy of the Greeks is acceptable. The enemy's vast numbers and his cavalry are what they have mainly in view, but what of the fleet? Hdt's rationale relapses on to the isolated defence of Thermopylai.

8 ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι: be able to use (fully), cp. Index s v ἔχω

ταύτη σφι ἔδοξε. an anacoluthon. This is the third time Hdt. has made the statement, cp. cc 175, 176. Perhaps originally it occurred only here and in c. 175

4 ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο. ἐν Πιερίῃ:

though they had, according to c 174, occupied Tempe before Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, they wait until they hear that he is in Pieria (c 131 *supra*) before occupying Thermopylai-Artemision, or rather before breaking up from the Isthmos, for the purpose of effecting that occupation. This is much the more probable synchronism of the two. Hdt writes as though the forces, both *teirēne* and maritime, had been assembled at the Isthmos awaiting a decision that is not likely. What broke up at the Isthmos was the Hellenic Council; the plan of defence was now decided, after hot debate (cp. c. 175), the Probouloi returned home, presumably, some of them would be in command of contingents, the hegemony in the field and on the water passes to Sparta.

178 1. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες. διαταχθέντες in the original draft this sentence was perhaps immediately followed by ὁ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξῳ στρατός κτλ., c. 179—a better antithesis. There are other signs that this chapter belongs to Hdt's retraction, see below.

The Hellenes had no time to lose if Xerxes was now in Pieria. He had but to push his fleet forward and seize the Euboian channel while they were still discussing τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἰοῖσι χώροις (c. 175). But, fortunately for the Greeks, Xerxes was no Kyros, to come upon them *αὐτὸς ἀγγελος* (1. 79), no Caesar (*hoc tēras*), to rush the Rubicon *horribili vigiliantia, celeritate, diligentia* (*ad Att.* 8. 9. 4). Fortunately for them he was wedded to

Δελφοὶ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ  
 ἑωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδικότες, καὶ σφί ἐχρήσθη  
 ἀνέμοισι εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
 συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν 5  
 Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν  
 τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφί δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν  
 βάρβαρον

ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν 10

2 ὑπέρ τε? Stein<sup>1</sup> 4 μεγάλους μεγίστους B 5 ξυμμά-  
 χους B 9 versum hexam indicavi 10 ταῦτα del van H.

a plan of campaign which bound his army and navy to advance *pari passu*, and they knew it

The *διάταξις* in this case may refer primarily to the separate organization of land- and sea-forces on the Greek side Cp App Crit

2 Δελφοὶ δέ an earlier, perhaps a rival form of this story may be found in the Athenian story, c. 189 *infra*. The fable here is obviously from a Delphic source, and perhaps obtained by Hdt *an Ort und Stelle*, that is in Delphi, or in 'Thyia', see below, it is part of the Apologia of Delphi, cp Appendix III § 7

Their voluntary consultation of the god, 'on behalf of Hellas and themselves,' was much to the credit of the 'Delphians', their craven fear (*καταρρωδικότες*) was fully shared by all the Hellenes 'who had a mind to be free' (*δαινῶς καταρρωδέουσι*), at least so the Delphians appear to have said

3 ἐχρήσθη Clemens Alex *Strom.* 6 753 professes to give the exact words of the response: ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμοις καὶ λῶιον ἔσται. The winds would not do the army much harm, the oracle concerns the fleet. In itself there is nothing very improbable in such a behest, though it is not a very valiant or creditable one. But in view of the evidences regarding the attitude and position of Delphi before and during the war, and in view of the event, it seems more probable that we have here too an instance of the *vaticinium post eventum*. Hdt is sceptical about the powers of the Magi to lay the wind, c. 191 *infra*; but he has apparently no misgivings as to the ability of the Greeks to raise it

5. δεξάμενοι· not a mere chronological

point, nor merely of sensible audition, or mental intelligence, but something stronger, more exalted, 'accepted with joy,' thankfulness, gratitude, 'hailed', cp 9 91

9. ἐξαγγείλαντες κατέθεντο is an hexameter, and suggests that this service of the Delphians had been recorded in poem, or epigram, before Hdt. came by it. The testimonial was composed, or at least erected, by the Delphians, in their own honour one way of writing history! Hdt is guileless in the matter. The incompleteness of the construction is perhaps further evidence that this verse is a quotation, the full construction being *κατατίθεσθαι χάριν παρά τινι* (though it must be admitted that the phrase is frequently used without such clear direction, cp 6 41 *supra*, Thuc. 1. 33. 1, etc)

10. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: there are four epochs in this legend as told by Hdt (i.) ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, i.e. while the Hellenes were getting them to Thermopylai and Artemision, the consultation and the response. (ii.) πρῶτα μὲν, the date of the voluntary communication made by the Delphians to the Hellenes (either already at or *en route* for Artemision), and the immortal obligation (iii.) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, the date of the erection of the Altar of the Winds at Thyia, and the institution of the Cult, but how long after? Before the storm? or after the war? Alas, a sad lack of precision! (iv.) ἐν καὶ νῦν (in next c.), the telltale index of the date of composition, and in any case involving a long interval

That the Cult of the Winds at Thyia dated from, or after, the Persian invasion is plainly asserted in this passage, but



ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστὶ, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χώρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίησι σφέας μετήσαν.

179 Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξῳ στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος

11 θυίῃ B θυίης APd<sup>z</sup>· θύης BC || κηφισοῦ CP<sup>z</sup> || θύης B 13  
θυσίῃσι σφέας Stein<sup>1</sup> 179. 1 μὲν νυν B, Holder, van H 2  
<ὁ> Ξέρξῳ Štourač || ὀρμώμενος S, Stein<sup>2</sup>. ὀρμέμενος Stein<sup>1</sup>. ὀρμώ-  
μενοι α ὀρμέμενοι P. ὀρμώμενοι Cd<sup>z</sup>

this new departure can hardly have been the first institution of Wind-worship, but was rather an attempt to give Pan-hellenic significance, or at least Delphic sanction, to much more ancient practices. The sacrifice of the Magi to the Wind in c. 191 *infra* is connected indirectly with Ionian, or rather 'Aeolian' legend, and the Winds of 'the Thracian sea' (cp. c. 176 2 *supra*), Boreas and Zephyros, are Homeric personalities in the *Iliad* (9. 5, 23, 229 f), while in the *Odyssey*, if they are treated with less respect, yet Aiolos, their keeper, is a decidedly supernatural person (*Od.* 10. 1 ff). It is not, however, in the Olympian direction that the *origines* of the cult is to be found: the winds, ἀνεμοί, ἀέλλαι, or θύελλαι, are primitively connected with the dead, the departed 'spirits,' the chthonian cults. Thus even in the *Patrokleia* Achilles invokes Boreas and Zephyros, καὶ ὑπὶ σκετοῖς ἱερὰ καλὰ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπένδων χρυσέῳ δέπαι λιτάνευεν (*Il.* 23. 195 f), and in the legend of Menelaos preserved by Hdt. 2. 119 the winds are propitiated by human sacrifice (ἐντομα κυρίως τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐναγίζόμενα Schol. Apoll. Rhod. quoted by Wiedemann, *Herodots Zuercher Buch*, ad l), and though the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is not Homeric, and is, in its earliest literary form, a homage not to the Winds, but to Artemis, yet the Vergilian formula, *Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa*, etc., *Aen.* 2. 116 ff, probably comes nearer to the primitive idea and cult. The intention of the Herodotean stories seems, at first sight, not to go much beyond raising (or quelling) a storm, and so, indirectly, causing a destruction of the enemy, or *vice versa*, but the terminology nevertheless suggests a chthonian cult (c. 192), and the notion that the Winds are summoned to dissipate or carry to the underworld the ghosts of the combatants

is not to be wholly rejected (The chthonian origin of the Wind-cult has been detected and developed by three scholars Stengel, *Hermes*, 16 (1881), 349 ff., Rohde, *Psyche*, 1890-4, Tumpel, *ap. Pauly-Wissowa* 1 (1894) 2176 ff.)

11. ἐν Θυίῃ a place (ὁ χώρος οὗτος), in which was a sacred Close (τέμενος), apparently in the neighbourhood of Delphi. It seems that the cult of 'Thyia' in Thyie is older than the erection of the altar to the *Anemoi* in Thyie (see below), but the selection of the spot for the dedication seems to show a clear consciousness of the original signification of the cult of the Thyiades, or *Valkyries* (cp. L & S *sub v. θυία*, where *θυιάς* is given, but not *θυία*, or *θυίη*)

τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης a variant appears *ap. Pausan.* 10. 6. 4 οἱ δὲ Κασσάλιον τε ἀνδρὰ αὐτόχθονα καὶ θυγατέρα ἐθέλονσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Θυίαν, καὶ ἱερᾶσθαι τε τὴν Θυίαν Διονύσῳ πρῶτον καὶ ὄργια ἀγαγεῖν τῷ θεῷ· ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ὅσαι τῷ Διονύσῳ μαίνονται Θυιάδας καλεῖσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων· Ἀπόλλωνος δ' οὖν παῖδα καὶ Θυιάς νομίζουσιν εἶναι Δελφῶν. The connexion of Θυία with Dionysos is further illustrated by the Eleian *θυία*, Pausan. 6. 26. 1, and even more pertinently by the Attic Thyiades, 10. 4. 3 αἱ δὲ Θυιάδες γυναῖκες μὲν εἰσιν Ἀττικαί, φοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐς τὸν Παρνασσὸν παρὰ ἔτος αὐταὶ τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Δελφῶν ἄγουσιν ὄργια Διονύσῳ. Cp. Bakchos Thyoneus

13. θυσίῃσι is perhaps most strictly to be referred to gods, while the word ἰλάσκονται below, like ἐντομα ποιέιντες c. 191 *infra*, belongs to the terminology of 'heroic' cult, Stengel, *Hermes*, xvi. (1881) 349.

179. 2. ὀρμώμενος *ἐκ* does not describe the actual start of the Persian fleet, but refers to the base from which they start. The actual movement of the fleet as a whole is described c. 183 *infra* (ὀρμηθέντες

ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι  
δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσευσαι νέες τρεῖς  
Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προ- 5  
ιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν.  
τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα αἰρέουσι 180  
ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν  
καλλιστείνοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶρης τῆς νεὸς ἔσφαξαν,  
διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ

3 παρέβαλε α 5 Τροϊζηνίη et infra Τροϊζηνίην<sup>1</sup> van H. 180. 1  
ἦς α 3 ἄγοντες β || τῆς πρῶρης Stein: τῆς πρῶρης β: τὴν πρῶρην β,  
Holder τὴν πρῶρην van H. || νῆος β. νηὸς Pds 4 ὄρνιθα δεξιὸν  
Madvig, van H Δία δεξιὸν Valckenaer

αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης) · on δρῶσθαι ἐκ cp 5  
125, 8 133. At the same time Hdt's  
expression here is curious in making ὁ  
ναυτικός στρατός the subject

\* 3. παρέβαλε appears to be used in-  
transitively (no need with Baehr to  
supply εαυτὸν), cp Thuc 3. 32 3  
ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μὴ ποτε  
Ἀθηναίων τῆς θαλάσσης κρατούντων ναῦς  
Πελοποννησίων ἐς Ἴωνίαν παραβαλεῖν  
The ten ships here mentioned would  
probably be 'Sidonian,' cp c 96 *supra*,  
and 8 92.

4 ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα, 'straight for  
Skiathos where ' ἰθὺ exhibits a  
preposition in the making, cp 4 120,  
136, 8 38, 9 69. Skiathos, c 176 *supra*,  
if Skiathos was the station of the Hellenic  
ships on the outlook, it is not easy to  
see how one of them, after taking to  
flight, came on shore at Tempe, c 182  
*infra*. Either Hdt uses ἔνθα loosely, or  
wrote this narrative passage with a less  
clear notion of the exact position of  
Skiathos and Tempe than cc 176, 129—  
passages which (as shown above) are  
probably later insertions in the main  
narrative

προφυλάσσευσαι προιδόντες  
The change of gender is an anacoluthon  
κατὰ σύνεσιν, cp. 8 23 The one προ-  
is local, the other temporal, cp. Index  
s.v. πρό.

6 ὄρμησαν. ὀρῶω is used indifferently  
in all three voices, cp ὀρῶμενος above,  
ὀρμηθέντες c 183

180. 1 ἤν . . Τροϊζηνίην, apparently  
one of only five (8 1 *infra*), but represent-  
ing the Peloponnesians

Πρηξίνος. Hdt has perhaps a

keener interest in the Troizenian trierarch,  
otherwise unknown, from the fact that  
Troizen was the metropolis of Halikar-  
nassos. c. 99 *supra* But he misses a  
point in not specifying that the βάρβαροι,  
who made a sacrifice of Leon, were  
Phoenicians

4. διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι *laetum omen  
captantes*, Portus, "securing (?) a good  
omen for themselves," Blakesley Stein  
thinks that διαδέξιον might be connected  
with διαδέχεσθαι and refer to the distribu-  
tion of portions of the victim among  
the sacrificial guests, as an 'Erstlingsopfer'  
(cp. πρῶτον), and so mean  
'Erstlingsopfer.' But the distribution  
of portions of the victim was not con-  
fined to 'Erstlingsopfer', and even the  
Phoenicians did not distribute portions  
of the victim for consumption at a  
'Menschenopfer' Moreover, by whom  
is διαδέχεσθαι used of distributing (οἱ  
receiving portions of) sacrificial flesh and  
blood?

πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον was he  
really 'first and fairest'? Or was he  
simply 'fairest of the first' (captured)?  
Prexinos might have counted as the  
'first' Greeks would not have slain  
this Adonis for his beauty (cp. 5. 12).  
Blakesley quotes Procopius 2 15 τῶν  
Ιερπείων σφισὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρωπὸς ἔστιν  
ὃν περ ἂν δοριάλωτον ποιήσαντο πρῶτον (οἱ  
the 'Thulitae'); also,

Who spills the foremost foe-man's life,  
That party conquers in the strife ;

(Tacit. *Germ.* 10 less to the point) but  
these cases leave good looks out of the  
question.

5 κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα ἦν Λέων.  
 181 τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο. ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη,  
 τῆς ἐτρηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφί θόρυβον παρέσχε,  
 Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου  
 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηὺς ἠλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο  
 5 ἀντείχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας. ὥς δὲ πεσὼν  
 οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἳ περ ἐπεβάτευον  
 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιήσαι μιν περὶ  
 πλείστου ἐποίησαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ  
 σινδόνης βυσσίνης τέλαμῶσι κατελίσσοντες· καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω  
 10 ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι  
 πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον

5 τοῦνομα B. ὄνομα C, van H

6 τι om α || οὐνόματος 2

ὀνόματος codd., van H.

181 2 ἀσωνίδης B, Valla (ἀντονίδης Schol.

Hom, van H) num admiseris Ἀσωνίδης?

4 νηὺς: ναὺς lib.

5 κατεκρεουργήθη α

8 σμύρνη B, Holder, van H || ἰεόμενοι van H ||

καὶ τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ ἐκ B

10 ἐπιδείκνυσαν B || ἐκπαγλεόμενοι B

11

καὶ περιέποντες B

5 Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν . . ἐπαύροιτο  
 'What's in a name?'—a good deal at  
 times according to Hdt, cp 6 50,  
 9. 91 The verb is of course in the  
 second aorist. For the meaning cp. the  
 substantive, c. 158 *supra* (ἐπαύρεσις).  
 There is no doubt a touch of irony here  
 but how exactly does Hdt mean it?  
 Did the Phoenicians ascertain that the  
 name of this Adonis was 'Lion,' and  
 did this discovery seal his fate? Or  
 does not Hdt mean that such grand  
 names are dangerous, and provocative  
 of φθόνος, νέμεσις? Or, short of that,  
 does he simply mean, 'much good his  
 grand name did him!' (Blakesley's  
 'perchance he will gain something from  
 his name,' i.e. his fate will be remembered,  
 though grammatically possible, iobs the  
 remark of its point)

181. 2. τῆς ἐτρηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης:  
 this tierarch too is unknown otherwise.  
 (Should his name be Ἀσωνίδης? cp. 5.  
 30.)

3 Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος  
 this gallant *epibates* strangely enough  
 was on board the captor ship, a Sidonian,  
 at Salamis (8 92 *infra*). Did he him-  
 self tell the story of his deeds and his  
 treatment? Had he any conversation  
 with Ionian or other Greeks on the  
 Persian side?

5. ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας, 'until

he was simply cut to pieces' Cp κατα-  
 κοπέντα 8 92, τοὺς ἀνδρας κρεουργηδον  
 διασπάσαντες 3 13

7 περιποιήσαι μιν περὶ πλείστου  
 ἐποίησαντο, 'made the greatest point  
 of preserving him'—perhaps the Phoeni-  
 cians, less chivalrous than the Persian  
*epibates*, would have thought otherwise  
 The preposition and the verb, both re-  
 peated in different senses, are stylistically  
 defective.

8 σμύρνησιν κατελίσσοντες the  
 evidence afforded by this story of appli-  
 cances on board available for the treatment  
 of the wounded is remarkable Were  
 they primarily intended for that pur-  
 pose? In 2 86 σμύρνη (myrrh) and other  
 similar drugs (hence here, plural?) are  
 used for embalming dead bodies, and 'the  
 long strips of linen cloth' for bandaging  
 are taken literally (or literally repro-  
 duced) in that process But Phoenicians,  
 much less Persians, would not want to  
 mummify even the illustrious dead, and  
 the fair inference is that these appliances  
 were intended for their own wounded.

10 ἐκπαγλεόμενοι, a poetical word: 1 q  
 ἐκπλήσσεσθαι, only used in these Books,  
 8 92, 9 48 Even the adj ἐκπαγλος  
 (=ἐκπαγος) is only once found in Attic  
 prose, L & S *sub* v.

11. περιέποντες cp περιέψεσθαι c. 149  
*supra*.

ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὡς ἀνδράποδα αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο 182  
τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε  
Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς  
τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν  
δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ 5  
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομι-  
σθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι 183  
πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ  
καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα,

182. 2 οὕτω om β, Holder, van H. 3 φέρμος Pd. φοίμος C ||  
ἐκβολὰς Bekker ἐκβολὰς cum μ ad int. supersc. P ἐμβολὰς β:  
ἐσβολὰς α 4 Πηλίου Sauppe 183. 1 ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι vult  
van H 2 παρὰ διὰ β, Holder, van H. || Περσῶν (cod Marcianus) z  
3 μετορμίζοντο β

182 2 ἐχειρώθησαν a curious word to use for the capture or destruction of ships, cp. 4. 96, 103, 164, 5 16, etc

τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθ. the exact nature of the 'trierarchy' at Athens in 480 B.C. is by no means clear, cp 8 17 Was this trierarch one of the men who acted under the psephism of Themistokles? (cp Appendix III. § 4). Unfortunately nothing is known of him (φορμός as a crate, or basket, 8 71)

3 ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Π. κέλλειν poet and ὀκέλλειν prose forms used both transitively and intransitively, and so here, ἐξοκ of the ship as subject, and ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα just below of the mariners. τὰς ἐκβ. τ II, cp τὴν ἐκβολὴν τ II. c. 128 Tempe is some 60 to 70 R. miles from Skiathos. the Greek scouting ships must have been far in advance of the island (Blakesley's idea that the king's ships came down on Skiathos from the high sea seems improbable) It looks as if the Greeks were taken by surprise could the Sidonians have started from Therme by night? The Athenian vessel may have been smarter than the others, but even the Athenian was no match for the Sidonian in pace. Was the ship's hull (σκάφος) captured by the pursuers, or later, by the Persians of the general advance? Apparently the former: in any case—the advance of these ten Sidonian ships may have served as part of the excuse for bringing Xerxes on a visit to Tempe (cc. 128-130). To

change Πηνειοῦ into Πηλίου (Sauppe) is bad, cp Baehr

6. ἀποθορόντες . ἐς Ἀθήνας Apparently they did not pause to destroy rigging, stores, etc., as might be inferred from σκάφος above and why did they not go to Thermopylai and so to Artemision? Perhaps only because Hdt has not thought of the point θρώσκειν, ἀποθρώσκειν seem rather poetical words.

183 1. ταῦτα what? the fate of the three ships? and how much of the details? It is hardly possible that they should have been known at Skiathos, or communicated by πυρσοί. On the use of such telegraphy cp 9 3 *infra*, Thuc 2. 94 1, 3 22. 7, 3. 80. 2, etc. Perhaps the advance of the ten Sidonian ships was telegraphed, or the disappearance of the three Greek

12. ἔλαβε ἡ <ε> αὐτὸς ἐκτίσαστο according to the scholiast on Pindar, *l. c. supra*, Deinomenes had brought the cult from Triopion, that solution but puts the problem, how a male came to be hierophant, one step back!

13 δ' ὦν resumptive, cp c 145 *supra*

14 ἐπ' ᾧ τε <αὐτὸς τε καὶ> οἱ ἀπόγονοι: Stein interprets this condition to mean that a cult, hitherto a mere private or personal rite, was elevated into a state cult, with 'mysteries,' and an hereditary priesthood. Cp the proposal of Maian-drios, 3 142 See further Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.* ii 435 (Modern society offers no such aristocratic privileges as that!)

φυλάξοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ  
 5 τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων  
 τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ  
 Μαγνησίας καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι  
 ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὅρμη-  
 θέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν,  
 10 ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ  
 τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατη-

4 λείποντες C λιπόντες Dulac 6 ἐπήλασαν α. δοκῶ ἐστάλησαν  
 R. ἐπεστάλησαν SV 9 ἐκποδὼν B 10 ἐπλεον RS. ἐπλεον V ||  
 ἡμέρησι α

4. ἡμεροσκόπους, to be distinguished perhaps from *νυκτοφύλακες* (Xenophon) *σκοπός* is the usual word, and the *ἡμερο-* is obviously *de trop*: but cp *ἡμεροδρόμος*. No doubt a good look-out was kept from Euboea's high places, not merely to mark the advance of the king's fleet, but to report any attempt to circumnavigate the island.

6. τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα. do the words mean that three were wrecked on the reef in question? Surely not, but simply that they deliberately went aground on it, in order to be able to erect the beacon of white marble, described immediately after. The exact position of the obstacle was explained to them by Pammon of Skyros: these three ships were apparently commissioned for this work. Hdt's narrative is not perhaps as clear as it might be, or would be, if the sentence τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι . . Σκύριος stood in its natural sequence, between Μύρμηκα and ἐνθαῦτα. The three ships which are specially commissioned are here clumsily included in the βάρβαροι, just as in c 178 the ten ships especially commissioned in the ναυτικὸς στρατός. and on the principle of the whole and the part being equivalent, the ναυτικὸς στρατός there starts and the βάρβαροι here erect the beacon before starting!

7. Μύρμηκα the 'Ant' is identified with the modern *Lefteri*, exactly midway between the coast of Magnesia and the SW. promontory of the island. On 'Magnesia' see c 176 *supra*.

9. τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, 'their way had been cleared' by the destruction of the three Greek guardships, by the erection of the beacon on

the Ant, by the lapse of the appointed number of days, since the departure of the king from Therme. Stein understands τὸ ἐμποδὼν precisely of the Ant, the obstacle, in the way, in which case καθαρὸν is rather quaint. I take ἐμποδὼν to be used of anything that is 'in the way,' as we say, not necessarily as 'obstacles'; cp cc. 108 *supra*, 206 *infra*, etc.

10. ἔνδεκα . . Θέρμης this attractive bit of chronology is the first item in the Journal or Log of the Thermopylai-Artemision operations which meets us in Hdt, but historians have made a mistake in taking it as the point of departure for the reconstruction of the Journal as a whole. It is by no means the best ascertained item recoverable, and it is the wrong *terminus a quo*. The mere observation that we cannot *pro verbo* be sure whether the eleven days are to be reckoned inclusively or exclusively, bars the approach here. But that the 'eleven days' start' of the army is a genuine bit of tradition, who can doubt? Had it been merely 'a week,' i.e. a conventional formula, we should have had δέκα. cp 9. 8, and Appendix V § 4.

11. τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης Hdt. can hardly reckon Therme to Pieria, and therefore there is an inconsistency between this passage and c 131. It is more probable that the king was in Therme than in Pieria until the actual march began, and this view is supported by cc. 128, 130, where Therme is made his headquarters. Such discrepancies are easily to be explained by a difference of sources, and an indifference of the author.

γῆσατο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς 15 184  
τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς καὶ πλήθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὥς ἐγὼ  
συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς

12 <τὸ> ἐὼν Sitzler || ἐμπόρῳ B. ἐν <μέσῳ> πόρῳ Naber || πάμμω B ||  
πανήμεροι Krueger 14 Σηπιάδα . . ἐόντα καὶ om R || κασθαναίης SV  
184 1 νυν om. B 2 ἔτι om α 3 εὐρίσκω, τόσον· SVz (τόσονδε  
van H.) || τῶν μὲν α, Stein<sup>2</sup>. τὸν μὲν B, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder

12 Πάμμων Σκύριος No doubt a local expert, from the island of Skyros (only here referred to by Hdt.), and perhaps a man of wealth (cp. *πάμμα* *πάομαι*) and position. He has an heroic name, cp. *Il* 21.250 (a Trojan, one of Priam's sons), and was, perhaps, a Δόλοψ, Thuc 1.98.2

πανημερὸν ἐξανύουσι the direct distance between Therme and Sepias is probably a little over 100 E miles (about 900 stades). A ship might be reckoned to make 700 stades ἐν μακρομερίῃ 4.86. Sepias here may mark the general objective, but the king's fleet cannot have been expected to make the promontory before night: it must have been the deliberate plan to rest a night at sea.

14 Σηπιάδα, clearly identified from Hdt as the modern *Λιό Γκιουργι*, opposite Skiathos. Strabo 443 confirms it as the scene of the Herodotean story (ἡ μὲντοι Σηπιάς ἀκτὴ καὶ τετραγώδεται μετὰ ταῦτα (Homeric times) καὶ ἐξυμνῆται διὰ τὸν ενταῦθα ἀφανισμόν τοῦ Περσικοῦ στολοῦ κτλ.). The name is derived from the cuttle-fish (*σηπία*), Tozer, *Geogr. of G* 348, Grasberger, *Ortsnamen*, 108.

Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος cp. *κώμης* ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλῷ κειμένης ap. Strabon. l.c. The statement of Scholiast and *Etym. Mag.* that chestnuts (*κάστανος* *κάστανα*) were named therefrom is a hysteron-proteron, but the name suggests the chestnut woods of Pelion (cp. Tozer, *Highlands* ii.122, on the varied vegetation of Pelion) and the cult of Aphrodite (Artemis?) *Καστινήτης* (Strabo 438), to whom the pig was an acceptable offering.

184 1 μέχρι . . Θερμοπυλέων Sepias-Thermopylai rightly marked here, and again in c. 186 *ad fin.*, as a great station in the Persian war—not perhaps merely,

or so much on account of the havoc wrought by the storm (c. 188), as because now the hostile forces, Persian and Greek, have touch of each other.

ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, both army and navy. *ἀπ.* κ. 5.19. All had gone well so far, commissariat, ambulance, fighting forces. This in itself speaks well for the Persian organization. Hdt. does not reckon such trifles as the loss of the first bridges (c. 84), the accident to Phainoukes (c. 88), the death of Artachaias (c. 117) as *κακά*, affecting the *στρατός*.

2. ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω: cp. c. 24 *supra* (where figures are not in evidence). Hdt. lays stress on his calculations and conclusions in the following passage, and stands to win or forfeit, by them, his character, not as arithmetician merely, but as historian. His arithmetic stands the test and comes out triumphantly, and the fact that in the numerous additions and subtractions, here recorded, items and totals invariably agree, speaks well for the traditional text. But in regard to the material aspects of the passage, Hdt. seems to have flung all *Sachlichkeit* to the winds. His computation of the Persian forces in this passage is his mortal sin as an historical authority, and justifies almost the wildest flights of sceptics such as Delbrück and Welzhofer, for it is deliberate, it is elaborate, it is assured and reasoned, and it is incredible and absurd.

There is a grammatical inconsequence (anacoluthon) in the passage: *πλήθος ἦν* should be followed by the figures in the nominative, the interposition of this sentence, though parenthetical, has thrown them into the accusative.

Ἀσίης, εὐσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ χιλίων, τὸν μὲν  
 5 ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ὁμιλον ἑόντα τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι  
 μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ  
 διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νηί. ἐπεβάτευν  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα  
 10 ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὁμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακι-  
 σχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι  
 τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων,  
 ποιήσας, ὃ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα  
 ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρό-  
 15 τερον εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἤδη ὦν ἄνδρες ἀν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι  
 τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης  
 ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὼν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες  
 δὲ ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτησι ἑπτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς.  
 τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν  
 20 δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες. προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς  
 καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα  
 Λίβυας, πλήθος ποιήσας δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε  
 ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλήθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται

4 χιλίων van H. et sic passim 5 ἑόντα ὁμιλον B, Stein<sup>1</sup> 2, Holder,  
 van H. || τέσσερας B Acorr, (S), Vcorr : τέσσαρας Apr., CRVd 6  
 ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους om B || ἀνὰ. ἀν B 7 νεῖ α 11 τε om. B,  
 Holder, van H. 12 <τε> καὶ? van H. 13 ποιήσας ἔτι πλέον  
 αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον α ὀγδώκοντα B || ὃ τι. ὅτι Cz 15 ἐρρήθη Pz, van H. ||  
 ἄνδρες om. B || εἶεν. ἦν B 16 τέσσερες B Acorr τέσσαρες Apr. d ||  
 μὲν νυν B Pz, Holder, van H. 18 δὲ τε B, Holder, van H || ταύτῃ B ||  
 δέκα B 19 ἐγίνοντο z, van H. 20 δ' ἔτι Pz. δέτι RV (δέ τι S):  
 δὲ α 23 γίνονται B

5. ἀρχαῖον, 'original': 1 e before the addition of the Perso-Medo-Sakan *ἐπιβάται* —a good instance of the proper meaning of the word, cp c 176 *εὐρεῖα*

6. ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους . . νηί cp. 8. 17, where this figure is given for an Athenian trireme, possibly including the *ἐπιβάται*, as here also the 'native' *ἐπιβάται* must be included, otherwise they are omitted altogether in Hdt.'s calculations. ἀνὰ, distributive.

7. ἐπεβάτευν . . τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. Hdt. treats these 'Persian' *ἐπιβάται* as a constant integral of the fleet is it not more probable that they were soldiers from the πεζοὶ embarked at Phaleron for the battle of Salamis, and possibly at

Aphetai too, for the engagements off Artemision?

11 προσθήσω . . ποιήσας, purely ideal or mental processes of addition and 'making', cp. ll. 20, 22, and c 186 l 5 *ἡνῖκα*

14. ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη the reference is back to c 97 *ad fin.*

19 ἐγίνοντο, in the objective order? or in the historian's account? The *γίνεται* just below, and the general colour of the passage (*προσθήσω* . . *ποιήσας* *dis*) makes for the latter, in which case there is a reference back to c 60 *συρκα*.

20. τὰς καμήλους . . τὰ ἄρματα: cp. c 86. The order of words here is observable.

δηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες  
 ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς 25  
 τῆς Ἀσίης στρατεύμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπηίης  
 τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον  
 <ἐν> τούτοις. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στρά- 185  
 τευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ· δόκησιν  
 δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλλήνες καὶ  
 <οἱ> ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θρηίκῃ παρείχοντο  
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν τούτων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρα- 5  
 κισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρήικες  
 παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ  
 Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ

26 τε om. B      27 ἐπέπλεον C. ἐνέπλων van H      28 ἐν add.  
 Stein<sup>2</sup>      185. 3 δὲ δεῖ RSVcorr.: δὲ δὴ Vpr.: δὲ δὴ B: δὲ δὴ δεῖ A ||  
 θρήικης B      4 οἱ add Stein<sup>2</sup> || τῶν νήσων om B || θρήικη B      6  
 τρισμύριοι B: μύριοι C || θρήικες B

185. 2 τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ, by the historian, for there is no previous record of an ἐξαριθμησις of the numbers of men serving on the fleet, as of the army. But still, it is not based on mere δόκησις.

δόκησιν cp Soph *Trach* 425 f. ταὐτὸ δ' οὐχὶ γίγνεται Δόκησιν εἰπεῖν κάτα-κριβῶσαι λόγον Thuc. 2 35. 2 ἢ δ τῆς ἀληθείας, but in 4. 18 5=δόξα (nearly)

3 οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἑλλήνες the Hellespontines would be excluded, having been already specified in the navy list, c. 95, these Thriakian Hellenes in fact correspond to the Θράκιος φόρος of the Athenian lists, but there is nothing to show that Hdt's estimate of 120 triremes is based on those lists. 'The assessment of Aristeides' for the Thriakian district I calculate (from the tables in *C.I.A.* 1.) at 180 talents—a sufficiently near coincidence, it may well have been exactly 120, which may have suggested to Hdt his figure for the ships

6 Θρήικες native, not Hellenic; in c. 110 above seven Thriakian folks are enumerated, six of whom are added to the forces between Demiskos and the Strymon, others again are superadded in c. 115 between the Strymon and Akanthos

7. Παίονες. dwelling higher up the Strymon than the 'Thiakians,' cp cc 118, 124

Ἑορδοὶ the only tribe in the list which has not been mentioned before. this is a ἀπαξ λ in Hdt Thuc 2 99.

5 says of the Makedonians: ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης Ἑορδοῦς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατέκρηται. Eordia, or Eordaea ('Eordaea Polyb 18. 6 3, Arrian, *Anab.* 1 7 5, etc.) had more of a history in Roman than in Hellenic times, the Egnatian Way passing through the district (διὰ Ἑρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν καὶ Ἑορδῶν) to Edessa, Pella, and so to Thessalonika, Strabo 328 The position of 'Physka' has not been identified, but it is apparently of the Thucydidean remnant only that Hdt can here be speaking, and the mention of Ἑορδοὶ between Παίονες and Βοττιαῖοι suggests an approximate location. The 'Eordenses' are reckoned among 'Paeoniae gentes' by Pliny, 4. 17. 2.

Βοττιαῖοι. their territory Βοττιαίς, cc 123, 127 *supra*, Olynthos was at this time their principal town, cp. 8 127.

τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. a curious phrase, which recurs in 8. 127, and presumably denotes a mixed product of Greek (Ionian, Euboean) settlers in 'Chalkidike' and natives (cp Ἑλλήνες Σκύθαι 4 17) Thucyd 4. 109 4 has τὸ Χαλκιδικόν (ἔθνος?).

8 Βρύγοι the remnant which had remained in 'Makedonia', cp c. 73 *supra*, for Βρύγες and Βρύγοι must be variants (from different sources)

Πίερες either the emigrants, mentioned in c. 112, or the remnant, which may have remained in Pieria, c.



Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιήνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 10 καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν  
 ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὗται ὦν αἱ  
 μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθείσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, γίνονται  
 αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐξήκοντα  
 καὶ τέσσερες, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτησι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ  
 186 δεκάς. τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἔντος ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν  
 θεραπήην τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇσι σιταγωγοῖσι  
 ἀκάτοις ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι  
 ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὖ

9 περαιβοὶ α || αἰνιήνες β 12 κείνησι β 14 τέσσερες β  
 τέσσαρες ACd τέτταρες β || ἐξ καὶ δέκα β 186 2 τῇσι A, Stein<sup>3</sup>  
 (Passow). τοῖσι BB, Stein<sup>1 2</sup>

131 (or both) The geographical position of the other names favours the second locality, and here, perhaps, Hdt. forgets that Pieria is 'Lower Makedonia'.

Μακεδόνες 'Makedones' as such have only been once mentioned before, c 73 *supra*. As Hdt. has just specified the 'Pieries' or Lower Makedonians, he may here have meant by 'Makedones' the inhabitants of Upper Makedonia, c. 173 *supra*.

9. Περραιβοί: cp cc 128, 131, 132, 173 *supra*.

Ἐνιήνες cp. c 132 *supra*. They were on the upper Spercheios, c. 193 *infra* this name, with the three succeeding, shows that Hdt. is giving the army-list right down to Thermopylai. It is curious, therefore, that he says nothing of the Θεσσαλοὶ who appear in c 132, and by this time ἐμήδιαν προθύμως (c 174 *supra*), and would have reinforced the king's cavalry. The comparison of the list here with the list in c 132 shows the independence of Hdt.'s sources, and reinforces the hypothesis that the list of medizing states there is a later insertion.

Δόλοπες cp c 132 *supra*.

Μάγνητες cp c 132 *supra*.

Ἀχαιοί: sc. οἱ Φθιώται cp c 132 *supra*.

10. ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται this title comes in rather curiously at the end of the list which started with Θρηίκης and came down through Makedonia and Thessaly; moreover, Hdt. is here considering additions to the πεζός what then have those occupying the παραλία to say to this

account? They have appeared (vaguely) in c 110 as οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι, and are there reckoned to the naval forces, cp c 115. If these are native Thiakians near the coast (τὴν μεσόγειαν οἰκούντες c 110, τοὺς ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης c 115), how do they differ from the Θρηίκης already mentioned? To follow the 'Achaïans' here the Malians (c 132) are wanted.

11. δοκέω γενέσθαι Hdt.'s opinion is relative to the objective order, the actual army of Xerxes; but γίνονται, just below, refers to the result of his own computation. Such iterations can hardly be considered stylistically successful.

186 1 τοῦ μαχίμου: collective neuter, cp αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες just above, and τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν below, the fleet is of course included.

τὴν θεραπήην, 'the attendance,' in collective sense, cp 1 199, 5 21. Hdt. allows one attendant for each combatant, but of course does not suppose that for the naval combatants the attendance was carried in the fighting ships. on the contrary, he expressly confines the naval θεραπήη to the crews and followers in the commissariat fleet.

3. ἀκάτοις the word is generally feminine, cp App. C. 11. As Thucydides (and others) used a diminutive, ἀκάτιον, perhaps the ἀκατος (masc. or fem.), though relatively light, was not necessarily a small boat. Hdt. seems to reckon the ἀκατοι as most prominently θεραπήη.

καὶ μάλα might perhaps be rendered 'and of course,' 'and indeed', cp c 11 *supra*.

δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας. καὶ δὴ σφέας ποιέω 5  
 ἴσους ἐκείνοισι εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν·  
 ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας  
 ἐκείνοισι. οὕτω πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ  
 καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο  
 ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπτιάδος καὶ Θερμο- 10  
 πυλέων. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύ- 187  
 ματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακῶν καὶ  
 εὐνούχων οὐδείς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων  
 τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνῶν τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν

6 οὐδενός B 8 ἐκείνησι π. ἐκείνοισι om. S. ἐκείνοισι .  
 μυριάδας om V || οὕτω . ἤγαγε longe aliter, ὡς συμβαίνειν γίνεσθαι  
 πάντα τὸν στρατὸν μυριάδας πεντακοσίας καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς  
 καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἤγαγε ὁ S || πεντακοσίας PR(S). πεντηκοσίας  
 187 1 σύμπαντος BPR 2 σιτοποιῶν B

5 καὶ δὴ σφέας ποιέω ἴσους a good instance of the concessive καὶ δὴ with ποιέω cp. ποιήσας (*vis*), c 184 Grote iv 136, followed by Rawlinson, thought it necessary to make hardly any addition to the estimates for non-combatants, but surely that view is unreasonable. Figures and facts are (in a sense) different things, and Hdt no doubt follows a tradition in regard to an immense army-service train in the Persian war. Had the force of Xerxes been really composed of Libyans, Ethiopians, and all the other forty-six nations, to the tune of millions, no doubt the combatants would have had to wait on themselves, nor does Hdt mean that each particular combatant had a body-servant, but that the commissariat and service generally outnumbered the combatants. That seems a sound view, the absurdity and impossibility come in with the extravagant exaggeration of the numbers of combatants. On that subject see further, Appendix II § 4.

8. οὕτω ἀνδρῶν Besides the 5,283,220 ἀνδρες there were women of various kinds and eunuchs, see next chapter.

10 Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου the use of the patronymic here is clearly rhetorical, stylistic, and serves to bar extreme inferences regarding source, date of composition, and so on, in other cases more open to dispute; cp c 1 *supra*. At the same time it must be remembered that the style would not gain point, there would be nothing rhetorical, in

this use of the patronymic, but that it is an exception to a rule.

187 1 τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος. the article of course with στρατεύματος.

2 σιτοποιῶν, feminine, cp 3 150; properly of the grindsters, cp Thuc 6. 22 (σιτοποιοὺς ἐκ τῶν μυλῶνων πρὸς μέρος ἡναγκασμένους ἐμπίσθους), but the same women could probably bake as well as grind, cp Thuc 2 78 3 (where the small garrison in Plataea, numbering only 480 men, has 120 γυναῖκες σιτικοίαι). But Hdt has also the proper word for bakers ἀρτοκόπος ὁ 9 82, ἡ 1 51.

παλλακῶν the παλλακή or παλλακίς is to be distinguished both from the κουριδίη γυνή and from the mere ἐταῖρα cp L & S and Hruza, *Polygamie u. Pellikate* (1894). An illustration in 9 76 would suggest that some at least of these unfortunates were well-born Greeks.

3 εὐνούχων cp 8 105. Their presence implies a harem, but probably only the leading grandees would be thus attended.

οὐδείς ἂν εἴποι, *vis*, can only mean that 'any number I could mention would be received with complete incredulity'.

4 κτηνῶν, not usually of beasts of burden, but so absolutely in N.T. *S. Luke* 10 34.

κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν cp 1 192 Ktesias, *Indica* § 5, περὶ τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, ὅτι μέγιστοί εἰσι, ὡς καὶ λέοντι μάχεσθαι. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 7 2 13 maxima in India gignuntur animalia indicio sunt canes grandiores ceteris Cp Strabo 700,

5 τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα [παρίσταται] προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὧν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμά μοι μυριάσι τοσαύτησι. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ  
 10 μῆδεν πλέον, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένων ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ ὑποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶ . . . οὐ λογιζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐουσέων τοσουτέων μυριάδων, κάλειός τε εἶνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος  
 15 ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.  
 188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπέειτε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε καὶ

6 θῶμα Stein<sup>2</sup> θῶμα Pz, Stein<sup>1</sup> (bis) || παρίσταται secl. Stein<sup>3</sup> περι-  
 σταται B 7 ἔστι ὧν P. ἔστιν ὧν AC. ἔστιν οὖν d. ἐνίων Bz || ὅπως α  
 8 ἀπέχρησε van H. 10 πλέω B || τελομένων <καὶ ἑξ̄ δεκάδας> Sitzler  
 11 τεσσαράκοντα α 13 lacunam indic Stein<sup>3</sup>

Pliny 8 61 8, for anecdotes illustrative of their prowess. Doubtless they accompanied the army for sporting, not for war-like purposes.

6. ὥστε [παρίσταται] see c 118 *supra*, but cp App. Crit. προδοῦναι . ἔστι ὧν for a list of the rivers that failed cp. c 21. The statement here is more modest than the question there—though only saved by the addition of ἔστι ὧν=ἐνίων. προδοῦναι=ἐπέλιπε, cc. 21, 127, *supra*.

8. ἀντέχρησε. cp c 127 *supra* εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος: c. 184 *supra*. There is apparently an error in the calculation, or in the text. There being 48 χοίνικες in a μέδιμνος, 110,340 × 48 = total number of men reckoned, 5,296,320—an excess of 13,100 men. Or again, taking the number of men 5,283,220, and dividing it by 48 to obtain the number of medimnoi, the answer is 110,067 medimnoi 4 choinikes, which is the problem as worked by Hdt so that his result gives an excess of 272 medimnoi 36 choinikes. Is this error intelligible, explicable? Schweighauser perceived practically the source of the error. Hdt. did not quite fully work out the sum. 528 myriads of choinikes amount to exactly 110,000 medimnoi: so far then the first item in Hdt.'s calculation is correct. There remain 3220 men, or rather 'choinikes,' to be reduced to medimnoi. This figure divided by 48 gives a quotient of 6 and a fresh dividend of 340, and instead of proceed-

ing further with the sum and obtaining a final quotient of 67½, Hdt. at this point must have substituted the dividend for the quotient, and added it to the preceding quotient. The source of the error being thus revealed, the text is to be regarded as correct in any case. Sitzler's emendation (cp App. Crit.) does not benefit Hdt.

13 ἀνδρῶν δὲ . . . τὸ κράτος. A remarkable testimony and homage to Xerxes, at least as far as external went, 'every inch a king.' Nor is it likely that Hdt. here means that in mind or character (κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην c 6 42) Xerxes was unworthy his position. Still less does he wish to pour scorn on the myriads of men who followed the king. Xerxes looked the part he played, a tall and handsome man: like Saul (than whom 'there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person: from his shoulders and upwards, higher than any of the people,' 1 Sam. 9 2, cp 10 23). There were probably, however, taller men in the army (cp c 117 *supra*), but Xerxes looked the god (c. 56 *supra*). This remark belongs to the more favourable strain of tradition in regard to Xerxes, but it does not prevent Hdt. from making game of him before and afterwards, cp c 57 *supra*, 8. 115 ff.

14. ἀξιονικότερος: i. q. ἀξιώτερος, cf. 9. 26.

188. 1. δὴ resumes the narrative,

κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ  
Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ  
πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ'  
ἀγκυρέων· ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρό- 5

188. 4 ὄρμεον B || γῆν B · τῇ γῇ z

after the digression cc 184-7 'as I said' (Rawlinson)

ὄρμηθεῖς cp ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοί c 183 *supra*.

ἐπλεε καὶ κατέσχε the πλοῦς was not accomplished when they reached the αἰγιαλός in question, the tenses are carefully used. For the proper names cp c. 183 *supra*

4 πρῶται, 'foremost', cp c 32 *supra*, and Index

ὄρμεον πρὸς γῆν, 'lay moored close to land', just below ὀρμέοντο would have no sensible difference of meaning, though these ships were 'moored' and those were 'riding at anchor.' The middle, or passive, form is unusual

ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων together with ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας just below affords a pointed illustration of the uses of the preposition and the cases.

5. ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ οὐ μεγάλου why is the beach so small? Perhaps merely because the Homeric beach, in the passage (*Il* 14 33 ff) upon which Herodotus has based this description, is so. Evidently not the smallness of the beach, but the tactical disposition of the Persian fleet, kept the ships bunched up in relatively close order. To have formed one line along the miles of Magnesian coast might have proved salvation, when the unforeseen storm burst upon them, but that line would have left the greater portion of the fleet further and further from their objective, Artemision, or Aphetai. The night, according to Hdt himself, was a perfectly calm one, succeeding a day evidently as calm. the storm was a surprise, a miracle

πρόκροσσαι a much debated word, at least since Schweighaeuser and Reiske started the idea that the word here means κλιμακῆδόν, *par échelons*, 'in quincunx,' 'cuneo'. According to their idea the Persian fleet is to be pictured as a huge equilateral triangle, pointed out to sea (ἐς πόντον) in eight rows, each row being one ship less than the previous one nearer shore (how many each or any one row contained is not stated, but 1204

(1207) ships arranged in this fashion would give a base of 154 and an apex of 147). The hypothesis of so strict and elaborate an arrangement is, upon the face of it, improbable, and the word πρόκροστος does not carry the meaning. πρόκροσσαι are projections, projecting stones, (*Il* 12 258), which apparently might serve for steps (*ib* 444), as in Hdt. 2. 125 (of the pyramids courses of stones, projecting certainly one beyond the other), but the word πρόκροστος seems to be connected rather with κόρη = κεφαλή (κόρη itself a variant), and to mean 'head-foremost,' οἱ 'projecting' (as in Hdt. 4 152), and of ships, stem-foremost, which may well be its meaning in *Il* 14 35. So Portus interpreted it here, "naves quarum proae obversae erant," and was followed by Wesseling, Larcher, Baehr, and others. He, however, supposed that αἱ πρῶται had their stems to the shore, and that there were nine rows in all. This appears to me to be an error. The first row was moored close to land (probably with ropes to shore), others rode at anchor, but all alike πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, and there were but eight rows in all. If the fleet is supposed to number 1200 (1207) that would give 150 vessels to each row. Hdt has indeed recruited an additional squadron of 120 in Thrace, c 185 *supra*, but that is a somewhat hypothetical figure, and would not, perhaps, more than replace wear and tear up to this point, even if the figure 1200 were not itself an exaggeration. Taking the fleet at a nominal 1000, there would of course have been (a nominal) 125 in each row, supposing the rows all equal, which they need not have been. The disposition of the fleet would be determined partly by ethnical considerations.

Stein observes that the influence of the Homeric original (*Il* 14 33 ff) is seen not merely in the use of the word πρόκροστος, but in its being made of three terminations, while in 4 152 it is of only two. The smallness of the αἰγιαλός, above noticed, is an equally telltale effect.

κροσσαι ὄρμεον τὸ ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω, ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ  
 10 περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν. ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν

6 ὄρμεον τὸ Cobet, (Kallenberg), Stein<sup>8</sup> ὀρμέοντο α ὠρμέοντο β  
 ὄρμεον ἐς van H 9 πολλὰς Pdz. πολὺς || ἑλλησποντίαν β 10  
 μὲν νυν β. μενούν AB μὲν οὖν Cd || αὐτῶν om. α 11 οἶδε β 13  
 αἱ om β 14 ἱπνους AB ἱπνους R ἱπνοὺς (ὑπνοὺς V ?)

6. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω that is, the night of their arrival, after the long day's pull from Therme εὐφρόνη, undoubtedly a poetical word, c 12 *supra*. The acc of time, or duration, cp Index. οὕτω is virtually a predicate, cp 1 11 *infra*. That the whole fleet moved *en masse* is implied.

7 ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, 'but with day break', ἅμα, prep, as not seldom, cp 6. 138.

ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίας, 'out of (after) cloudless and windless weather', both words are apparently substantives, like ὄρθρος. The adj αἰθριος is found 2. 25. The adj νήνεμος does not happen to be used by Hdt. With the expression cp. c. 37 *supra*, οὗτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε μάλιστα.

8. ζεσάσης in Homer frequent of literally boiling water, *Il* 18 349, 21 362, *Od* 10 360, so too 4 181 *supra*, ζέει ἀμβολάδην ἐξέεσε (v1 ἐξεσε) occurs in a highly metaphorical sense 4 205 *supra*. The sibilant phrase here is condemned by Longinus, *de Subl* 43. 1 (ed Jahn-Vahlen, 1887, p 63), and well defended by Wesseling, as onomatopoeic.

9. ἀπηλιώτης, 'east', irrespective of the time of day, with ἄνεμον, 4 22 *supra*. The word occurs in the same form in Attic, Thuc. 3 23 5, and on the Horologium or Tower of the Winds in Athens. On this tower Apeliotes is placed between Kaikias and Euros (the whole order being: Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Euros, Notos, Libs, Zephyros, Skiron: i.e. N, NE., E, SE., S., SW., W., NW.)

οἱ οἰκημένοι a point that

might be 'notorious,' or have been reported to Hdt (or his authority) by Greeks from the fleet, so that there is no need to infer from this phrase a personal visit to the locality. The 'Hellespontias' is indeed mentioned by 'Aristotle' as ἀπηλιώτης 973 A, as = Καικίας 973 B, cp 364 B. Aristeides ap Hermogenem (Spengel, *Rhet Gr* II. p 289) uses it of the wind at Arginoussai (*Xen Hell* 1. 6 35). At different places the 'Hellespontias' would blow from different quarters (cp Aristot *Il c.*).

10 ὅσοι μὲν is a limitation of αὐτῶν, and this relative clause a limitation of ὅσοι, but equivalent to αὐτοὶ and αὐτῶν below. εἶχε=ῆν, the weakest phase of εἶχεω Cp 6 116 ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον for the genitive.

11. καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον, 'and whose moorings were favourably situate' For οὕτω cp 1. 6 *supra*.

οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν. δέ in *apodosis* and also with repeated subject; cp cc. 6, 13, etc. For φθάνω cp c 162 *supra*.

13 ὅσας δὲ. μεταρσίας ἔλαβε. sc ὁ χειμῶν ὅσας δὲ replies to ὅσοι μὲν *supra* μεταρσίας is generally used of being 'high in air' (cp μεταρσιωθέν, 8 65), here 'on the high sea' (cp ὑπεραιωρηθέντες, 6 116). Hdt conceives of all the ships as having come to anchor, but perhaps some were really out at sea. τούτων must also be supplied before τὰς μὲν κτλ.

14 ἐξέφερε, 'carried ashore'. Five places are mentioned Ἰπνοί, the Beach, Sepias, Meliboeia, Kasthanaia, they are all of course in 'Magnesia'; cp c 176 *supra*.

Πηλίου, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν 15  
Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς  
Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρη-  
τον. λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου 189  
ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν  
ἐπικούρου καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον

15 περὶ ἐς Β 17 ἐξεβράσσοντο Β || τε δὲ Β || <τὸ> τοῦ Cobet,  
Holder, van H. 189. 1 Βορέην βορῆν et sic passim libri  
3 Βορέης βορῆς || τῶν Β

ἱπνός is an oven or furnace (cp 5. 92), and the 'Ovens' on Pelion were not perhaps a city or village, but some rocks or cliffs (so Forbiger *ap* Bobrik, and Bursian, *Geogr v Griechentl* 1 100). The αἰγιαλός is defined *supra* as extending from Kasthanaia to Sepias. Σηπιάς is the promontory at the eastern end of the Magnesian coast, c 186 *supra*.

16 περιέπιπτον cp 8 16, but the word does not necessarily denote a disastrous encounter; cp 8 94.

Μελίβοια, a place of some commercial and military importance, not situate actually on the shore, but commanding the chief valley, col, and coast between Ossa and Pelion, known to Homer's Catalogue, B 717, cp Bursian, *Geogr v Griechentl* 1 99.

17 Κασθαναίην cp c 183 *supra*.  
ἐξεβράσσοντο this feivent word is repeated c 190 *infra*, 'dashed up'.  
χρῆμα cp 4 81, 6 43, etc.

189. 1. λέγεται δὲ λόγος The formula seems to suggest a doubt, and to be used here of an oral report, cp. φάτις *infra*. It is remarkable that Hdt. sets this story in no relation to the Delphic story, c 178 *supra*, which is there reported without the least hint of misgiving. Nor does he say that the oracle which 'came' to the Athenians (ἄλλου in contrast to the response in c 140, or even that in c 141) is the oracle 'announced' by the Delphians, nor could it be, for the terms are different: τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικούρου καλέσασθαι this, 'ἀνέμοισι ἐδχεσθαι κτλ', that. Apparently Hdt. thought that the genuine and true oracle and story, this, an afterthought and fiction. But the reverse is probably the truer view. (1) The Athenian story is based on the precedent of Athos. (2) The terms are more oracular the Athenians had several sons-in-law, Terens for example (Thuc 2 29 3), or Xouthos (Euripid *Ion* 57 f), not to say Apollon

himself (*ibid* 10 f), or possibly Ion, or any hero, who had ever led or misled an Attic bride. Thus the Athenian oracle is sure to turn out well. The Delphic is much blunter. (3) The Delphic oracle is compromised by its too obviously apologetic purpose, and by the attitude of Delphi in the war, which was so sorely in need of apology afterwards. (4) If, as seems probable, this is not merely not the Delphic publication mentioned above in c 178, but not a Delphic oracle at all (rather an utterance of Bakis, 8 20 etc.), produced and interpreted for the occasion then it has all the more a 'genuine' air, and the Delphic story all the more appearance of an express reply to this Attic story. Delphic Θυία besting Attic Ὠρείθυια. Hdt. was a good friend to Athens (c 139), but if it came to choosing between Athens and Delphi, he preferred to err with Delphi.

3 κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον, i.e. according to Greek literature, logography, which had doubtless already dealt with the myth, as poets and artists assuredly had done. Both Aischylos and Sophokles had composed dramas on the theme (cp. Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.*, sub v. Ὠρείθυια), but the oldest Attic evidence for the localization and popularity of the story is probably to be found not in literature, but in the vases of archaic style, nine of which are enumerated by Wernicke *ap* Pauly-Wissowa, III. (1897) 727, and doubtless rightly dated as older than the Persian war (*ibid* 726), and therefore than the traditional date of the Ilissos foundation recorded below (Rapp *ap* Roscher, *Lexikon* 810, erroneously dates them all after the Persian war). On the other hand, the supposed representation of the Rape of Oreithyia on the Chest of Kypselos, Pausan. 5. 19. 1 (cp. H. Stuart Jones, *JHS* xiv (1894) p. 74), must be abandoned, Wernicke *l.c.* Plato, *Phaedr.* 229, indicates the Attic

βαρβάροισι ὀρμέουσι Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρῦσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισόν.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οὐ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι 190 τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλήθος ἀφθονον. ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή, ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ 5 ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσέων εἶρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεια] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλλετο.

11 βορῆς α ὁ βορέης β, Holder, van H 12 σφίσι Stein · σφι ||  
βοηθήσαντα α βωθήσαντα van H || καὶ πρότερον τότε? Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H.  
14 Ἴλισόν van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>. Ἴλισόν 190 3 ἀμεινοκλέει α.  
ἀμεινοκλέη β || Κρητίνεω Plutarch. Mor. 664 4 γηοχέοντι Merzdorf,  
Holder || αὕτη om α 6 ἀνείλετο β 7 χρύσεια del. Valckenaer,  
Stein<sup>1</sup> 3 || ἄφατα om. α || περιεβάλλετο β

the ships. (iii) There is a doubt as to whether the Athenians began praying before the storm or not, of course their prayers did not produce it (iv) Has Hdt. any doubt that prayers avail? Cp note to c. 178.

11 οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι . . λέγουσι the Attic provenience of the story is now revealed, at the third time of asking (λέγεται λόγος φάτις ὁρμηται) Hdt. has a delicacy and reluctance in discrediting an Attic tradition δ' ὦν cp c. 145 *supra*.

13. ἱρὸν . . Ἴλισόν. cp. Plato, *Phaedr.* 229, Pausanias 1. 19 5 The cult of Boreas and Oreithyia was perhaps older, as the myth certainly was, perhaps also this very foundation on the Ilisos, but it was at any rate given a new and enlarged significance after this occasion. Cp. notes to c. 178. The 'Ilisos' is not elsewhere named by Hdt. Its course is still to be traced on the map of Attica, but the water is conspicuous by its absence, and a new myth, or miracle, is badly wanted, in that neighbourhood, to restore the *Baumkultus*.

190 1 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ, *paullo aliter* 6. 114 (Baehr)

οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι. sc. λέγουσι 400 was the lowest estimate, according to Hdt. There were higher estimates. He seems to be thinking only of ships of war (*νέας*), cp. next c. *ad imit* Hdt. himself (8 66) restores the fighting fleet

to integrity, in a way which must discount its original total or its losses on this occasion; though the 200 which were making round Euboea (8 14) may never have come to land. The destruction of open boats and transports also may have been great, and helps to account for their disappearance from the subsequent narrative, cp *infra* c. 191.

2 χρημάτων τε πλήθος ἀφθονον, 'abundant quantities of goods, stores' (commodities), ἀφθ, cp c. 83 *supra*.

3 ὥστε cp c. 191 *infra*: the following anecdote is of later composition than the context.

Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω of this Ameinokles, of his father Kretines (cp. c. 165 *supra*), and of his children, we know nothing more than Hdt. has here recorded, Plutarch (*de Hdt. malig* 30) thinks Hdt. has only brought in the gold galore in order to point the moral of the wretched man's domestic woes—but such 'moralizing' hardly amounts to 'malignity,' except in the eyes of an incurable optimist!

4 γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, 'a landowner in the immediate neighbourhood of Sepias' γηοχέειν = γηουχέειν = γηούχος (i.e. γαιήσχος) εἶναι· a grandiloquent phrase

7. ἄφατα χρήματα, 'untold wealth.' περιεβάλλετο, 'invested himself with,' was invested with, cp 8. 8.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος  
 ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύσα  
 191 παιδοφόνος. σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων  
 [διαφθειρομένων] οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὥστε δέισαντες οἱ στρατη-  
 γοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφί κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται  
 οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναηγίων περιεβάλοντο.  
 5 ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῖντες

8 τὰ ἄλλα α || <τοῖσι> εὐρήμασι van H. sed artic deest ap  
 Plutarchum 191 1 πλοίων <τῶν> Sitzler 2 διαφθειρο-  
 μένων del. Stein<sup>2</sup> || ante ὥστε <ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων πλείστος ὁ ἀριθμός,>  
 suppl. idem, lacunam indic. Holder 3 στρατοῦ om. d, 'non male'  
 van H. || μὴ σφίσι? Stein<sup>1</sup> σφί om. z || κεκακωμένοισι αὐτοῖσι RSz  
 κεκακωμένῃσιν αὐτοῖσιν V 4 ναηγίων z· ναηγίων B. ναυαγίων α

8 τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, 'in all other respects was ill-starred, though'

9. καὶ τοῦτον like every man, especially the very wealthy or prosperous, he had an οἰκίον κακόν cp c. 152 *supra*. In his case it took the form of a mortality among his children (one of the worst curses, cp 6 86 γ) ἄχαρις, a euphemism cp c 36 *supra*

10. παιδοφόνος Plutarch apparently understood this to mean that Ameinokles was himself the murderer (τὴν Ἀμεινοκλέους παιδοφονίαν) Stein supports this view by quoting the plagiarism from Dionys Hal 3 21 (of Hoiatius, who slew his sister) ἄχαρις συμφορὰν ἀδελφοκτόνον Reiske and Schweighaeuser take the same view Larcher and Blakesley deny that Hdt's words must necessarily have this meaning, and I agree, but add that 'a misfortune by which a child of his was killed' (Blakesley) would hardly account for Hdt's interest in the case: there must have been a more extensive fatality Had Ameinokles been himself the doer, Hdt would surely have put the point clearly, and not represented him as passive. If a madman, again, Hdt would not have shrunk from saying so (cp. 6. 75). In any case we are in the presence of one of those 'domestic tragedies' in which the work of Hdt is so rich (cp. 3. 50-53, 8. 104-106, 9 108-113, etc.).

191 1. ὀλκάδων not specified in c 186, but mentioned in c 25 *supra* It was on them, and their like, not on the battle-ships, that the losses in this storm really or chiefly fell: it was they which the storm caught μεταρσίαι c 188

*supra*; for at this stage in the advance they were in the rear of the fighting lines, cp. c 183 *supra*, and may have been coming on from Therme during the night

2 ὥστε Stein has observed that the anecdote of Ameinokles (c 190) is a later insertion, and that this sentence originally followed in its place, after ἀφθονόν Cp. Introduction, § 9. On this use of ὥστε cp c 118 *supra*

οἱ στρατηγοὶ τ. ν. στ. . cp. c. 97 *supra*

4. οἱ Θεσσαλοί notwithstanding their undivided and simple medium, c 174 *supra* The word is here used perhaps in a narrow sense, cp c. 172.

περιεβάλοντο, in a strictly material sense The recurrence of the word, especially with a change of meaning, confirms the view that the anecdote of Ameinokles above is an insertion, though such inelegancies are not infrequent with Hdt Cp c. 190 1 7.

5 ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· sc. ο θεός, or perhaps in a purely impersonal construction χεῖμαζεν in a different sense 8. 133 (following the usage of χεῖμα) The 'three days' in this case are not merely conventional (as might be inferred from Aristot *Prob.* 26. 9=941a) but an important and unconscious synchronism, taking its constitutive place in the Diary of Artemision-Thermopylai; cp. Appendix V § 4

ἔντομα ποιεῖντες: cp 2 119. The terminology is proper to the Ritual of the Dead, the propitiation is offered to the Wind; cp. c 178 *supra*.



καὶ καταεἰδόντες γόησι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοις  
καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηίσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη  
ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθνον  
πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου  
τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἶη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἰο  
Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων Νηρηίδων.

6 γόησι codd. (γόησιν Cđ) γόησι z. γοῇσι Bekker γοητήρησι vel  
χοῇσι Reiske γόοισι Wesseling βοῇσι Madvig, Holder, van H. ἐπωδῆσι?  
Stein<sup>6</sup>. mihī quidem aut γόησι aut οἱ Μάγοι ut glossema tollend. vid ||  
τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι B || τε δὲ B 11 ἄλλων codd., Holder, van H.

6 καταεἰδόντες γόησι has been a  
crux to the commentators, variously  
rendered or removed. So "laying the  
wind by means of chants of sorcerers,"  
Blakesley, "charming them with the  
help of conjurois" (!) Rawlinson, γόησι  
'per praestigatores' is a rendering  
strongly condemned by Baehr on three  
grounds. (i) Hdt would hardly use a  
simple dative for that, (ii.) still less,  
with another dative, τῷ ἀνέμῳ, (iii.) γόησι  
2. 33, 4 105 comes to much the same as  
μάγος. He therefore reads γοῇσι 'in-  
cantationibus', Wesseling preferred γόοισι  
'sacro ululatu'. Reiske suggested  
χοῇσι, which would fit in exquisitely  
with ἔντομα, and with the necromancy  
of the Winds (cp c 178 *supra*), but  
hardly suits εἰδόντες or καταεἰδόντες.  
Madvig's βοῇσι endorsed by Holder  
sounds comic. Stein suggests ἐπωδῆσι,  
but the reading is not strong, and the  
*corruptela* remote. I venture to suggest  
that we are in presence of a gloss either  
of Μάγοι is the gloss (the subject being  
found in οἱ στρατηγοί), or γόησι is itself  
the gloss, the glossator having written  
it in the ethical dative, for the benefit  
of experts or dupes (Van Herwerden  
seems to incline to this opinion).

τῷ ἀνέμῳ. sc. τῷ Ἀπηνιῳτῃ or  
Ἑλλησποντίῃ (c 188). The construction  
is not regular, verbs compounded with  
κατα- taking as a rule the accusative or  
genitive of the remoter object, but the  
following cases are more or less  
parallel. καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν c 9 *supra*,  
οὐ παρέντι κατηγορεῖν c 10 *supra*, τοῖσι  
μὲν κατεκέρκτο θάνατος c 146 *supra*;  
ὀνειδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπῳ c 160 *supra*,  
κατηγέσθαι with dat cc 183 *supra*, 215  
ἡγῆτα, τοῖσι κατεδόκεον 9 99 cp also  
τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοις κατέσκηψε c 137  
*supra*, κατὰ. κέχνται ὀρόφοισι c 140  
*supra*, ἀρ οἷας. Also τῷ ἡλίῳ καταρῶνται  
4 184, τῇ μητρὶ κατικέτευε 6 68, etc.

The 'ethical' dat will perhaps account  
for some cases.

7 τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηίσι, as to  
gods (θύοντες). The reason for this  
thesis is given just below they learned  
from 'the Ionians' that Thetis was an  
enchorial divinity, and that they were  
on the scene of her abduction by Peleus  
(ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου predicative).  
That is a λόγος to Hdt as much as the  
story of the storm itself. By 'the  
Ionians' Hdt probably means the  
Ionians on the fleet (and not Dorians, or  
'Aiolians,' who might have been the  
best authorities of all). With Thetis,  
Peleus, the Nereides, we step within the  
circle of Homeric, or Homero-Hesiodic  
theogony (cp 2 53). Thetis in Homer  
is a goddess united to a mortal Peleus,  
and the *Mater dolorosa* of Achilles, but  
the union does not appear there to have  
been effected by ἀρπαγή. Hera sanctions  
it, and the gods all attend the wedding-  
feast, II 24 59 ff. Was the story told  
by the 'Ionians' to the Persians different  
in that respect (and more like the myth  
of Boreas and Oreithyia)? The Nereids,  
if not Thetis herself, seem to represent  
the calmer and more gracious aspects of  
the sea. On the Homeric points see  
Buchholz, *Hom. Realien* III<sup>a</sup> 246-56.

8 ἡ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε.  
As the Greeks had been praying to the  
Winds to intervene in their favour (c. 178  
*supra*), Hdt. only means to express a  
doubt as to the efficacy of the Persian  
sacrifices and incantations, and on this  
occasion. There is nothing naturalistic,  
or scientific, in his scepticism, for in  
the very expression of it he manifests  
an intensely anthropomorphic idea of  
the natural phenomenon (αὐτὸς ἐθέλων).  
Longinus, l.c. c 188 *supra*, censured  
the use of the word ἐκόπασε. Cp. S  
Matth. 14 32.

10 εἶη τε κτλ, 'was (the property,

192 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρη ἐπέπαυτο, τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοικῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμενον

192 3 ὁ πρῶτος πρῶτος unus Paris (1635). πρῶτον z, van H.

haunt, etc.) of that goddess and her sister Nereids' Cp *Il* 18 35 ff, where their dwelling is in a cave under the sea, παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι. cp 1 357 ff, which, however, need hardly be located 'half-way' 'twixt Samos and Imbros' on the strength of 24 77 ff, nor, in any case, prevent the dedication of Sepias to the said divinities

192 1. δ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρη ἐπέπαυτο sc ο χειμῶν It lasted three days and three nights, and by the fourth day it had come to an end, i.e. it ceased in the course of the third night. But perhaps the pluperfect has not so precise a temporal intention, but merely denotes that on the fourth day the storm was quite over and a thing of the past

τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι the scene shifts to the Greek fleet. Hdt does not say where the Greek fleet was, but it was plainly not at Artemision. As far as this passage is concerned it might have shifted down channel, or just rounded the NW. point of Euboea (Cape *Lithada*) to be in shelter from the storm. True, in c 183 *supra* the Greek fleet has retired to Chalkis in sheer terror, not of the storm, but of the appearance of the first Persian ships; but that record is in itself absurd, and that passage is an afterthought, and an insertion (*me videtur*), see notes *ad l.* In fact the Greek fleet had probably retired before the storm, but certainly not to Chalkis no less certainly was there a squadron at Chalkis, and Hdt's errors apparently arise from a confusion between the movements of the main fleet and those of this rear squadron

οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι cp c 183, where they had been left *περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας*. If the whole fleet was at Chalkis, and these scouts were posted where they could see πάντα τὰ γινόμενα *περὶ τὴν ναυγίην*, they would have had a fine run down ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοικῶν

3. δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος . . . 'on the day after the first storm took place' The expression is remarkable: for what is 'the first storm'? The storm just described, cc.

188-91, must surely be 'the first storm'—but it lasted three days and three nights and what then would be 'the second storm'? Does ἐγένετο mean 'began'? and is 'the first storm' an inaccurate way of describing the first day of the three days' storm? In which case the day here mentioned would be merely the second day of the storm, and Hdt. might as well have said so clearly. Van Heiwerden's reading clears this point, but creates an absurdity, for how could the Greek fleet return to Artemision before the storm, which lasted three days and three nights, was over? i.e. before the fourth day, which is indeed the δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο if 'the first storm' means—as it should mean—the three days' storm, and ἐγένετο means, as it perfectly well may mean, 'had taken place' (virtually 'ended,' except that it ended in the night). What then would be 'the second storm'? Why, the storm described in 8 12-14, which took place, according to Hdt., on the night after the first day's fighting of Artemision (and not on the night of the second day of the three days' storm)

The story of the naval operations in Bk 8 appears to be from a different source to that from which the story in Bk 7 is derived, but Hdt has attempted to harmonize them, and one result of his attempt perhaps was to make two storms, where in reality there was only one. Cp further, Appendix V § 4

ἐσήμενον πάντα τὰ γινόμενα *περὶ τὴν ναυγίην* the verb *σημαίνειν* by no means implies material signalling or telegraphy of any kind, and here presumably means simply 'signified,' 'reported'. If the scouts reported all that had happened about the shipwrecking, the storm must have been over. If the storm had lasted three days, this report could only have been brought to the Greek fleet on the fourth day—on which day the storm was all over.

If this news was brought to the Greek ships at Chalkis, then it was the news of the wreck of the 200 Persian vessels brought to the commanders of the 53

πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν 5 ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφί ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ 193 δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος

4 περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην suspecta habeo  
Stein<sup>1</sup> τινὰς σφίσι van H || ἀντίξους α

7 τινὰς om α: σφίσι?  
193. 2 ἐναυμάχουν β

Attic ships, which they in turn reported to the Greeks at Artemision (probably); cp 8 14 If it is the news of the disaster to the Persian fleet and transports (?) at Sepias-Kasthanaia, still it will only have reached the Greeks, not of course at Chalkis, possibly at Aidepsos, after the storm was over

5 Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες what of the *Ἀνεμοί*, to which, according to the Delphic legend in c 178 *supra*, they had been bidden to pray? This record seems further to discredit that story. The *εὐχαί* and the *σπονδαί* are all for Poseidon (neither do the Athenians yet realize that their saviour was their son-in-law, nor do the rest think of worshipping the Winds: this cult, indeed, was a Delphian one, c 178 *supra*). *προ-*, 'forth' for such *πρήξεις* cp 1 160

τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. They had abandoned Artemision (in consequence of the storm?), and now return—the storm being over. If the storm lasted three days, it would be on the fourth day that the re-occupation of Artemision took place. If they returned before the fourth day, then the storm did not last three days.

7 ἀντιξόους cp. cc 49, 150 *supra*: what they expected (*ἐλπίσαντες*) or thought to find must be rather matter of opinion; but what reason had they to expect any opponents to their station at Artemision, unless the Persian fleet had already rounded Sepias? Or is the *ἔσεσθαι* in a more remote future?

193 1 τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες where is the first arrival on record? In c. 175 the resolution to occupy Artemision has been formed, in c. 177 (the 'barbarians' being already in Pieria) the start for Artemision has been narrated; in c. 183 the Hellenes are found in laager at Artemision (*ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύόμενοι*), but only in a very suspicious passage, in which an impossible flight for an absurd reason has been

alleged against them, and which has the appearance of an insertion. nowhere is the first actual arrival at Artemision chronicled. Yet here 'the second' advent is elaborately recorded, *ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες* κτλ. Was there any retreat at all from Artemision? Why should the Greeks have done *μοίε*, in order to avoid the fury of the storm, than draw up their ships on shore? They doubtless had a laager on shore. When the storm abated they would launch the ships again: perhaps the *ναυλοχεῖν* (cp c 189) implies that the ships are afloat

2 Ποσειδέωνος σωτήρος . . νομίζοντες this is a very curious and gloss-like remark, standing where it does. *νομίζοντες* does not really apply to the same persons as *ἐλθόντες*, nor to the same date as *ἐναυλόχουν*. The religious service in honour of Poseidon has been recorded, and apparently was celebrated elsewhere than at Artemision, and before their return thither: their return to Artemision, and their occupation or re-occupation of the station there is then recorded next, these words are added *à propos* of the prayers and libations to Poseidon (at Chalkis?). The shift of scene, the lapse of time, the change of persons, the then and the now, throw the gloss out of gear. Its occurrence here would be less unnatural if the whole scene had really been laid at Artemision, and the Greeks had never quitted it (but simply drawn up their ships). The remark may be from the writer's own hand, perhaps a later insertion, but it is very clumsily made.

An actual cult of Poseidon Σωτήρ does not appear to be here asserted, but only a customary title, ascribed to this occasion, though just before worship is recorded. Even the title is not otherwise attested, for Hom *Hyμ* 22 can hardly be regarded as in point (*διχθῆταί, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο | ἔκπιον τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι, σωτῆρά τε νηῶν*).

σωτήρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα  
 5 ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα

5 παρὰ . ἔπλεον om R

6 ἰθέαν ἰθειαν codd

8 τὸν om B

There seems nothing very striking in the survival of the title ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε, if by those words was merely meant the date of Hdt's composition, whether of the first or second hand. Centuries afterwards it would have been worth a glossator's while to malk it.

4 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι the scene shifts back again to the Persian side, after the brief digression or excursus into the Greek naval camp, c 192. Hdt is equally at home on both sides (cp Thuc. 5. 26. 5), and this alternation is part of his regular method.

ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε καὶ . . ἔστρωτο an illustration of the indifference of the tenses, for the stalling of the waves certainly did not precede the cesser of the wind, nor could Hdt mean that (cp c 16 *supra*). But was the sea smooth by the fourth day?

5 κατασπάσαντες cp c 188 *supra* ὅσοι μὲν νῦν . οἱ δ' ἐφθῆσαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας. According to this, many of the Persian ships must have been drawn up on shore, for Hdt seems to regard all the νέας here in motion as having been so saved.

παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον why is this, apparently so self-evident a point, specified, unless there were, or had been, some ships commissioned to take a different route? cp 8. 7 ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου. But cp also ἐξαναχθεῖσαι c 194 *infra*.

6 τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης can hardly be simply the Σηπιάς ἀκτὴ. But are we justified in crediting Hdt with an accurate knowledge of the peculiar formation of the coast in that region, and in particular with a clear and correct conception of the inner landscape of the gulf of Volo? What evidence is there that Hdt, e.g., was aware how the coast lay from Sepias to Aphetae, or even knew of the existence of the peculiar promontory which extends SW. from Magnesia and forms the lower side of the Pagasaean gulf, separating it from the Euboean channel? Hdt appears to

think that the king's fleet rounded the Magnesian ἀκρὴν and sailed right into the gulf leading towards Pagasai. But Aphetai was probably outside that gulf, although Hdt distinctly locates it inside (Cp note *infra*). Ptolemy 3. 13. 16 distinguishes Μαγνησία ἀκρὰ and Σηπιάς ἀκρὰ, but this does not carry us beyond Hdt except that, as Ptolemy mentions also Αἰάντιον, we cannot identify the Magnesian promontory with the point on the R (east) as you enter the gulf of Volo (Cape Kavulia, close to Trikeri).

Hdt does not take the Persian ships to Pagasai, but as he takes them round the Magnesian promontory into the gulf leading towards Pagasai, before getting to Aphetai, we may fairly suspect that he conceived the Pagasaean gulf to open further east than is the actual case, and if we are to maintain the distinction, in his case, between C Magnesia and Aiantion, the former might perhaps be identified with Cape Ἀναρῆ, the most prominent projection on the south coast of Magnesia (not far from Olizon).

7. Παγασέων not elsewhere mentioned by Hdt, who here cannot be said to locate it clearly, except at the end of the gulf, which leads to it. Ptolemy, while putting the Μαγνησία ἀκρὰ in 'Pelasgiotis' puts Pagasai in 'Phthiotis' — 3. 13. 16, 17. (But Ptolemy does not recognize any district of 'Magnesia') Strabo 436 (*locus classicus*) seems to reckon Pagasai to 'Magnesia' (and perhaps Magnesia itself to Pelasgiotis), and puts it 90 stades from Pherai (of which it is the port) and 20 from Iolkos. Skylax, *Periopl* 64, 65, reckons Pagasai under Θερραλία and Iolkos under Μαγνητῆς, which amounts to saying that Pagasai is not a 'Magnesian' city. Considerable remains in the neighbourhood of Volo have been identified as marking the exact site (Leake, *N. G.* iv. 369).

8. λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα. this is a literary reference, be it to poetry or to

καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς 10 Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφεται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται 194 πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσαι, καὶ κως κατείδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ

9 ἐταίρων ἀν συνερετῶν? van H  
τὴν αἶαν B || τὴν κολχίδα om B  
λέγεται RS(V?)

10 κώας B· κώας C 11  
12 ἀπήσειν Dindorf || γέγονε

194 3 δὴ om α

prose, or both Hdt is the oldest authority we have on the desertion or marooning of Herakles by the Argonautai, but Pherekydes (of Leros? cp Schaefer, *Abriß der Quellenkunde*,<sup>3</sup> § 15, p. 15) may have been Hdt's authority for the story, cp Muller, *FHG* 1, 88 (Pherecyd fr. 67) = Apollod 1.9.19 Φερεκύδης αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀφetais τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργούς φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τούτου βάρος. Hdt gives no reason. perhaps he draws the line at talking ships. According to the later, or prevalent, version, Herakles was left behind in Mysia, having gone to look for Hylas, who had been sent for water. Apollon. Rhod 1.1276 ff. Hdt is acquainted with the Argonaut legend in a highly developed form, cp 4.179, where Jason and the Argo appear in Libya, cp also 1.2, where (Argo) appears as a μακρὴ νηὺς, Αἶα ἡ Κολχίς is located on the Phasis, and Μηδείη the king's daughter is named, though the κῶας is not there mentioned. Cp also c. 197 *infra*.

12. ἐπὶ τούτου Ἀφεται: Hdt endorses the view connecting the place-name with the circumstance that the Argonautai were about to start (ἀφίεναι τὴν ναῦν), as though the name had been given by anticipation (ἔμελλον ἀφήσειν) (Did no one suggest that the ἀφesis was the dismissal, or discharge, or desertion of Herakles?) The etymology may be correct, cp the ἀφesis in the Stadion or Hippodrome (ἡ ἀφesis τῶν ἵππων Pausan. 6.20.10); cp Reisch *sub v* Pauly-Wissowa 1.2715, and our 'Start' (in the channel) the connexion with Jason and the Argo being of course, mythical. Hdt obviously avoids the Ionic ἀπήσειν in order not to spoil the

point, the etymology therefore is not of 'Ionian' origin.

13 ἐν τούτῳ ἐποιεῦντο. Hdt distinctly places Aphetai (a) ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, (b) τῆς Μαγνησίας. So Steph. B. πόλις τῆς Μαγνησίας Ἑλλάνικος (sic). . . κείναι δὲ ἐν τῷ Παγασητικῷ κόλπῳ Strabo 436 goes too far in putting it near (πλησίον) Pagasai, but it can hardly be placed quite outside in the Trikeri channel. It is probably east of Aiantion, but perhaps not so far east as is represented on Kiepert's last map (*Formae* xv). As the promontory Poseideion marks the entrance to the gulf, Aphetai might be E of Aiantion, and yet ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ. Such a position would be eminently fitted for the 'Start'. Lolling *ap* Muller, *Handbuch* III. 147, actually identifies Aphetai with the shoie of the deep indentation, or bay, between the promontory of Poseideion and Pteleon, that is, to the left as you enter the gulf of Volo: such a site is certainly not τῆς Μαγνησίας.

ὄρμον might be taken to imply that the ships were not beached, cp c. 188 *supra* τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον.

194 2 ἐξαναχθεῖσαι 'longiusin altum evectae,' 6.98, 8.84, Baehr the others had rowed παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, c. 193 *supra*.

3 οἱ βάρβαροι Hdt would perhaps have used the word in this connexion even if the ships had been manned by Greeks. It is not clear whether Sandokes commanded a ship or ships from Kyme, but there was one ship from Paphos, and at least one from Karia, among the fifteen. The squadron of Sandokes appears to have been rather a scratch lot. Perhaps it was composed of just the ships which happened, for one reason or other, to have been the last to

βάρβαροι καὶ πλείοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν  
 5 ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ  
 Θαμασίου, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐπ'  
 αἰτίῃ τοιγῆδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε· ἐὼν τῶν βασιλῆων δικασ-  
 τῶν ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε.  
 ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὗρέ οἱ  
 10 πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἶκον τὸν

4 ἔπεσον B, Holder, van H. · ἔπεπεσον dz 5 ὁ (ante ἀπὸ) om. α  
 6 δῆ. δὲ B 7 ἀνεσταύρωσε, ἐόντα τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστῶν · Stein<sup>12</sup>,  
 vulg. 8 ὅτι ὁ z || ὁ Σανδώκης secl van H., Holder 9 εὗρέ οἱ  
 om. α

put to sea, and Sandokes, happening to be a Persian, or the senior officer on board, was treated as στρατηγός. His στρατηγία is of a quite subordinate and, perhaps, occasional character: we cannot infer that the fleet had been re-arranged in squadrons of fifteen ships, of mixed origin, under Persian strategoi.<sup>1</sup>

4. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε the sentence is a little irregular, τῶν referring not to πολεμίους but to οἱ βάρβαροι or even to the πεντεκαίδεκα (νέες). It may be taken as demonstrative rather than as relative. Perhaps the whole passage from τῶν down to διαφυγὼν ἐσεσθαι was not originally in this *pericope* that would account, *inter alia*, for there being here no explanatory note on the office of 'Royal Judge'. Such a note occurs in 3. 31. The βασιλῆων δικασταί are also, however, previously mentioned in 3. 14. The insertion of the note may be due to difference of source or relative importance of occasion; but in any case the absence of the explanation here would be fully covered by the supposition that this anecdote of Dareios was a late insertion. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

5. ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος· the title ὑπαρχος is certainly used of 'Satraps' e.g. of Oroites 3. 120, of Mitrobates 3. 126, of Aryandes 4. 166, Aitaphrenes 5. 25, etc., but it is also used of any lieutenant, or under-governor, so in Thuc. 8. 16. 3 ὃν ἤρχε Στάγης ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρους. Xenophon's account of Mania (*Hellenics* 3. 1. 10 ff.) especially illustrates the point. Her husband Zenis, of Dardanos, had been 'satrap' of Aiolis: she applies to Pharnabazos, on the death of her husband, to be made 'satrap' in his room, and Pharnabazos, himself the 'satrap' in Daskyleion, decided τὴν

γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. Thereafter she governed the district, and showed her gratitude to Pharnabazos by her conduct: ὅποτε ἐκείνος εἰς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνει πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν. Xenophon is not quite accurate in speaking of a 'satrap' of Aiolis, but Sandokes probably held much the same position in 480 B.C. as that occupied by Mania in 400 B.C., being governor of Aiolis, under the satrap of Phrygia, and resident in Kyme.

Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου nothing is known of Thamasios, or Thamasias, who has a Greek-looking name for a Persian (could it be connected with Θαμαναῖος?), nor of Sandokes himself, except what is here recorded. There seem to have been several anecdotes current respecting the Royal Justices of Persia: a similar but more grisly illustration of the Great King's care for judicial purity is told of Kambyzes in 5. 25. The two anecdotes are also illustrative of the different methods of Kambyzes and Dareios.

6. πρότερον τούτων: a rather superfluous note of time in this connexion: perhaps it has come over, with the anecdote, from the source, where the ταῦτα may have referred to something else.

7. ἀνεσταύρωσε: crucifixion, or exposure at the stake, was a favourite orientalism, cp. c. 33 *supra*, 3. 125, 6. 30, Thuc. 1. 110. 3, and involved a lingering and terrible death.

τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστῶν: their position explained 3. 31. Cp. also 3. 14, 5. 25. The fact that it is here taken for granted does not support the hypothesis of the prior composition of Bks. 7-9 (Introduction, §§ 7, 8), but can be reconciled therewith, see note above.

10. οἶκον τὸν βασιλῆων cp. 5. 31. By Persian law, according to Hdt. 1. 137,

Βασιλήιον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνούς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιήν, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν <περι>έσεσθαι· ὡς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἕλληνες,<sup>15</sup> μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἁμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας εἶδον. ἐν τούτῳ μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος<sup>195</sup> Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάδεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου,

11 ὁ Δαρεῖος secl. van H 12 ἐργασάμενος α || δὴ om β 13  
Δαρεῖον secl. van H. 15 περιέσεσθαι Reiske, (Naber), van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>  
έσεσθαι Stein<sup>12</sup> ἦδεσθαι Madvig ἀθῶς έσεσθαι Cobet 195. 1  
ἀρδωλις β 2 ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς abesse aut ὁ Παφίων στρατηγὸς  
vult van H eadem haec aut ὁ Πάφιος scribend cens Kallenberg

a λογισμός of this kind was in order. οἱ is perhaps rather ethical dative than of agency (= ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Stein)

11 ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα the αὐτὸς would not have been necessary if the sentence had happened to run ἐγὼ ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος The double comparative is of course idiomatic, cp Madvig § 93

12 ἐργασμένος εἴη is middle (as from ἐργάζεσθαι), optative, as representing the mind of Dareios, not presenting the opinion of the historian, or the mere matter of fact; pluperfect, but with a continuance of the state, or aspect of the action (εἴη), so long as the man was left on the piling (Cp App Crit)

14 ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν <περι>έσεσθαι the emendation has destroyed a curiosity in the use of substantive verb and aorist participle. Materially, on Herodotean principles, it was too much to expect that any man should have two such escapes. But cp App. Crit

15 ὡς γὰρ in this sentence σφέας, αὐτῶν, and the second σφέας must surely all refer to the same antecedent, which must, strictly speaking, be οἱ βάρβαροι away up in 13 as the masculine προσπλέοντας requires. The observation supports the view that the anecdote just told is an interpolation

16 ἁμαρτάς is an Ionian form, not differing apparently in sense from ἁμαρτία (8. 140). Cp ἁμαρτήμα just above.

195. 1 ἐν τούτῳ μὴ sc τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν c 194 ad init.

Ἀρίδωλις . τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων

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τ. ἐν Κ. Of Aridolis nothing is known, but he bears presumably a native name, and is dynast in a Karian city of importance. His fate has a natural interest for the Halikarnassian. Of the identity and site of Alabanda (= Arab-hissar) there is no doubt. Cp. Sir C Wilson's *Asia Minor* (Murray's *Hæbk.*), Route 39, p. 116. The ruins cover an area 1 mile long, ½ mile wide: all the walls are of granite. Strabo 660-1 describes the site. It is up the valley of the Mærsyas (8 hours from *Αἰδών*) in fact in the territory, which was the scene of some fighting in the Ionian revolt (5118), though Alabanda is not mentioned in that connexion. Steph B *sub v* says the name is Karian, meaning 'Horse-victory' (ala-banda). The hero Alabandos (Ἰππόνικος) was devoutly worshipped there in the days of Cicero (*de nat. Deor.* 3. 50), but that did not apparently lead the inhabitants to pay their debts promptly (Cic. *ad F.* 13. 56). They had the reputation of being rich and luxurious (cp Strabo, Steph B). Does Hdt mean by τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ that there was more than one city of the name? Cp. 8. 136

3. Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου both sire and son have thoroughly Greek names, but are unknown to fame. The form Πενθίλος is more common. Hdt nowhere else expressly refers to Paphos. Strabo 683 distinguishes Παλαίπαφος, ten stades distant from the sea, and containing ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης, from Πάφος κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνορος, a city, 60 stades distant, with a good harbour.

U

ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ  
 5 κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον  
 ἤλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο  
 πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεδμένους  
 ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν.

196 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, παρέξ  
 τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν,  
 ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφετάς. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ  
 Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος

6 δ B || ἡβούλοντο α  
 νεῶν om. α. νηῶν ut passim z  
 4 ἀχαῖης R || δὴ om C

196. 1 ὁ del Schaefer, van H 2  
 3 ἀπίκετο Bdz, Holder, van H.

Pausan. 8. 5. 2 tells the story of its  
 foundation by the Arkadian leader, on  
 which connexion cp c 90 *supra*

ἦγε, 'was leader of .', the loss of  
 eleven-twelfths of his squadron suggests  
 that perhaps the Greek contingents  
 suffered more heavily than the Phoenician  
 in 'the storm off Sepias' (cc. 188 ff.)

6 ἐξιστορήσαντες, how much of these  
 inquiries made its way into the general  
 tradition of the war? The Paphian  
 would be apt to give a very highly  
 coloured account of the storm. Could  
 the Greeks have learnt the exact composi-  
 tion and leading of the Persian fleet  
 from these captives? and been assured  
 of the plan of joint action between army  
 and fleet? perhaps have learnt of the  
 despatch of the squadron round Euboea  
 (8. 7)? The construction is regular  
 (ἐξιστ. τινά τι) Suidas must have thought  
 there was something peculiar in the  
 word, as he has a gloss on it, but the  
 use of ἀπό is peculiar.

8 τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμόν. Why is  
 Κορινθίων added? The Isthmos has  
 been mentioned *supra*, cc. 139, 172, 173,  
 175, 177, without any such qualification  
 or description. Each of those notices  
 occurs in passages which on other  
 grounds have been recognized as of later  
 composition and insertion. If they  
 were away, this would be the first  
 mention of the Isthmus in these Books.  
 Cp. Introduction, § 9. Yet perhaps this  
 observation is hardly needed to account  
 for the specification here. Either the  
 prisoners were 'interned' in Corinth  
 itself, and so the Corinthians are here  
 mentioned; or possibly, without the  
 local specification, 'the isthmus' might  
 have suggested some place in the

neighbourhood of Artemision. Or, lastly,  
 it is a mere matter of sources, and if  
 Hdt here follows an Asiatic source the  
 specification is natural. Cp. Introduc-  
 tion, § 10

196 2 εἶπον this is presumably the  
 first person singular, not the third  
 plural, and refers back to c 194. The  
 use of 1 aor. as in c 11 *supra* (δοῦν περ  
 εἶπα) or as in 4. 44 τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα,  
 a more exact parallel, would have  
 avoided the ambiguity. Yet if the  
 passage in c. 194 *supra*, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε  
 ἄτλ, is, as above suggested, a later  
 insertion, then this εἶπον originally  
 referred to a statement of the prisoners  
 just sent to the isthmus of Corinth

3 πορευθεὶς in the active voice a  
 transitive verb, cp Thuc 4. 132. 2  
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τότε Ἰσχαγόρας ὁ Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιος στρατιὰν μέλλων περὶ πορεύσειν ὡς  
 Βρασιδαν

4 Θεσσαλίας cp c. 129 *supra*,  
 where Thessaly is all hollow, or lowland,  
 and distinct from Achaia. The physio-  
 graphical justification for this distinction  
 is beautifully shown on G. B. Grundy's  
 map, *Graecia*, Murray, London n.d.

Ἀχαιῆς. Hdt. uses the term  
 Ἀχαιή c. 94 *supra* of the Peloponnesian  
 region once populated by Ionians (cp  
 8. 73, 9. 26, 1. 145), and so also plainly  
*infra* 8. 36. He uses the term here, as  
 in c. 173 *supra*, no less plainly of the  
 (mountainous) region on the Pagasaian  
 gulf, the southern district of Thessaly,  
 or the district south of Thessaly (from  
 which he distinguishes Achaia, as here).  
 This is the district named Φθιώτις in 1.  
 56; for though Hdt. nowhere actually  
 uses the term Ἀχαιή Φθιώτις, yet the  
 term Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται occurs once (c.



ἐς Μηλιάς, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων, 5  
τῆς <τε> ἑωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλῆς ἵππου,  
πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ  
Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ  
ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μῦθος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον  
πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις 10  
μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστι Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ  
φλαύρως.

Ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης ἀπικομένῃς Ξέρξῃ οἱ κατη- 197

5 μὲν· δὲ B 6 τε add Stein<sup>2</sup> || Θεσσαλῆς van H., Stein<sup>3</sup>  
Θεσσαλῆς Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder 'nonne Θεσσαλικῆς?' Bekker 7 αἱ om  
C || δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες R 8 ἐλείποντο Bekker ἐλίποντο 9 ὄνό-  
χωνος B || ἐπέχρησε B 10 ὅσπερ B 11 ὁ μέγιστος C || ἐστίν  
αὐτῶν B: αὐτέων ἐστὶ z 197 1 ἄλλον Bz ἄλον d || οἱ κατη-  
γεμόνες. ἐξηγέσθαι om S

132 *supra*, in the list of medizing Hellenes), and he elsewhere (2. 98) makes 'Phthios' the son of 'Achaïos'. He nowhere expressly explains the relation, if any, between the two Achaïas, and the two sets of Achaïans, but as the autochthonous folks of Peloponnesos (8 73) he probably thought of the Achaïans of Phthiotis as immigrants (Immigrants they may have been, but not so surely, not so lately, as the Achaïans in Peloponnesos, cp J B Bury, *JHS* xv 1895, 217 ff).

ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς. i.e. when the fleet reached Aphetai, Xerxes had been already in 'Melis' three days (not that it took him only three days to pass through Thessaly and Achaia). There is, however, the ambiguity left, that the days may be reckoned inclusively, or exclusively in the one case Xerxes might have been only one clear day in Malis; in the other, the day of the fleet's arrival at Aphetai might be the fourth, if not the fifth, since the arrival of Xerxes. For the Chronology cp Appendix V § 4.

ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν is not a simple pluperfect, but marks the accomplishment of a previous action or condition, the effects of which are still operative at the time of the given action. This fine distinction was doubtless lost in the case of those verbs which could not conveniently form perfects and pluperfects (at least in the passive), but it should

be felt in the case of verbs not so poverty-stricken. Here ἐσβεβλήκει would hardly give the same sense.

The Μηλῆς γῆ is described in the next chapter.

7 αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν if this is true, and the competition was a bona fide one, it speaks volumes for the management of the Persian cavalry and remount department. The story is not from a Thessalian source. The sporting instinct in Xerxes is another redeeming trait in the king's character. Hdt seems to represent Xerxes as having instituted the ἄμιλλα on this occasion. The fourteenth *Ἐρμιακὴ* of Bakchylides proves the existence of a local festival in Thessaly, with chariot races, in honour of Poseidon Petraios, and perhaps this festival was in progress when Xerxes suggested a race for mounted men.

9 Ὀνόχωνος cp c 129 *supra*.

11 Ἡπιδανός cp c 129 *supra*. If the readings are correct, the variation in the spelling would be a good indication of a difference in Hdt's sources, and this passage is plainly from the Ionian.

On the rivers that failed cp c 21 *supra*.

197 1 ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης cp. c 173 *supra*. The position of Alos, or Halos, in 'Achaia' is clearly marked by Strabo 433, on a hill to the south, above τὸ Κρόκιον πεδῖον, close to the river Amphrysos, 60 stades from Itonos. Its exact site is identified, cp Bursian, *Geogr. d. Griechenl.* i 78, Lolling *ap.*

γεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέσθαι ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, [τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός,]

3 ἐπιχώριοι R || τὰ περὶ . . Διός ut glossema sustulerim || ἱερὸν A ante ras. || ἀφλυστίου BPz

I. Muller, *Handbuch*, iii 147. The name is probably to be connected with a salt-spring (still in existence) and not with the eponym, Alos, the faithful hand-maid of Athamas, nor with the wanderings (ἄλη) of that hero himself (Steph. B. *sub v*).

If Xerxes really passed through Halos, he probably took the coast-route from Larissa *via* Pherai, Thebai, Halos, Ptelion, Alope, Lamia, to Trachis. In that case, if he had all his army with him, they could not have drunk the waters of Onochonos and Apidanos. In fact, Persian columns will probably have marched by each route, but it would seem more natural for Xerxes to have taken the main route, *via* Pharsalos and Thaumakoi. It may be that Hdt takes Xerxes to Halos in order to get an occasion of repeating the Athamantid legend.

οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ cp c 128 *supra*. Here they would be Thessalians (Achaeans), they wish apparently to be leaders all round, to lead the way in everything (τὸ πᾶν, cp c 50 *supra*, ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι), or perhaps to act in a double capacity, not merely as local guides, but as religious authorities. ἐξηγέσθαι is one of Hdt's little ironies (cp his jest at Aristagoras's expense, 5 49 *ad f*. Cp also 4. 36).

3 ἐπιχώριον λόγον there is nothing in this formula to prove that Hdt himself visited the spot, or heard the Athamantid legend *in loco*. Two or three reasons would convince him that it was an ἐπιχώριος λόγος. (a) the nature of the case, (b) the fact that Xerxes (as he believed) heard it at Halos. Also possibly Hdt was aware that (c) another version of the story was current at Orchomenos, or in Boiotia, where there was an 'Athamantian' plain, a shrine of Zeus Laphystios, and various Athamantian or Athamantian settlements (cp Pausan 9 34 5). Perhaps the Boiotian version had received most literary attention before Hdt, but it is not likely that the Thessalian, or rather Achaio-Athamantian, was unreported until Hdt.

set it down here the two, indeed, were ultimately no doubt identical.

Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides each wrote tragedies upon this theme, and the first two probably before Hdt's composition (cp. Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Fragg* 'Αθάμας, Φρίξος, and the reference to Sophokles *ap* Aristoph. *Clouds*, 257). But the dramatists, of course, were not the first to introduce the myth into literature. The Boiotians, Hesiod and Pindar among the poets, and Pherekydes among the 'logographeis,' had dealt with the myths of Phrixos, Nephele, Ino, Athamas (Cp Pherekydes, *Fragg* 52-55, *F.H.G.* 1 86.) Hdt. does not here agree with Pherekydes.

The myth, in its various forms, has, of course, to be detached from the cult of Zeus Laphystios, with which it has been amalgamated, and from which it may, in part, have been ultimately derived. The permanent value of this passage in Hdt lies in its witness to the cult.

τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός. These words supply a floating title, which some would be sorry to athetize as a gloss. The best known Laphystion was in Boiotia (a mountain and a sacrum), but there was also, no doubt, one at Halos. Λαφύστιος means 'devourer,' 'glutton,' οἱ 'spoil' (λαφύσσειν, λαφύγμους; also λάφυρα, 'plunder,' spoils taken in war so perhaps a war-god?). *Etym. Mag.* gives the word as a name of Dionysos. On Chios and Tenedos a man was torn in pieces as a sacrifice to Dionysos ὠμηστής (ὠμάδιος) in ancient times, Porphyr. *de abst.* 2 55. Themistokles is reported to have immolated three human victims to Dionysos before Salamis, Plutarch, *Them.* 13. Λαφρία, a title of Artemis (Pausan 4 31 7) and even of Athene (Lycophron 356), as of Hermes (iv 835 Λάφριος), may be akin to Λαφύστιος. The cult and ritual of Zeus Λυκαῖος in Arkadia comes nearest to that of Zeus Λαφύστιος, and is coupled with it *ap*. Platon *Minos* 5. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1 93, agrees with J. G. Frazer and Robertson Smith in

ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξω μόνον σὺν Ἴνοϊ  
βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι 5

thinking that "the human offering" was "probably not the primitive fact" in "the Hellenic cults of Zeus." This view looks like a survival of the idealistic tendency, but might be saved, even for strict historical criticism, by discovering that the Ἀθαμᾶνες were not 'Hellenes', and that the cult was 'piae-Hellenic'. Stein observes that Zeus Λαφύστιος had, "like the Jehovah of the Old Testament and the Moloch and Melkart of the Phoenicians, a right to all the first-fruits, first-born" — mankind not excepted. Zeus Lykaos was probably the wolf-god, but what is there to show that Zeus Laphystios was the ram-god? (except perhaps the cult? cp. l. 14 *infra*), or that in each case the human victim is not as primitive as the theanthropic animal?

4 Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου this genealogy is Hesiodic (Fr. 25) but not Homeric. The older tradition, or theory, made Athamas a son of Minyas (cp. Thiaemei, *Pergamos*, 139, 141), i.e. not even an 'Aiolian'. Hdt. of course accepts the Hesiodic genealogy, by which Aiolos is one of the sons of Hellen (He need not have gone direct to Hesiod therefor, but he was not unacquainted with the Boiotian, cp. 2. 53, 4. 32). Escher is no doubt right in regarding Athamas as the eponym of the Ἀθαμᾶνες, with Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen* 2, 419 (cp. Pauly-Wissowa, n. 1938). The Athamanes in historic times were a clearly recognizable folk in S. Epeiros, on the western side of Pindos, between the Molossi and Thessaly, on the upper waters of the Acheloos or Inachos, who, like many of their neighbours, enjoyed more importance, at least for a time, during Roman than during Hellenic history, cp. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenl.* 1. pp. 39 f., Oberhummer, *Akarnanien*, and ap. Pauly-Wissowa n. 1928.

ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξω μόνον σὺν Ἴνοϊ β: according to this account Athamas himself was the criminal, who plotted with Ino (daughter of Kadmos), his second wife, against Phrixos (and Helle, cp. c. 53 *supra*), his son (and daughter, by his former wife Nephele). According to Pherekydes, Phrixos offered himself voluntarily as a sacrifice to avert the famine which was afflicting the land. Hdt. seems to say that Phrixos was actually slain. Is 'Phrixos,' by the

way, the heat (φρυγ-), or the cold (φρυγ-), or the 'corn-spirit' (*frux, fructus*), or 'the fugitive' (φενγ-)? Or perhaps all four!

5 μετέπειτα the date is purely vague, but a considerable time may, and indeed must be thought to have elapsed, see further below.

ἐκ θεοπροπίου presumably Delphic, especially as it is obtained by the 'Achaians'. This is apparently the second of the two oracles mentioned.

Ἀχαιοί the significance of this name here has not been appreciated. The 'Achaians' in Thessaly are (in Hdt.'s view) invaders, conquerors, newcomers (cp. c. 196 *supra*). This 'Achaian' proposition, or ordinance, therefore, represents a new departure, and a duty or obligation (ἄεθλος) imposed upon the 'Aiolian' stock (τοῦ γένους τούτου) for the sins of its ancestor.

That Hdt. (in his source) has fully and correctly understood the nature of the 'Achaian' ordinance for the 'Aiolian' clan cannot be admitted. According to this account the Achaians actually desire the human sacrifice of Athamas himself (cp. *infra*), and, at some subsequent time, ordain a liability of the first-born in the Aiolian, or Athaman, house to be sacrificed. The truth has been inverted. The new departure, made by the Achaians, is plainly a limitation of human sacrifice, not its institution; they make a way to escape, if only a certain 'taboo' is observed the victim is safe. Perhaps they go even further, and substitute a 'pomp,' a 'ceremony,' and a vicarious sacrifice (of an animal) for the human victim, but this is not quite clearly indicated.

This correction of the Herodotean account is justified (a) by the general analysis of religious history, (b) by the myth of Phrixos and Helle itself, which (1) presupposes the earlier existence of such human sacrifices, (2) contains the datum of the substituted animal (the ram). The antitheses, however, between Aiolian and Achaian we cannot accept (any more than the antithesis between Achaian and Hellenic), and though undoubtedly Thessaly (and Boiotia) witnessed the immigration of foreigners, and various changes or mixtures of population, the incomers will hardly

τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· ὃς ἂν ᾗ τοῦ  
 γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ  
 λήϊτου αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ  
 πρυτανήιον οἱ Ἀχαιοί. ἣν δὲ ἐσέλθη, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἔξεισι  
 10 πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλη· ὥς τ' ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ  
 ἤδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οἴχοντο

6 ἂν <αἰεὶ> Naber, van H 7 ἔργεσθαι P(SV): ἔργεσθαι R  
 εἶργεσθαι α: εἶργεσθαι d 8 λήϊτον Valckenaer πρυτανήιον codd,  
 Stein<sup>1</sup> 9 οἱ om B, Holder || εἰσέλθη B 10 μέλλοι S μέλλει  
 RV || ὥς τ' ἔτι Schaefer ὥς τέ τι PSDz ὥστε τι ABC. ὥστε R 11  
 τούτων τῶν μελλόντων α τούτων μελλόντων RV, Holder τῶν μελλόντων  
 S. τῶν μελλόντων τούτων P, Gaisf (τῶν μελλόντων τούτων ?) aut  
 τούτων, 'quo tendit varietas,' aut τῶν . . θύσεσθαι, 'quod suadet elegantia,'  
 delenda cens van H.

have been more civilized and humane than the pre-existing population. In any case we are not (at present) justified in regarding the ameliorations introduced into the cult of Zeus Laphystios as proof of race-differences, or as more than illustrations of the general improvement of ideas and institutions during the 'Hellenic' period.

7 ἔργεσθαι τοῦ λήϊτου there seems to be something 'political' in this taboo or excommunication of the first-born from the Prytaneion (λήϊτον, cf. λῆος, ληιουργία, etc., the Achaeans would probably have called it λάϊτον). Is it possible that the modification of custom, by which the first-born was allowed to live, on condition of keeping out of the Prytaneion, was connected with a political revolution, or change, the abolition, perhaps, of monarchy, or the limitation of the rights and privileges of some house, or houses, in the community, which had indeed furnished the victims, but also enjoyed other and material advantages?

9 ἣν δὲ ἐσέλθη . . σὺν πομπῇ ἑξαχθεῖς this whole passage is obscure, and apparently unsound. (a) The maintenance of the *oratio obliqua*, or rather its resumption, confuses the expression· ὥς (*vis* or *ter*), ἐξηγέοντο, resuming apparently τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέσθαι *supra*, in the sense 'they related,' and thrown in parenthetically, (b) the ambiguity of the phrases, πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλη and πολλοὶ τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι, (c) the apparent inconsequence that the victim is merely bound τοῦ λήϊτου ἔργεσθαι, and yet that many have fled the country,

and on their return have been caught and taken to the Prytaneion (and apparently thereafter sacrificed). There are other obscurities, but nothing more perplexing than (d) the absence of any reason or motive why the victim should not keep clear of the Prytaneion, or why, if he has fled the country, he should return and be caught. Had Hdt. himself visited Halos, and studied the cult *an Ori und Stelle*, one might expect a less perplexing muddle.

Stein has found a way out of the wood. He supposes that the first-born was bound (if he wished to be recognized as a fellow-citizen) to try to get in without being caught (on his coming of age?). This was the ἀθλος. If he succeeded, well and good, his franchise was secure. But if he failed, and fell into the hands of the guards, then he was kept till the next festival of the god, solemnly led out to the altar, there and then a ram was substituted, and the man allowed to escape.

Hdt. undoubtedly says that in certain cases the man is sacrificed, and says nothing about the substituted ram. Human sacrifice is well attested for various parts of Greece in the historic period. Ps.-Plato, *Minos* 315 c, speaks of the Athaman sacrifice as real and subsisting. Cf. also Aristoph. *Clouds* 257.

11. τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι after what has just gone before, this phrase seems to imply that the men have entered the λήϊτον notwithstanding the taboo. But if so, as there is no getting out πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλη, how do οἱ μελλοντες θύσεσθαι (passive, of course) manage after

ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες ἦν ἀλίσκωνται ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήιον· ὡς θύεται τε [ἐξηγέοντο] στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεὶς. ταῦτα δὲ πᾶσχοῦσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου 15 τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιουμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖσι ἐπι-

13 ἀλίσκωνται R || ἐστέλλοντο· ἐσελθόντες B, Holder, van H., alii || πρυτανήιον μαντήιον CPmarg. 14 τε secl. van H. || ἐξηγέοντο del. Sitzler, Stein<sup>8</sup> || στέμμασι <τε>? van H || ὡς del. Sitzler, van H. 15 σὺν om. B 16 φρίξου d 18 κτίσσωρος C 19 αἴης A || τῆς Κολχίδος del. van H. || ἐρρύσατο C

their fright (*δελσάντες*) to get them away into another country? Does terror give them wings, and do they break out of the *λήτων*? Or do they give their guards the slip as they are led to the altar? And is this escape, perhaps, connived at? is it only if caught a second time that the Athaman is sacrificed in grim reality?

14 στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς, 'thickly enveloped in wool-fillets'—perhaps to represent the ram, though Hdt does not seem to make the point

15 Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου. as Phrixos has a son, the plot of Ino and Athamas had failed. Hdt has left out the miraculous preservation of Phrixos (and Helle). However, lower down is implied the story of Phrixos' flight to Aia, as he returns thence to Halos in time to rescue his grandfather. Phrixos had escaped on the ram to Kolchis, his sister Helle dropped off into the Hellespont (We must come down to Apollod *Biblioth.* 1. 9 for all this, who tells it as a Boiotian tale.) There he offered the ram to Zeus Φύξιος, gave the golden fleece (cp τὸ κῶας c. 193 *supra*) to Aietes, and married the king's daughter (not Medeia, but) Chalkiope (χρύσεα χαλκείων!) and had by her (four sons, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and the youngest) 'Kytisoros.' Κύτα, Κύταια, cp Steph B *sub v* πόλις Κολχική παρὶς Μηδείας. Identified with Khutaissi, capital of the province of Imireti, in Pauly, *Encycl.* ii (1842) p 806, i.e. in Latin, Cutatisium. Here Hdt sets in again

16. καθαρμὸν, a 'purification' or purificatory sacrifice. The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knts.* 1133 *εἵρεφον γὰρ*

τινας Ἀθηναῖοι λιβαν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀχρήστους καὶ ἐν καιρῷ συμφορᾶς τινας ἐπελθοῦσης τῇ πόλει, λοιμοῦ λέγω ἢ τοιοῦτον τινός, ἔθιον τοῦτους ἔνεκα τοῦ καθαρθῆναι τοῦ μιάσματος. οὗς καὶ ἐπωνόμαζον καθάρματα. If at Athens, why not at Halos, where, however, they offered of their best? This, by the way, is an 'Achaian' rite.

17 ἐκ θεοπροπίου Delphi, presumably, again. This is hardly the same response as the one above, but apparently prior to that, and so in the narrative a πρότερον ὕστερον

Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου. the repetition of the patronymic is here natural, for we are here in the third generation, and without the patronymic might easily suppose a second Athamas. Athamas, the father of Phrixos, is now himself the victim. How this has come about Hdt does not explain. Either there was a variant, according to which Athamas himself was the original victim, or there has been a renewed curse on the country, for which Athamas himself is to suffer, or this is really another Athamas, the head of the clan for the time being, and the patronymic is misleading.

19 ἐρρύσατο (in the *Athamas* of Sophokles Herakles rescued Athamas Schol. Aristoph. *Clas* 257). How this deliverance was effected, by force or fraud, no one seems to know, anyway, it provoked a μῆνις, and it is hereon, or hereafter, that ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοις ἀέθλους τοιοῦσδε, *vide* l. 5 *supra*. Hdt.'s method of narrating the myth is not clear, but it is not quite so desperately confused as his description of the cult. For the myth he no doubt had literary authority,

20 γυνομένοισι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦγε εἰς τὴν Μηλίδαν παρὰ κόλπον

21 ταῦτ' α || ἐγένετο B, Holder || εἶργετο B, Holder, van H 23  
ὁμοίως τὴν οἰκίην B 198 1 τὰ ἐν post καὶ om B 2 χωρέων ?  
Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H.

for the cult he may have had merely second-hand oral report

τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοισι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ as Kytissoros is son of Phrixos, son of Athamas, son of Aiolos, the *epigonoι* here are identical with the *apogonoι* of Athamas above

20 μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ. sc τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός, which Kytissoros drew down upon the family by his rescue of Athamas, the original sinner. The Wrath (cp c 134 *supra*) must have shown itself in a fresh visitation of the land, as the Achaeans consult the oracle, and it is after this Wrath that the rite, as described above, is instituted, or is modified, so that perhaps, after all, what Kytissoros did was to arrange the terms of a compromise (Athamas was rescued, and for the future a way of escape was left to the first-born) Was Kytissoros, then, the Achaean who effected a reform in the Athaman institution?

Ξέρξης δέ· in consequence of what he heard Xerxes avoided the Grove (τὸ ἄλσος), and showed a like respect for the palace (τὴν οἰκίην) of the Athamans as for the Close (τὸ τέμενος) of the god. Rawlinson (against Larcher) denies that there was any temple of Laphystian Zeus at Alos, and refers this passage to the temple in Boiotia, between Koroneia and Orchomenos (Pausan. 9. 34. 4) Xerxes heard the tale at Alos, and afterwards, "on his passage through Boiotia," spared the shrine and grove in consequence.

Rawlinson probably is right in the main, and that the words ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο ought to be referred to the Boiotian Laphystion. But it can hardly be maintained that such is Hdt's meaning. He says not a word of a Laphystion in Boiotia, and as far as his text is concerned there is nothing to suggest that τὸ ἱρόν, τὸ ἄλσος, τὸ τέμενος, and ἡ οἰκίη are not all in the same place,

and that place Halos. But in all probability Xerxes never was at 'Alos' (cp. note 1 *supra*), the words above, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν τοῦ Λαφυστίου Διός, are perhaps a gloss. Hdt. has heard of Xerxes 'sparing' and 'respecting' the shrine of (Laphystian) Zeus in Boiotia (cp 8. 34, 50), he himself associates the Athaman legend with Halos, and has taken Xerxes thither in order to relate it, and still more, to describe the strange cult. But here he does not speak of a ἱρόν but only of an ἄλσος and τέμενος that much there probably was at Halos, even though Hdt. is the only authority therefor.

198. 2. Μηλίδαν this designation is here used for the first time by Hdt., though the folk-name, Μηλιέες, has occurred cc 132, 196 *supra*, in the list of medizing peoples, a later insertion, as shown in the notes there. Μηλῖς is a wider word than Τρηχινίη, cp c 201 *infra* Thuc. 3. 92. 2 distinguishes three sets of Malians (Μηλιῆς οἱ ἑυμπαῆες), Παράδιοι, Ἰριῆς, Τραχινιοί. The first name is purely topographical, and speaks for itself as Antikyra, just below here, is the first city on the gulf, as you come from Achaia, it may be regarded as the chief seat of the Paralioi, and their strip of land would extend round the gulf and include Anthela (Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griechenland* 1. 96), and, indeed, Thermopylai itself. The third name is obviously taken from the city Trachis, of which more below, its territory being situate away from the sea, under the horseshoe mountains or cliffs. The third name and division is not indicated in Hdt., and Ἰριῆς is, indeed, an emendation (by Bursian, cp c p. 95) for the Ἰερῆς of the mss based upon Steph. B. *sub v.* Ἰρά, a city, the site of which is lost. (The Ἰερῆς were naturally connected with the sacred places at Anthela and Thermopylai, and their loss is not all pure gain.)

θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥήχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στενός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον ὅρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληίει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιῆς Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν Σπερχεῖος

3 ῥαχίη B 4 πεδινός B, Holder, van H 5 καὶ om. B  
6 οὔρεα CPdz, van H. || ἄβατα <τὰ> Reiske, van H || περικλήει B περι-  
κλήει dz. περικλείει C || μηλιάδα α 8 ποταμὸς σπερχηίδος B, Holder.  
ποταμὸς del van H.

Hdt, however, gives incidentally three leading *foci* in the Malian landscape—Antikyra, Trachis, Anthela

The whole passage (cc 198-200) is remarkable in view of the description of Thermopylai now to be read above, c 176 That passage, as shown in the notes *ad l*, is an addition, an author's interpolation this passage is obviously the earlier in composition, and belongs to the organic or original story of the campaign, presenting the topography from the point of view of the invaders.

κόλπον θαλάσσης it is only in 4 33 that Hdt gives this gulf its proper name, τὸν Μηλιά κόλπον (a passage doubtless, of later composition and different provenience, cp Introduction, § 8) Cp Aeschylus, *Persae* 486 f Μηλιά τε κόλπον, οὗ | Σπερχεῖος ἄρδαι πεδίον εὐμενέϊ ποτῷ Thucydides uses the term Μηλιεύς κόλπος (4 100 1, 8 3 1), and also Μηλιακὸς κόλπος (3 96 3) In later times the title Λαμιακὸς κόλπος (Pausan. 1 4 3, 7 15 2, 10 1 1) came into use, in honour of what was in Makedonian and Roman times (as at present) the chief city of the neighbourhood· in Polyb 10 42 the bay appears, however, as ὁ Αἰνιάν κόλπος

4 περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον much as the coast-line has changed, and with it the river-courses, the broad features of the landscape are still the same (i.) the flat alluvial land, (ii) the semi-circle of mountains, (iii) the cliffs, (iv) the tidal phenomenon

7 Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι If 'the whole of Melis' was encircled by the 'Trachinian cliffs,' the name must be rigidly restricted to land on the right bank of the river Spercheios, even so, the description is hardly quite accurate a complete circle or semi-circle (περικληίει) of mountains is only to be attained by taking in both sides of the

Spercheios, and the description of the hills only applies partially to those immediately abutting on the plain (ὅρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα)

8 Ἀντικύρη This Antikyra (cp c. 213 *infra*) being the first city on the gulf as you come from Achaia, on the Spercheios, and near its (then existing) mouth, it is probably on the right bank, and the river apparently forms the frontier between 'Melis' and 'Achaia.' At a later time the coast land on the north of the Malian gulf, and the ground on the left bank of the Spercheios, was included in Malis, together with the cities Lamia and Echinos Skylax *Peri pl* 62, Steph. B. *sub v* Λάμια. Bursian, *op c* 1 77, 90, conjectures that this addition only dates from the time of Philip II It is not so surprising, then, that Hdt in this connexion makes no mention of Lamia, for (i) it was not on the sea, (ii) it was not in Malis Yet it is surprising that nowhere occurs any mention of this important spot, which commanded the chief, or one of the chief passes from Thessaly into Malis, neither in Hdt nor in any writer, until the Lamian war (323 B C) comes to be recorded The Persians must surely have used the *Phurka* pass in 480 B C

The Antikyra here mentioned is not to be confounded with the more important place of the same name on the Krisaean gulf, cp Strabo 418 Both places appear to have been associated with the production and preparation of hellebore There was perhaps a third Antikyra (in Ozolian Lokris, cp Bursian, *op c* 1 148), though Horace might well have spoken of three even if there had been but one *A P* 300 *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam Hellebore* was a specific for gout (Juvenal 13 96 f) and other madness

Σπερχεῖος, known to Homer as a

ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἀπὸ δὲ  
 10 τούτου διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ οὐνομα  
 κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ λόγος  
 ἐστὶ ἀναφανήναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων  
 199 ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι ὃς καλέεται Μέλας. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει.

9 αἰνιήνων B  
 13 καλεῖται B

11 κεῖται codd. κέεται Stein<sup>1</sup> || τῷ om Bp  
 199 2 ποταμοῦ del van H

river in the land of Achilles, II 23. 144, cp 16 174. Pherekydes (*Frag.* 23) connected it with the Dryopes, Aischylos (*lc supra*) with the plain round the Malian gulf. Strabo 433 makes it rise on Mount Typhrestos (modern *Veliuchi*, upwards of 7000 ft high, Bursian, *op c* 1 87), and flow through a broad and potentially fertile valley some twenty-five to thirty miles long, and from three to five miles wide, until it emerges into the more open Malian plain. The lower course of the Spercheios (*Elladha*) has changed in modern times, and the mouth is some seven to eight miles further east than in Hdt's day, one result being that the minor streams mentioned by Hdt about Thermopylai have all become its tributaries (instead of flowing into the sea, or the Asopos).

9 Ἐνιήνων cp cc. 132, 185 *supra*. Their geographical position in the valley of the Spercheios is sufficiently clearly marked, their earlier home in 'Thessaly' by the Homeric testimony, and likewise also their Hellenic character. How little there is to add to Bursian, *op cit* and *ap* Pauly, 1 (1864) 390, on the subject may be seen by comparing Pauly-Wissowa 1 (1893) 1023. The 'Ainianes' flit across the pages of Greek historiography from Homer to Strabo, who, perhaps wrongly (Hirschfeld *ap* P.-W 1 c.), says they had been completely destroyed between the Aitolians and the Athamanes (427 ἐξέφθειραν Αἰτωλοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες). They play little part in the Persian war, except that, in common with nearly all the Amphiktyonic folks, they are reckoned among the traitors - c. 132 *supra*.

11 Δύρας, the modern *Gurgopotamo*, the more easily identified from its connexion with the Herakleid legend as the stream rising from the highest block of Oita, which was the scene of Herakles' end. Bursian, 1. 88, 91. The stream

now flows into the Spercheios (*Elladha*) (Is the ancient name = Τύρας, 4 11 etc.?)

τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ the scene of the Herakleian *auto-da-fé* was the top of Oita, named *Ἰπυρά* or *Φρυγία* (Bursian, 1 88), a detail not given by Sophokles in the *Trachiniai*.

Bursian places the height at the juncture of Aimanis, Mahs, and Doiris, raising it 6673 ft in air. On the association of Herakles with the district and its waters cp notes c 176 *supra*.

Λόγος ἐστὶ an expression, probably, of some degree of incredulity. The story was no doubt already a literary one. Strabo 428 (ὁ Δύρας—ὃν φασιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὴν Ἡρακλέους σβέσαι πυράν) may be merely quoting this passage.

13 Μέλας, the modern *Μαντο-νερο*, ('Blackwater'), now a tributary of the *Gurgopotamo*. Bursian, 1 91, who rightly points out that this passage in Hdt implies a very different state of things, the three streams being conceived here as flowing parallel to one another into the gulf at intervals of twenty stades.

199 1 Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις. The predecessor of Herakleia, from which it was apparently less than a mile distant. Ἡράκλεια—ἡ Τραχὶν καλουμένη πρότερον, Λακεδαιμονίων κτίσμα διέχει δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας Τραχίνος περὶ ἐξ σταδίων ἢ Ἡράκλεια, Strabo 428. Cp. Thuc 3 92. 1 (anno 426 B C) ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχυνίᾳ ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο. Although the argument *a silentio* must not be unduly pressed, yet it is worth while remarking that Hdt. makes no allusion whatever to this Lakedamonian foundation. The passage here before us belongs to the earliest draft of the Book; but a reference to the colonial act of 426 B C would easily and naturally have been inserted, had Hdt. known of it. Cp. Introduction, § 9.



ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχὶς πεπόλισται· δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικληθεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεν τοῦ ὄρεος. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κατὰ δὲ

6 οὔρεος CPdz, van H. || περικλήει B περικλήει dz περικλείει C  
8 ὑπώρειαν B || οὔρεος CPdz, del. van H.

4 δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί 22,000 plethra, in long measure, would amount to 420 (odd) miles, a manifest absurdity therefore, either the figure is wrong, or else the measurement is square. After εὐρύτατον one expects a simple measure of length. Rawlinson challenges the reading, and suggests κβ (=22) as possibly corrupted into κβ (=22,000). 22 plethra would be less than half a mile. That seems rather little even for antiquity. Leake (so too Stein) took the measurements here to be square the amount on this hypothesis would be 5025 acres. Rawlinson objects (1) Hdt never gives areas; (2) the particle γάρ. What γάρ has to say to long rather than quadrate measure, I do not see. Stein suggests that Hdt gives the square measure here, probably because the Persian camp (c 201) was pitched here. This suggestion is acceptable, but does it mean that the camp covered 5000 acres? If so, we have a kind of criterion of the numbers of the Persian host before Thermopylai. (Allowing 4 acres for 1000 infantry and 10 acres for 1000 cavalry, 5000 acres would accommodate 1,250,000 infantry or 500,000 cavalry<sup>1</sup> or say, 1,000,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry<sup>1</sup>.)

At any rate, it leads to two further inferences (1) Hdt is here following medizing sources (not the patriotic southern Greek sources from which the description in c. 176 was drawn), (2) he has not obtained this measurement from a source connected with the Spartan foundation of Herakleia in 426 B.C. The 5025 acres, for example, are not the territory of the new colony (but they might be the measurement of the Τρηχινίη χώρα).

6. τὸ περικληθεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην This mountain might be identical with the Τρηχινίαι πέτραι of c. 198, which are there (erroneously) said to enclose πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν.

διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος Hdt ought here to say east rather than south (cp c. 176 *supra*), although the error in this case is not so great, as the Asopos-gorge does extend south of (the site of) Trachis. Strabo 428 quotes and endorses this passage.

7 Ἀσωπὸς the modern name is Καρβοναριά (Bursian, 1. 92). The stream now flows into the Spercheios, not into the sea.

8 παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεν τοῦ ὄρεος seems to refer to the projecting spur, which forms the Western Gate of the pass, cp c. 176 *supra*.

200 2 Φοῖνιξ This stream is still to be identified by the red, or rusty, colour of its waters (due to the presence of iron) which issue from two warm springs at the point of the ὑπώρεν (c. 199) furthest advanced towards the north (Bursian, 1. 92) and now fall (not into the Asopos but) into the Spercheios. Hdt.'s statement respecting its embouchure is probably correct for his date. On the other hand, the orientation is less correct, the Phoinix would, indeed, be south of the Asopos, but would be even more specifically east thereof. Hdt.'s orientations, both in this passage and in c. 176 *supra*, are governed not by accurate local observation, or autopsy, but by the general sense of the direction in which the Persians were moving.

3. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα: this can hardly mean along between the Phoinix and the ὑπώρεν (c. 199), nor yet the crossing or culvert over the Phoinix,

τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενότερον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξίτος γὰρ μούνη  
 5 δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια  
 ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικός <τε>  
 ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τε ἐστὶ τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη  
 κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν  
 ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε  
 10 ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ  
 201 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρὸν. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ [δὴ]

200 4 ποταμὸν del. van H. || στενότερος β στενότερον . . ποταμοῦ  
 om. C' || ἀμαξίτος R. ἀμαξήτος d || μούνη μία PRV, Stein<sup>1</sup> μία μούνη S,  
 van H 5 ποταμοῦ del. van H 5-7 πεντεκαίδεκα . ποταμοῦ  
 om. R 6 τε add Stein 8 κέεται Stein<sup>1</sup> || παραρρέων α, Holder  
 9 αὐτῇ α 201 2 δὴ om. S secl. Stein<sup>2</sup>

but rather where the Phoinix joined the Asopos (Bursian, 1 92)

4 στενότερον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξίτος γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται this describes the Western Gate of the pass, which we may perhaps call *πυλαί*, cp c 176 *supra*. But the very narrowest part of all was the Eastern Gate (τὸ στενόν), cp c 216 *infra* δέδμηται here implies that the passage, or roadway, was artificially constructed, or laid the less remarkable in this district associated with Herakles (a great road-maker), and dedicated to the Amphiktyonic celebrations (This passage is not, however, noted in E Curtius' brilliant paper, 'Zur Geschichte der Wegebaus,' *Gesam. Abh.* 1 3 ff.)

5 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος . ἐς Θερμοπύλας, from the Western to the Middle Gate, as explained above, notes to c 176, the distance, 15 stades (about 3030 yards), would be substantially correct

6 ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ this phrase had been frequently understood to mean, 'in the interval between the river and the Western Gate of the pass', thus placing Anthela outside, and in front, of the Western Gate. It seems better to find the site of Anthela upon the higher ground, the spur of the hill, now marked by the old Turkish barracks, or guard-house, a position which would not be described incorrectly as 'between the Phoinix and Thermopylai', for it lies above the Western Gate, with the Phoinix to the west and 'Thermopylai' to the east of it. Causer *op. Pauly-Wissowa* 1 1911 makes the Amphiktyons meet on 'the small plain, to which the narrow pass

of Thermopylai widens by Anthela', this is probably identical with Leake's site, which Dr Grundy's survey has entirely superseded. Cp *Great Persian War*, p. 284 (where, however, Anthela is left upon the lower ground)

7 κώμη. Ἀνθήλη cp c 176 *supra*. It is there a πόλις, a striking confirmation of the hypothesis of a different provenience for the two descriptions of Thermopylai, and of different dates for the composition of the two passages

9 Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος these erections, (1) the shrine of Demeter, (11) the Chairs, or Seats, of the *ἑκατομμύτωνες* and *Pylagoroi*, (111) the shrine of Amphiktyon, are surely much better placed on the higher ground than on the low level. Hdt throws no light on the date of their erection. The Amphiktyons met twice a year at Thermopylai, as at Delphi (cp Causer, *l.c.* 1921 f). The 'seats' were doubtless *sub Jove*. For a list of the twelve Amphiktyonic folks cp c 132 *supra*. These sacred buildings would at least have required repair after 480 B.C., though there was no reason why the Persians should injure them any more than Delphi itself. They were perhaps restored at the time of the attempted revival of the Amphiktyony; cp c 214 *infra*.

201 2 τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ. 'Trachinia,' the land of the city of Trachis, is plainly a part of 'Melis,' but not strictly the Paralia, cp c. 298 *supra*. How far Trachinia extended eastward it is not easy to determine. Did it cross the Asopos, and the Asopos-gorge?

Ἑλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιούκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν 5 τοῦτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην

3 ὅδε χώρος οὗτος καλέεται S || μὲν om. S  
om B 6 βορέην βορῆν libri

4 ὑπὸ δὲ . . Πύλαι

Did it march with the territory of the Ἰρίης or Ἱερῆς? And is this latter identical with the territory of Anthele? Was the king encamped upon high, or upon low ground? Would the Persians have failed to occupy the village of Anthele itself? Would not at least the fore-posts of the Persians be in actual occupation of the position above assigned to the Amphiktyonic buildings?

οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ the word *diōdos* does not serve in any way to locate the position, as it would apply equally to all positions 'on the road' between the Phoinix, or Anthele, and Alpenoi. The name 'Thermopylai,' however, accords best with a position at 'the Middle Gate,' to which the strategic and tactical considerations inevitably point, cp c 176 *supra*

3 καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος. is the 'place' in question specifically the site of the Greek encampment? or is it generally the whole *diōdos*? or is it anything between the two? The answer is not clear, but the first alternative commends itself, albeit as a matter of fact the term Thermopylai appears to be constantly used, both in ancient and in modern times, loosely, for the whole *diōdos*. But were the Greeks posted exactly at a spot named 'Thermopylai'? They were posted probably on rising ground somewhat to the east of the *θερμὰ λουτρά*. The hot sulphur springs, in fact, were not in the immediate vicinity of any of the three points, in the whole *diōdos*, which are the defensible points, or 'gates', still, they were nearest to the 'Middle Gate'. Hdt does not clearly indicate the presence of buildings, of a village, or town, at this point here, but in c 176 *supra* there is 'the Altar of Herakles,' there are the 'Chytroi,' there is 'the Phokian Wall,' about the Middle Gate, and there may have been something more of a village, called 'Thermopylai,' or locally 'Pylai' (rather for the sake of brachylogy than as denying the proximity of the hot springs), than appears on the surface of

the narrative. But the term ἐπιχώριοι should imply 'inhabitants,' especially in distinction to *περίουκοι*, or dwellers in the neighbouring villages and towns. This passage was originally quite independent of c. 176, and of earlier composition apparently, and the assertion of a local variant, which ought to be the more correct, not the less correct, name for the place, is no proof of a personal visit by Hdt to the place. Is it even quite certain that he has correctly reported the use of the names? A third name was certainly applied to the *diōdos*, or to some part of it, viz τὸ στενόν, or στενά cp Strabo 428 τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρόδον Πύλας καλοῦσι καὶ Στενά καὶ Θερμοπύλας. The local names ought to show not less but more precision than the language of the Hellenes at large. The three names admirably fit the three gates, which local knowledge would be able clearly to distinguish, though the Hellenes at large could not be expected to do so. Πύλαι would serve for the western entrance to the *ἀρόδος*, or *diōdos*, a roadway winding under the cliff for the best part of a mile: Thermopylai might be applied to the middle gate (οἱ *diōdos* proper), from its greater proximity to the *θερμὰ λουτρά*: while Στενά exactly suits the eastern gate, which in antiquity was the narrowest passage of the three. If this conjecture is right, Hdt has not fully or correctly reported the nomenclature. The difference is not primarily between a local and a general usage, nor is it restricted to the use of two terms. Full local usage distinguished the three gates by three different names. It is further possible that for the pass as a whole, while local usage contented itself with the term Πύλαι, Greece at large was more apt to speak of it as Θερμοπύλαι.

5 ἑκάτεροι ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις. the plural (ἑκάτεροι) marks the fact that 'each' is in this case a noun of multitude *χωρίον*, so far as it differs from *χώρος* above, fortifies the suggestion that there were buildings in each place.

6 τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμὸν ἔχόντων

ἀνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οὐ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

- 202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἷδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς 5 Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειούντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ

8 <τε> καὶ Naber, van H || τὸ om B || τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης erasa d  
202 2 τε om B 4 τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς suspicatur Kallenberg 6  
Φλειούντος α, Stein<sup>2</sup> φλιούντος SV, Stein<sup>1</sup> φιλιούντος R· Φλυούντος z ||  
ὀπλῖται ante καὶ CPz || Μυκηνέων? Stein<sup>2</sup> 'forte ἀπὸ Μυκηνέων' van H

πάντων there is a slight exaggeration in assigning to Xeïxes *all* the territories north of Trachis, to the Greeks all the south, even in Europe, but the sense is sufficiently obvious. Noi is the orientation seriously at fault, for Thessaly, Makedonia, etc., lie strictly north of Thermopylai, and Lokis, Phokis, Boiotia, Attica and Peloponnesos are correctly described as to the south of it. The case is different in dealing with the topography of Thermopylai (cp c. 176 *supra*), but this, the earlier passage, which has in view simply the larger geographical relations, no doubt determines the incorrect orientation of the pass itself. So in c. 199 above, the Asopos-διασφάξ is described as πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, and in c. 176 *supra* the mountain is put on 'the west' and the sea on 'the east' side of Thermopylai, instead of on the south and north respectively. The geographical ἔχειν is noticeable μέχρι Τρηχίνος preserves the Persian, or northern, point of view.

8. τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου, apparently a quasi-adverbial expression. ἡπειρος is either 'mainland' in distinction, for example, to sea and island (2 10, 6, 49, c. 193 *supra*), in which case it would here exclude Euboea, which was still in Greek hands, or it is used more largely for 'continent' (1 96, 4 91), as much as to say that the Lord of Asia was now Lord of Europe too, north of Thermopylai-Artemision. How little was left to the Greeks in comparison!

202 THE GREEK ARMY-LIST AT THERMOPYLAI.

2 ὀπλῖται. The specification almost implies some ψιλοί, οἱ at least attendants. Helots anyway there were, at least one for each hoplite, cp c. 229 *infra*, 8 25 Ephoros [Diod 11 4] added 1000 Περιοῖκοι, 'in order to equate the number of Peloponnesians in this c. and in c. 228 *infra*' (Stein). It is impossible to suppose that there were only 300 men from Lakedaïmon. On the 'Three Hundred' cp c. 205 *infra*.

3 χῆλοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων. Stein denies that this remarkable expression justifies any inference to a connexion between the states Tegea and Mantinea were very apt to be at daggers drawn. The two contingents at least look as if they were intended to balance each other, and as if the cities were equipollent, each sending 500 men.

4 τῆς Ἀρκαδίας to distinguish from Orchomenos in Boiotia, cp 8 34. It furnishes less than a quarter of the contingent from Tegea or Mantinea.

ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos, in order from south to north, account for the population of the great eastern plain of Arkadia, the larger land, to the west and north, is mountainous on the higher SW. plain Megalopolis as yet was not, but the upper valley of the Alpheios may have sent some men. It is hardly safe to specify ten names from which to draw the thousand (e.g. Asea, Phigalia, Aliphera, Heraia, Thelpusa, Kleitor, Psophis, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Kaphyai). Arkadia sends in all 2120. (There were no Arkadians at sea.)

7. ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου: only 3100 in

Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.  
 πρὸς <τε> τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι 203  
 πανστρατιῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτόθεν γὰρ σφέας οἱ

203 1 τε add. Stein<sup>(2)</sup> 3 || οἱ om B 2 αὐτόθεν γὰρ σφέας Stein<sup>3</sup>  
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας Stein<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας Stein<sup>1</sup>, vulg || ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες C οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέοντο B

all, cp c. 220 *infra*. The 80 men from **Μύκηναι** represent the relatively feeble protest against the policy of Argos, cp c 148 *supra*. Perhaps Μύκηναι could ill spare any men, in view of possible complications with its neighbour **Κορίνθ** was also represented in the fleet, 8 1, service in which may account for the absence of some names from the army-list, as well as for the relatively large proportion of Αἰκιδῆες.

ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν there are no Αἰκιδῆες, cp c 144 *supra*, 8 1 *infra*. On the Thespian 700 cp c 222, on the Theban 400 cp c 233.

203. 1. ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο this phrase, here applied to the Lokrians and Phokians, in whose territory the fighting was to be, might rather have been applied to the southern Greeks summoned to their defence; cp. 5 63 ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐπικουρήν. The idea is here inverted, or the Spartans are regarded as leaders taking initiative οἱ Ὀπούντιοι. Hdt does not distinguish Opuntian from Epiknemidian Lokrians; cp c 176 *supra*. Doubtless both are here included, but not the Ozolai.

2 πανστρατιῇ Diodor. 11 4 (Ephoros) gives the figure as 1000. Pausanias 10 20 2 (obviously with this passage of Hdt in view) arrives by a calculation at 6000. There is, of course, as a special reason for the *levée en masse* from the Lokrians, the fact that the fighting line is actually in their country: thus there is something to be said for the higher figure, it is not, however, based by Pausanias on any local returns, but on the vague analogy of the Athenian figure for Marathon. It raises the total, with the 1000 Phokians, to 11,200 men, taking Hdt.'s figures as they stand, or to upwards of 12,000 men, adding a thousand Lakedaemonians. Even if the Lokrian contingent should be halved there would be from 9000 to 10,000 men, probably, to reckon under Leonidas: as many, that is, as had disposed of the Persians at Marathon.

Diodor 11. 4 gives the total at 7400 made up of 4000 from Peloponnesos, 1000 Lokrians, 1000 Malians, 1000 Phokians, 400 Thebans. The presence of the Malians and the absence of the Thespians, *inter alia*, is against this list, but at least it corrects the underestimate for Sparta. On the whole we cannot suppose that Leonidas had less than 8000 men under him, and he may very well have had 10,000 to 12,000.

αὐτόθεν γὰρ—λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων does this message, or embassy, emanate from the confederates at the Isthmos, or from Leonidas, already at Thermopylai? Apparently the latter. The story seems almost to assume that the Lokrians and Phokians had not been represented at the Isthmian Congress, and were now first summoned by the Confederates to their aid. Diod. 11. 4 6 says definitely that the Lokrians had given earth and water, and were pledged to seize the passes for the Persian, but that on the arrival of Leonidas at Thermopylai they changed their mind and joined the Greeks. The summons is highly argumentative: the argument is thoroughly Herodotean.

Three or four points in the message or proclamation of Leonidas are notable (1) The Greek forces at Thermopylai are only the vanguard of a large army that may be expected any day. This item seems relative to the idea that the forces under Leonidas were small, without the Phokians and Lokrians they certainly were, and the tradition is incidentally confirmed by 8. 40 (ii) The sea is being guarded by the Athenians, Aiginetans, and naval powers, a point of which the Lokrians would themselves have ocular evidence, if this message only dates from the arrival of Leonidas at Thermopylai (iii) The invader was human, mortal, not supernatural, not a god—a strange point! Did the humour of the Hellespont (c 56 *supra*) require this solemn refutation? Or would the Greeks take courage from the consideration that 'mortality is mixed

"Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν 5 προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην, ἣ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινήτων καὶ τῶν <ἄλλων τῶν> ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον, εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ 10 ἔσσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμείχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς ἐόντα θνητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

204 Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew

5 πᾶσάν εἰσι α 6 φρουρουμένη R 7 ἄλλων τῶν Stein<sup>3</sup>  
 10 γενέσθαι Naber || γενομένῳ α (γενομένῳ V<sup>1</sup>) || συνεμείχθη van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>.  
 συνεμίχθη Stein<sup>1 2</sup> 11 ὀφείλει S 12 ὥς om B || πεσέειν α ||  
 ἄν del Krueger, Holder, van H. 13 ἐβώθειον van H (passim)  
 204 1 τούτοις μὲν νυν ἦσαν mahit van H || πόλεις B 2 ἐκάστοις?  
 Stein<sup>2</sup> || θωμαζόμενος Pz, Stein<sup>1</sup> θαναζόμενος d 3 ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος?  
 Stein<sup>2</sup> || Λεωνίδας S

with evil, the greater the mortal, the greater the evil? A far-fetched comfort! but truly Herodotean. The change in construction (ὥς . ἤκοιεν, εἶεν, εἴη τις, to οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κτλ) coincides with the transit from fact to argument. The message is, however, radically inconsistent with the panic on the fleet, c 183 *supra* ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ appears tautologous

13. ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα is this the city for the land (Τρηχινίην), or did Leonidas first go to Trachis, and afterwards fall back on Thermopylai? Stein takes the latter view, and refers to c. 226, which proves nothing the former, more consistent with the general narrative, is supported by μέχρι Τρηχίνος *supra*, cp 9 17 etc

204 1 τούτοις . ἐκάστων, a singular collocation τούτων ἐκάστους or τούτοις ἐκάστοις (4 62) would have seemed more natural. ἐκάστων of course goes with πόλεις ('according to their several cities') Perhaps Hdt. purposely uses a slightly arresting form of expression, the better to emphasize the entrance of Leonidas, hence also the inconsequential ἦσαν μὲν, ὁ δέ.

2 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος applies only to the land-force, without prejudice to the command of the fleet, cp 8 2, but thereby serves to mark a defect in the leading

3 Λακεδαιμόνιος the word used appropriately here, as contrasting him, not with other orders in the Spartan state, but with the strategoi of the various other Hellenic contingents Cp. c. 134 *supra*

Λεωνίδης Wen Smyth, p. 160, notes this (with Λεωβάτης (sic), Λεωνυχίδης) as a 'surprising' Ionism. Stein (ad l) regards Λέων Λέοντος (1 65) as Ionic for supposed Doric Λᾶν or Λᾶς=λαός (Ion. λαός), having nothing to say to a lion. But lion or not, the Ionic flexion is wrong, and the name should at least be Λεοντίδης or Λεοντιάδης (c 205 *infra*). What the king's name properly was, then, we hardly know: perhaps Λανίδας.

ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew κτλ there follows the pedigree of 'Leonidas,' right up to Herakles, twenty-one names in all, or seven centuries, on Herodotean principles (2. 142), thus dating Herakles but to the year 1180 B C The pedigree of Hekataios was shorter (2. 143), but the

τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυ-  
κράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ 5  
Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώτew τοῦ

5 τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος om. B || ἀλκαίμενος α || τηλέκτου  
A (et Ask.) 6 δωρύσσου C Δορνάγου z || Λεωβώτew Stein. λεωβότew

sixteen generations would just take Leonidas back to Eurysthenes and the founding of the twin-kingships (6 52)

This pedigree is the *ne plus ultra* use of the patronymic, and doubtless does Leonidas an especial honour. The same compliment is, however, paid to the less illustrious Leotyichidas, 8 131 *infra*, and in any case the problem arises why these Herakleid pedigrees—the most famous in Hellas—are first introduced in the history of the war of 480-479 B.C. Is it not because this portion of Hdt's work is the oldest in composition? Cp Introduction, § 8. That hypothesis would at any rate fully sustain the fact. The Herakleid pedigree of the Spartan kings compares favourably with the Achaimenid pedigree of Xerxes himself, as given c 11 *supra*, which runs, in the direct line, only into seven generations. The names in the pedigree of Leonidas are also names of kings of Sparta, as far as Eurysthenes, though to complete the list of kings the name of his elder brother Kleomenes must be inserted, immediately before his own.

Ἀναξανδρίδew cc. 148, 158 *supra*. He must have died between 521 and 515 B.C. (cp. 5 39, 49, with my notes *ad l.*), and was on the throne probably as early as 550 B.C. (1 67)

4 Λέοντος: as in 5. 39 and 1 65. His reign falls before the age of Kroisos apparently. His name can hardly mean 'People'. Cp c 180 *supra*

Εὐρυκρατίδew is grandson of Eurykrates, even as Leonidas (or Leontidas?) of Leon. He appears in Pausan 3 3 5 as Eukrates ὁ δεύτερος.

Ἀναξάνδρου: the name (so thoroughly Homeric) reappears in his great-grandson Anaxandridas Pausanias, 3 3. 4, etc., makes him contemporary with the second Messenian war, and has several anecdotes to tell of him, and Plutarch ascribes to him a virtuous apophthegm, *Mor.* 217

5. Πολυδώρου dated by Pausan 3. 3 1, 4 7. 7 to the time of the 'first'

Messenian war, and credited by Plutarch (*Lykourg.* 8) with having raised the Spartan land-lots to 9000. (This would be part of the Lykourgean legend.) He is recorded to have been murdered by Polemarchos, Pausan 3. 3. 3 Cp Clinton, 1 338

Ἀλκαμένεος, said to have commanded in the first expedition of the Messenian war. Pausan 4. 5. 3. Clinton, 1 338, reckons his reign about 779-742 B.C. Of course little reliance can be placed on the traditions of the Messenian wars, the only distinct reference to which in Hdt is 3 47

Τηλέκλου his name was especially remembered in connexion with the war against Amyklai, and he fell in a border brawl with the Messenians, according to the story in Pausan 4 4 2, cp Clinton, 1 337

6 Ἀρχέλεω an influential contemporary of Charilaos (a rather suspicious synchronism), cp Clinton, 1 336 Eusebios gives him a reign of 60 years (885-826 B.C.) Niese *ap* Pauly-Wissowa, 1 446. He was credited with a jest on Charilaos' name. Plutarch, *Lyk* 5. With his colleague he was believed to have reduced Argys

Ἡγησίλεω Pausanias dated the legislation of Lykourgos to the reign of Agesilaos, and gave the king a short reign, Apollodoros a long one, and made Homer his contemporary. Cp. Clinton, 1 335 f.

Δορύσσου: Pausanias and Apollodoros have a similar difference on the duration of this king's reign. Clinton, 1 335

Λεωβώτew Hdt, our oldest authority, places Lykourgos as guardian of Labotas, 1. 65. This is quite as respectable a tradition as the rival and later one (now traced to King Pausanias; cp E Meyer, *Forschungen*, 1 215 ff) which brought Lykourgos down several generations, and transferred him to the Eurypontid house. Pausanias 3 2. 3 places an Argive war in this reign, perhaps rather prematurely.

Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἥγιος τοῦ Εὐρυσθένης τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου. 205 διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεος τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ,

7 ἄρχεστράτου d || ἥγιος Cd. ἡγήσιος B  
Naber

205 4 <περι>έοντος

7. Ἐχεστράτου Pausan 3 2 2 makes the war with Aigos for the 'Kynouria' begin in this reign

Ἥγιος the eponym of the house, Pausan. 3. 2 1 perhaps historical, and the first historical name. He was credited with the conquest of Helos and the foundation of 'Helotage'. Strabo 365 f. Clinton (i. 332) should have the credit of raising the one year of his reign (Diodoros) to 31 (Niese *ap* Pauly-Wissowa, i 817 ascribes the correction to Gutschmid<sup>1</sup>)

Εὐρυσθένης the story in 6 51 f; cp 4 147. In 5 39 the elder House is called τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένης, and in 6. 52 ἡ οἰκὴ ἡ Εὐρ. He had an (ideal) reign of 42, if not 52, years, cp Clinton, i 333. For the story of the origin of the dual kingships cp notes and Appendix to Hdt IV-VI

Ἀριστοδήμου: cp 6 52, where the Spartan tradition is given, according to which Aristodemus himself was king in Lakonia. The name recurs below c 229, and also later in Spartan history.

8. Κλεοδαίου. Pausan 3 15 7 mentions an ἥρωον of Kleodaios, son of Hyllos, in Sparta, 'near the theatre'. Apollod 2 8 2 records an unsuccessful attempt on his part to effect 'the return'

Ἰλλου the story of the attempt of Hyllos to effect 'the return' is sufficiently documented, 9 26 *infra*. See notes *ad l.*

Ἡρακλέος. cp 6 53, where the antecedents of the human Herakles carry the antecedents of the Spartan kings back, through Perseus and Danae, to Egypt. That is an extension of the official Herakleid, or at least Lakedaemonian version, of the pedigree, which is all that Hdt. gives in this place, and perhaps naturally. But the discussion in Bk. 6 presupposes the existence of the genealogies here, and fortifies the

conclusion that this passage is of earlier composition, cp Introduction, § 8

9 κτησάμενος ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου Leonidas is mentioned, and the circumstances of his birth, 5 41, but not the story or even the fact of his succession, partly, perhaps, that he was so famous, but rather because Hdt. had already committed the facts to writing in this passage

With the expression ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου cp c 205 ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος and I 111 ἐξ ἀέλπτου

205 1. διξῶν. Ionic for δισῶν, 'twofold,' 'double'. Used here simply for two —perhaps the more easily as the two are brothers and πρεσβυτέρων. cp c 70 *supra*

2 ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος there seems no specially temporal force in the pluperfect, but merely an intensification of the point, 'he was utterly removed from thought'. The idea of succeeding had never occurred to him. For the verb in a less metaphorical sense cp. 6 130 ἀπελαινόμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου.

3. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος the story told 6 75. The absence of all reference back is here noticeable, cp Introduction, § 7

ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου an iambic dimeter, perhaps accidental. He left a daughter, as at once appears

Δωριέος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ: not that Kleomenes had died in Sicily; ἐν Σ is epeexegetical. The fact has already been referred to, c 158. The story is fully told in 5. 42-47. That there is no reference here to c 158 is not surprising, but that in neither place is any reference to the story as fully told in 5. 42-47 is most easily accounted for by the supposition that that passage is of later composition, and was not in writing when Bk 7 was composed: Introduction, § 8.



οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλήϊη, καὶ διότι πρότερος 5  
ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew  
παῖς) καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. δς τότε ἦμε  
ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστῶτας  
τρηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἑόντες· παραλαβὼν

5 λεωνίδαν S || 'διότι καὶ sin minus post καὶ δὴ καὶ inserendum ὅτι'  
van H. 8 τοὺς del Gomperz, van H

5 ἀνέβαινε cp c. 5 *supra*

καὶ διότι a stylistic displacement (διότι καὶ . καὶ) Two reasons are given for the succession of Leonidas (1) he was older than Kleombrotos, (2) he had the daughter of Kleomenes to wife (εἶχε) Did Hdt know, when he first wrote this passage, that, according to one report, Kleombrotos and Leonidas were twins, (5 21)? Did he know the lady's name? (cp. c. 239 *infra*) The influence ascribed to the marriage here is remarkable, and the closeness of the relationship. But there is a suppressed problem, which becomes apparent 9 10 *infra* Dorieus, the elder brother had a son, Euryanax, who must have had some pretensions to succeed Dorieus, indeed, had never been king, and perhaps the 'law' reported c. 3 *supra* was invented, or invoked, on this occasion, though it was far from being of universal application (cp. 8. 131). Anyway, there was plainly a question over the succession on the death of Kleomenes, but rather, perhaps, between Leonidas and Euryanax than between Leonidas and Kleombrotos.

8 ἐπιλεξάμενος Hdt. speaks as though Leonidas on this occasion selected these Three Hundred men, *ad hoc*, and took care that they were *pères de famille* (ces pères de famille sont capables de tout!) But are οἱ κατεστῶτες τρηκόσιοι others than the τρηκόσιοι Σπαρτιηγέων λογάδες οὗτοι οἱ περ ἱππῆες καλέονται of 8 124 *infra* (u.v)? κατεστῶτες is here understood by Baehr as men 'of mature age' (so, too, K O Mueller, Grote, and others). Larcher, on the other hand (followed by Stein), preferred "le corps fixe et permanent" The word ἐπιλεξάμενος here looks like a misunderstanding of λογάδες, and also like a beginning of the Thermopylai legend, according to which Leonidas went thither with his mind made up for a *devotio* (cp c. 220 *infra*), a point

further emphasized by the words next annotated

9 καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἑόντες· if the previous words are understood (with Baehr) to record correctly a special levy or selection made by the king on this occasion, then these words occasion no difficulty, as merely specifying one of the most important conditions governing his choice. If the Three Hundred above are identified with the 'Knights' or 'Cavaliers,' then these words admit of three explanations (1) It was one of the ordinary and standing conditions of appointment to the rank of 'cavalier' to have a son. This is not improbable. The Cavaliers were the king's body-guard, and it was necessary that they should die for him in extremities—which they would be the more ready to do if they had sons to succeed them in Sparta (ii.) Or it might be supposed that upon this occasion, though the Cavaliers are the *corps d'élite* referred to, yet those who were not *patres* were on this occasion weeded out, and their places taken by *patres familiarum*. This compromise is surely very unlikely, and objectionable, *inter alia*, as a concession to the Thermopylai legend above specified (iii.) The words do not refer to the Three Hundred, but to others, selected in addition to them. This interpretation would imply a larger number of Spartiates at Thermopylai than Hdt includes in the army-list, perhaps the Thousand, of Diodoros 11. 4—not, indeed, in itself a fatal objection. We should simply have the Thermopylai legend still, in one degree more developed towards its Ephoreian form. But then ἐπιλεξάμενος would apply only to the second set, though that again is not a fatal objection. The simplest interpretation is, however, the best. The Three Hundred in question were the *hyppeis*, and went with the king as a matter of course, but Hdt has a little misunderstood the arrangement. For the *ἱππεῖς* cp. 1. 67, 6. 56, 8. 124.

- 10 δὲ ἀπῖκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος  
εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε δὲ  
εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους Ἑλλήνων  
παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν· παρε-  
κάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπεμψουσι  
15 εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην.  
οἱ δὲ ἄλλα φρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.
- 206 Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν  
Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύ-  
ωνται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται  
ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δέ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδών,

10 ἀπῖκετο α || ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ut glossema damnavit van H 11  
δὲ om. B 12 τούτους R τούτου αS του cum τ superscr. V ||  
μόρους C 15 ἀπαίρουσιν B 16 ἄλλα φρονέοντες B, Holder,  
van H, Stein<sup>3</sup>. ἀλλοφρονέοντες α, Stein<sup>1,2</sup> 206 2 <ἐς> τούτους  
Naber, van H || ὀρέοντες Stein<sup>1</sup> || στρατεύονται B 3 μὴ δὲ ABPz ||  
πυνθάνονται R 4 κάρνια B

10 τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος  
εἶπον, in c 202 *supra* the expression  
illustrates the εἶπον in c 196 *supra*, the  
reference back is noticeable as made  
simply to the immediate context.

11. Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου the  
first name is much the same as that of  
the Spartan king, cp c 204 *supra*  
The Theban is mentioned here, perhaps,  
without prejudice, but cp c 233 *infra*.  
He is son of one and father of another  
Eurymachos Aristophanes of Boeotia  
gave the commander's name as Anax-  
andros, *Fr.* 5 (*F H G* iv 338)

τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα Hdt's motivation  
(but it is probably not his own in the  
first instance) seems rather at fault  
Leonidas is especially anxious to have  
the Thebans (under his namesake) with  
him because they were accused as traitors  
Did he wish to give them an opportunity  
of purging themselves? Or did he wish  
to involve them in the foreseen and im-  
pending disaster? Neither of the two  
he simply wished to know whether the  
accusation was, or was not, true! He  
seems (according to Hdt) to have be-  
lieved it, for later on he is represented  
as retaining them to the last as 'host-  
ages,' c 222 *infra*, u v.

13. κατηγόρητο the pluperfect here  
has its full temporal significance But  
how far a formal κατηγόρια, and how far  
mere gossip is in question, does not quite  
surely appear. Anyway the information

was probably of Plataean or Athenian  
origin Had not the Thebans been  
formally represented at the Isthmian  
Congress (c 145 *supra*)?

16 ἄλλα φρονέοντες cp App Cui, ἄλλα νοέοντες, c 168 *supra*, ἄλλα φρονέοντες, 9 54, ἀλλοφρονήσαι in 5 85 to be out of one's mind Anyway Hdt endorses the κατηγόρια

206 1 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην, 'Leonidas and his men', allies as well as Spartans? On the preposition, Madvig, § 72 The usage has Homeric analogues, cp Monro, *Homeric Grammar*,<sup>1</sup> p 130

ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτιῆται the king then did not possess, or had not taken, initiative, cp 6 56 The city (ἡ πόλις), Apella or Ephors, must have acted

2 οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι the ἄλλοι is perhaps idiomatic or superfluous here, otherwise it will mean allies outside the Peloponnesos, or, possibly, may refer especially to the naval allies (Athens included), the Spartans sent men to Thermopylai in order to get the fleet stationed at Artemision

4. Κάρνεια a festival celebrated in the Καρνείος μῆν, ἱερομηνία Δωριέων, Thuc 5 54. 2 (cp *epusd* 5 75. 2, 5. 76 1). This month corresponded to the Athenian Metageitnion (Manso, *Sparta*, i. ii 215, after Corsini), or approximately to our August: a description of the festival, which lasted nine days, was celebrated under nine tents, with nine

ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ 5  
κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν  
συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ  
κατὰ τῶντ' Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα·  
οὐκ ἔμελλον δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν  
Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους. οὗτοι μὲν 207  
δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες,  
ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδούντες

6 βοηθήσιν B, Holder βωθήσιν van H || πανδημί α, Holder, van H,  
Stein<sup>3</sup> πανδημί 7 ἐνένωντο Reiske ἐνένωντο Bz· ἐνένωντο P:  
ἐνένωντο α· ἐνένωντο Merzdorf 207 2 διενένωντο Reiske:  
διενένωντο BPCorr z διενένωντο Ppr διενένωντο α 3 ἐγένετο B

men in each, etc., is given by Athenaeus, 4 141, from Demetrios of Skepsis, it was, curtly, a *μήμημα στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς*, but, it was properly prae-Dorian (and probably then a pastoral cult *κάρνος*, a ram), for Pausanias, 3 13 2, testifies to the cult of the *Οἰκέτας Κάρνειος* in Sparta, *Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν Σπάρτην* Cp Schoemann-Lipsius, II 474 ff; Wide, *Lakon. Kultur*, 73 ff, Hitzig-Blumner *ad* Pausan 1 c, and Frazer, III 332 Stein observes that the *Καινεῖα* "ended shortly before the beginning of the *Olympia*", Rawlinson notes that "the *Olympia* ordinarily preceded the *Karneia*" *ἐμποδόν*, 'in the way'; cp c 183 *supra* Here perhaps neither of time nor space, but rather of an ideal hindrance, obstacle, or *causa moriae*

5 ὀρτάσαντες, 'when they had finished the festival.' The aorist here appears to have the force of a pluperfect, expressing not so much past time as completion, Monro, *H G.* p. 48

φυλακὰς λιπόντες against whom? the Helots? Argos? Both factors had to be reckoned with, and help to explain the reluctance of Sparta to move beyond the Isthmos

6 κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημί how long before the *Karneia* the force was despatched to Thermopylai is not clearly indicated The more time elapsed since its departure, the more need of hurry after the feast The full forces would presumably be the normal two-thirds, cp. 9 10 *infra*, the remaining third would serve to garrison the city.

οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων not the same as οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι above, but the Peloponnesian allies who were λοιποὶ from the point of view of the *πρόδρομοι*, cp. c. 203 *supra*.

7 ἐνένωντο, i.e. ἐνένωντο. There seems no especial temporal force in the pluperfect, but we can maintain the passive form, 'were minded', cp διενένωντο *infra* A deponent middle may be conjectured (*ἐννοοῦμαι*), in 1. 77 the word occurs as a true passive

8 Ὀλυμπιάς the 75th It has been calculated that the fifth and last day of the festival in 480 B.C. fell on August 19, by our reckoning, cp Busolt, *G.r. Gesch.* II<sup>2</sup> 674 n

As a chronological indicium this notice is of supreme importance, cp. Appendix V § 2 (d)

How far the *κωλύματα θεῶν* were *bona fide* and truly grounds of action, or inaction, in 480 B.C. it is hard to say, in the record they have a decidedly apologetic ring, but the apology, the real reason, alike go to show that the defence of Thermopylai-Artemision was (1) seriously meant, and (2) believed at the time to have been adequately provided. These points are important in view of the later form of the Thermopylai legend, which represented the fiasco as a deliberately foregone event

207 3 ὁ Πέρσης. cp just below *στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων*, a curious variation, perhaps correct Hdt uses Πέρσης Μήδων occurs in the message from the Hellenes. Xerxes heard in Thessaly of the occupation of Thermopylai, c. 196 *supra*, 208 *infra*.

καταρρωδούντες ἀπαλλαγῆς notwithstanding their valiant message in c. 203 *supra*, they are as poor-spirited as their brethren at Artemision, c. 183 *supra*! It might be supposed that Leonidas sent the message, while the allies are here to blame; but Hdt speaks of οἱ Ἕλληνες in both cases If there is

ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελο-  
 5 ποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν  
 ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δέ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων  
 τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέ-  
 λους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθεῖν, ὡς ἐόντων  
 αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208 Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον  
 ἱππεία ιδέσθαι ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὃ τι ποίειον. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι  
 ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ὡς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ  
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων  
 5 γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, ἐθελείτο τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες

4, 5 πελοποννησίοισι et πελοπόννησον Rcl 6 περισπερχθέντων  
 Valckenaer, Holder, van H περισπερχέων ἐόντων Schaefer 8  
 κελεύοντας σφίσι? van H || ἐπιβοηθεῖν σφιν B 9 τὸν τῶν B  
 208 1 σφέων αὐτῶν Krueger 'An delendum?' van H 2 ὅσοι α ||  
 εἶεν Valckenaer || ἀκηκόεε z ἡκηκόεε codd (ἡκίκοε S?) || ἔων ἔτι B  
 3 ἀλίσκομένη C 6 ἐθελείτο . . στρατόπεδον om R

any historical background for the panic at this point, perhaps a council of war was held in view of the fleet having left Artemision (if it did leave Artemision) in consequence of the storm. If so, the fleet was probably represented at the council. In any case the fact that Leonidas does not evacuate Thermopylai shows that the fleet was intending to return to Artemision, weather permitting.

5 ἐδόκεε, not ἐδοξε—it is not pretended that they went as far as that. This is the first explicit mention of the plan to make the Isthmos the actual line of defence, a plan which must have been fully considered before the Greeks went to Thermopylai and Artemision, cp. cc 175, 177 *supra*. This observation further discredits the narrative in this place.

6. Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων. the verb σπέρχεσθαι would here give περισπερχθέντων, cp σπερχθεῖς l 32, εσπέρχετο 5 33 περισπερχέειν would be from adj περισπερχής. (So Stein, after Baehr, after Valckenaer.) The zeal of the Phokians and Lokrians discredits the story of their earlier medism (cp c 132 *supra*), and supports the conjecture that they contributed largely to the garrison at Thermopylai.

7. ἐψηφίζετο he had not merely to

give a vote, but to make the decision,

cp 9 55 ψηφίζεσθαι μὴ φεύγειν

9 ἀλέξασθαι. as if from ἀλέκω Contr. ἀλεξήσόμενοι, 8 81, 108

208 2 ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὃ τι ποίειον. the 'being' indicative, the 'doing' optative, the one categorical, the other conjectural. Stein refers to 5 13 *times* εἰσὶ καὶ τί ἐθέλοντες ἐλθοῖεν. Baehr to c 203 *supra*.

4 Λεωνίδης ἔων γένος Ἡρακλείδης. gratifying intelligence to the Achaemenid Demaratos would have explained its full significance. Xerxes must have been well served by Thessalian scouts, or Argive traitors, in his intelligence-department.

5 ὁ ἱππεὺς. Was only a single rider sent out on this reconnaissance? That will scarcely have been the case. Xerxes is *ex hypothesi* at Trachis. The reconnoitring party will have made its way round through the 'West Gate,' and along the road, past the *θερμὰ λουντρά* to the slope up to the Middle Gate. The Persians, however, are probably in actual occupation of the West Gate, of the hill above it (c 200), and of the low ground as far as 'Thermopylai,' or at least the 'Chytroi.' The king, however, would be to the rear.

7. τοῦ τείχεος cp c. 176

εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν 10 δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενίζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξην τά περ ὀπώπεε πάντα. ἀκούων δὲ 209 Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοία γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης 5

12 ἐθώμαζε BCz, Stein<sup>2</sup> ἐθώμαζε BACorr, Stein<sup>1</sup> (sic) ἐθαύμαζε Apr.  
13 πάντα ταῦτα Pdz 14 ἐνεκήρυσσε d ἐκύρησε Valckenaer,  
Holder, van H 15 τε: δὲ Cdz || ξέρξεα BPz, van H 209 2  
παρασκευάζοντο B, Holder παρασκευαζοῖατο van H. 5 μιν om B ||  
ἡρώτα CPz

8 δ δέ. the resumed subject with δέ corresponding to πᾶν μὲν οὐ above, cp c 6 l. 21 *supra*

10. Λακεδαιμόνιοι probably without reference to οἱ κατεστέωτες τριηκόσιοι in c. 205, and a valuable hint that there was a Lakedaemonian force present (1000 strong?) besides the king's bodyguard, cp c 202 *supra*, Diodor 11 4 5. Evidently the contingents each in turn was posted outside the wall, and 'piled' their shields, apparently, while on sentry-go. The exact number on duty at a time is not stated, nor the number reported by the Persian. Possibly Hdt himself, like most of his commentators, understands that the 300 Spartans were all on duty outside the wall, and that the scout mistook them for the whole Greek force (a patent absurdity on the face of it). The story is, of course, all designed *in maiorem gloriam Spartanorum*.

11 γυμναζομένους . . κτενίζομένους, "corpus exercentes, comam pectentes," Baehr (κτεῖς). These employments appear to have astonished the barbarian. The superb explanation follows in the next chapter with Hellenic irony.

14. ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς. The construction is observable, cp 4 140. The dative in 4 123, 2 82, 3 77 and c 218 *infra*. Blakesley is puzzled by the use of the compound with the regimen of the simple verb, and suggests that the preposition has only the force of the

English 'withal' (but that suggests rather συγκυρεῖν). Hdt is no slave to grammar; cp c 192 *supra*.

On the material side, was this ἀλογία altogether creditable to the Greek lookout? Perhaps the officer was still more astonished thereby. Does it mean that the Spartans had made up their minds to die, and nothing mattered? Is it an exaggeration, due to the 'legend'?

Diodoros 11. 5 4 instead of the single scout makes Xerxes send envoys to demand the surrender of the Greeks, and reports a very rhetorical reply on their part that is genuine Ephoros.

209. 2 εἶχε, 1 q ἐδύνατο cp. Hdt's own οὐκ ἔχω c 133 *supra*, etc.

τὸ ἐόν, 'the truth,' the fact. cp. c. 237 *infra* τῷ ἐόντι ὅτι . .

3. γελοία the absurdity must surely have lain in the paucity of the force on guard rather than in their gymnastic exercises and care of their persons.

4 Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος the patronymic again, which is such an especial compliment in the case of this exile. Cp cc 3, 101 *supra*. Is the story here from the same source as the stories of Demaratos in *Ilc*? Here he seems to be merely a part of the Lakedaemonian legend of Thermopylai. The assumption that all the passages in which Demaratos figures are necessarily from one source is by no means inevitable. Cp. note to c 239 *infra*.

ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μεν, εὖτε  
 ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας  
 δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθου λέγοντα τῇ περ ὧρων ἐκβησόμενα [πρή-  
 10 γματα] ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ  
 βασιλεῦ ἀγὼν μέγιστος ἐστί. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες.  
 οὔτοι ἀπικάται μαχησόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα  
 παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφί ἔχων οὕτω ἐστί· ἐπεὰν  
 μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται.  
 15 ἐπίστασο δέ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεῦ  
 ὑπομενεῖ χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆην τε  
 [καὶ] καλλίστην [πόλιν] τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι προσφέρεαι καὶ  
 ἀνδρας ἀρίστους.” κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξῃ ἀπιστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ

6 μαθεῖν Bz 8 ὀρμῶμεν Pz· ὀρμῶμεν ceteri ὀρμῶμεν St<sup>on</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 9 λέγοντά περ R λέγοντα τά περ Schweighauser, Baehr, Stein<sup>1</sup> || τῇ  
 περ Stein<sup>2</sup> τῇ περ ('divinatio Reiskii' Wesseling) Bekker, Dindorf κατάπερ  
 Reiske || τὰ πρήγματα Krueger, van H πρήγματα secl Stein<sup>3</sup> 11  
 ὁ βασιλεῦ B, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder, van H 13 τερασκευάζονται R (Stein)  
 τερασσευάζονται V (Holder) γέρας σκευάζονται S (Gaisf<sup>3</sup>) || οὕτω ἔχων B,  
 Holder, van H. ἔχων om C 14 κοσμέονται· σμέονται Valckenaer,  
 van H. 15 ἐπίστασο B || τε. γε α 18 καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν α,  
 Stein<sup>1</sup>. καὶ πόλιν καλλίστην con i idem 19 ἀπιστα ξέρξῃ BPz,  
 Holder, van H

7 ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερόν μεν the  
 address is curiously abrupt and dis-  
 courteous, the formula 'I told you so'  
 is seldom a mark of tact. is Demaratos  
 annoyed? The reference appears to be  
 to the conversation in cc. 101-104 *supra*  
 εὖτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα it  
 was at Doriskos, not 'when starting'  
 on the expedition against Hellas, but  
 perhaps Demaratos joined at Doriskos.  
 ὀρμῶμεν may be the (unaugmented) im-  
 perfect

9 γέλωτά με ἔθου for the fact cp. c.  
 105 *supra*, for the form, 3. 29 οὐ χαίροντες  
 γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε

ὧρων, purely mental of 'the in-  
 ward eye' Cp c 212 l. 13 On the  
 practice of truthfulness cp cc 101, 234

12. ἀπικάται i. q. ἀπυγμένοι εἰσι.

ταῦτα=μάχεσθαι is very like οὕτω.

13 νόμος . . ἔχων οὕτω surely not a  
 distinct enactment. ἔχων οὕτω, 'to this  
 effect.'

The law, or custom, in question  
 Canon Rawlinson stigmatizes as "mih-

tary coxcombry"—alas! alas!—and  
 extends the censure to the bright polish  
 of their arms, the battle-wreath, and  
 the crimson tunic of the Spartan brave  
 Xenophon (*de rep Lac* 13 8) thought  
 some of these things μάλα ὠφέλιμα.  
 Plutarch (*Lyc* 22) reports a saying of  
 the great legislator's in favour of hair-  
 dressing It made the Spartans γορ-  
 γότεροι, Xenoph *op c* 11 3 The  
 Suabians of Tacitus (*Germ* 38) *in ali-  
 tudinem quandam et terrorem, adituri  
 bella, compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur*  
 The scarlet tunic hid the blood, Xenoph.  
 l c.

15 ἐπίστασο as the middle imper of  
 ἵστημι is ἵστασο (*ἵστα*), ἐπίσταμαι follows  
 suit, it may be the same word originally  
 (though even Attic Greek preserves the  
 form unaspirate). This passage makes  
 the attitude and action of Sparta the  
 supreme and crucial question for the  
 Persian king, and implicitly claims the  
 credit of the Greek deliverance for  
 Sparta.

19 τὰ λεγόμενα, by Demaratos, but

λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσούτοι 20  
 ἔοντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχήσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῆ  
 τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.”

Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην. τέσσαρας μὲν δὴ 210  
 παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη  
 δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ  
 ἀβουλῇ διαχρεώμενοι μένουν, πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε  
 καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενος σφέας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν 5  
 ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ὡς δ’ ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί, ἄλλοι δ’ ἐπεσήμισαν, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταλόντες. δῆλον δ’  
 ἐποίησαν παντὶ τεφ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ

20 εἶναι om B<sup>Pz</sup>, Holder, secl van H || ἐπρώτα CP<sup>z</sup> 21 τῇ οἰοί  
 τε<sup>z</sup> εἶσι τῇ z || μαχήσεσθαι d· μαχέσεσθαι z 22 τοι: σοι d· om B  
 23 τῇ α ὡς B 210 1 τέσσαρας C 2 παρήκεν B, Holder  
 παρήκε van H || αἰεὶ B, Holder 4 χρεώμενοι B διαχρεώμενοι P,  
 van H 5 σφεας α, Stein<sup>1</sup> σφε B 6 δὲ ἐπέπεσον B· δ’ ἐπέπεσον z  
 7 ἐπεσήμισαν B 8 ἀπηλαύνοντο d ἀπελαύνοντο α· ἀπήλαυνον B,  
 Holder, van H. || δ’ α δὴ B

the tense is observable. cp. a stronger instance, c 237 *ἡγήσατο*

20 τοσούτοι, ‘so few’ (only so many), cp. 4 159

22 ψεύστη Valckenaer, Baehr, and Blakesley see in this word here a genuinely Persian touch, cp 1 138 The Darius of Hdt. forgets that, and talks rank sophistry, 3. 72

210. 1. τέσσαρας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας these four days have to be reckoned with in the Diary of Artemision-Thermopylai. Hdt.’s. reason for the delay is to be noted. Xerxes was waiting to allow the Greeks to run away (ἀποδρήσεσθαι): that is absurd. Diodoros 11. 5 makes the king send for reinforcements, and inserts overtures to Leonidas here, in rhetorical style, but negotiations there may have been Rawlinson suggests, as the real reason of the delay, that the king was looking to obtain “the co-operation of his fleet, and only began the attack when that hope failed him”—an extraordinary oversight, for, as recent students have generally perceived, the Persian fleet and army were co-operating, and Hdt himself makes the three engagements by sea synchronous with the three days’ fighting on land, cp further, Appendix V. § 4

2 πέμπτη the first day of actual fighting, cp. 8 9-11

4 Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους cp cc 62, 86 Were these infantry, and infantry only? The terrain would not lend itself to cavalry (cp c 176 *supra*), though the word ἀπηλαύνοντο just below might suggest mounted men. Diodoros (in a very rhetorical passage, 11. 6, 7) makes the Medes advance first, and on their defeat, the Kissians and Sakai.

5 θυμωθεῖς cp c. 11 *supra*, c 238 *ἡγήσατο* It can hardly be taken seriously here.

6. ὡς δ’ ἐσέπεσον . . ἔπιπτον not very elegant The protasis, too, is less Herodotean than ὅπως ἐσπέσειεν would have been (Stein).

9 πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι . ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες it seems most forcible to take ἄνθ and ἄνδρες as predicative. The antithesis is unfair to the ‘barbarians’ on Hdt’s own showing For the matter cp 8 68 The form of the antithesis is common πολλοὶ μὲν νερθηκοφόροι παῦροι δὲ τε βακχοί Plato, *Phaedo* 69, πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί *S. Matth* 22 14 The subject of ἐποίησαν is rather vague Stein regards the remark as an insertion, and *mal à propos* (“an nicht eben passender Stelle”).

10 μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή  
 211 δι' ἡμέρης. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα  
 οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήρισαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήρισαν, τοὺς  
 ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἦρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί  
 γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον  
 5 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ  
 δόρασι βραχυτέροις χρεώμενοι ἢ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἔχοντες πλήθει χρῆσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως  
 λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις μάχεσθαι  
 10 ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον  
 δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρώντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ  
 ἐπήρισαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβάνόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι  
 τοῖσι βαρβάροις, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει  
 ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν  
 15 Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παρὰ-

10 δὲ ἡ (R)SV δ' ἡ AB δὴ P. δὲ d. 211 2 ἐπεξήσαν B ||  
 ἐπήσαν RS ἐποίησαν V 3 ὑδάρνης B 5 τῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ  
 om C 6 τε χώρῳ om B, Holder χώρῳ tantum secl van H. 7  
 δοῦρασι van H || μικροτέροις SV μακροτέροις R || χρεόμενοι P, van H  
 8 πλήθει α 11 ὀρώντες C ὀρέοντες α, Stein<sup>1</sup>, van H 15 ἐπεῖτε  
 vel ἐπειδὴ? van H. || ἐδύνατο C

211. 1 τρηχέως περιείποντο cp 5 1 Diodoros, i.e. Ephoros, apparently observed that Hdt here only withdrew the Medes, and therefore made the Kissians previously give place to the Medes, as the Medes here now to the Persians

2. τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, cp. cc 31, 83 *supra* That 'the king' called them Immortals is a curious statement cp note c 215 *infra* And should not the figure (οἱ μύριοι) come in? And were the 'Immortals' really employed as yet?

3 Ὑδάρνης c 83 *supra*

5 οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο cp 8. 29, 62, 4 129, c 213 *infra*.

τῆς στρατιῆς sc τοῦτον ὅπερ ἡ στρατὴ ἐφέρετο (Very different from φερόμενοι *supra*)

6 ἅτε Hdt gives apparently three, but really two reasons, as the first and third coalesce. (1) The battle-field was στεينوπόρος (as subst c 223 *infra*, cp Thuc. 7. 73. 1) so that the superior numbers could not deploy (2) The 'Hellenes' had superior weapons (Dio-

doros makes the fighting take place at τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς παρόδου, inaccurately, cp c 176 *supra*, and puts the advantage on the shields, not the spears, of the Greeks)

8 ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου and the λόγος was forthcoming, the Legend of Thermopylai

9 ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις μάχεσθαι These words, though referring primarily to the barbarians, also cover the Hellenes, among whom the Lakedaimonians have just before been included

10 ἐξεπιστάμενοι: the Spartans are thoroughly trained and disciplined warriors, 'past masters' of the art of fighting, men of science in that respect, τεχνῖται τῶν πολεμικῶν Xenoph. *de rep Lac* 13. 5.

ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν . . φεύγεσκον true frequentatives Cp. c. 210 1 6 *supra*.

12 καταλαμβάνόμενοι, 'allowing themselves to be overtaken' they retreat up the slope, in front of the wall, and then turn on their pursuers.



λαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτησι τῇσι 212 προσδόοισι [τῆς μάχης] λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον. ἄτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων . . ., ἐλπίσαντες σφέας 5 κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταίρεσθαι συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν [εὕρισκον] ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι 10 ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλυνον.

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρόντι 213 πρήγματι, Ἐπιάτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς

16 ὁδοῦ B || πειρεόμενοι P, van H. || καὶ ante κατὰ om B 212 2 τῆς μάχης secl van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 4 οὕτως B || ἀμείνονα ἔθελον B<sup>1</sup>. lacunam indic Stein<sup>3</sup> 6 ἔτι om B 7 ἀνταίρεσθαι B, Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder, van H || τάξεις B τάξιν C 8 κατὰ. τὰ C || ἦσαν, καὶ abesse malit van H. 9 φυλάζοντες B 10 εὕρισκον secl Madvig, Holder, van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 213 1 τοῦ βασιλέος B || χρήσεται B. χρήσαιτο z

16 κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως τέλος can no doubt apply to infantry, cp 1 103, and c 83 *supra* (in c 87 of the cavalry), but the παντοίως may cover an attempt to use horsemen. (ἀπήλυνον is, of course, indecisive; cp. c 210 l 4)

212 2 προσδόοισι· cp πρόσδοον c. 223 *infra*, τὴν πρόσδοον 9 101 Here προσβολῇσι might be expected

λέγεται. The formula suggests a misgiving Who was the author of this report? (Demaratos?)

τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου once for the Medes, once for the Kissians, once for the Persians<sup>1</sup> His throne would probably have been set on the hill of (or above) Anthele, by the Amphiktyonid buildings, cp c. 200 *supra* ἀναδραμεῖν = ἀναπηδᾶν, cp. 3. 155, where Dareios leaps from his throne at the siege of Babylon to see Zopyros (ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο II 20. 62 of 'Aidoneus.')

4 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ the second day's fighting (cp 8 14) Hdt's account of the fighting at Thermopylai on this day is very vague and perfunctory Diodoros 11 8 (Ephoros) has a rationalized and rhetorical passage, in which Xerxes makes the attack on the second day, not

κατ' ἔθνεα but with picked troops, selected and combined, the best out of all nations in his army In truth perhaps there was not much fighting on this day If 8 12 is correct, there had been a violent storm during the preceding night

5 ὀλίγων ἐόντων sc τῶν Ἑλλήνων

7 συνέβαλλον, 'attacked,' 'joined battle'; cp συμβολή

κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα. Some of the ἔθνη were hardly large enough to undertake alone, e.g. the Corinthians, others were larger than necessary perhaps, e.g. the Arkadians, they may have fought by 'chilads'· Lakedaimonians, Arkadians (2 chilads), rest of Peloponnese, Boiotians, Lokrians (2 or more chilads)

8 κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν not identical in force with κεκοσμήματο, cp. c 196 4 *supra*.

ἕκαστοι: the divisions so organized.

10 τὴν ἀτραπὸν cp. c 175 *supra*.

[εὕρισκον] ἐνώρων, if genuine, might have changed places with advance, but cp App Crit

213 2. Ἐπιάτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς Hdt., in spite of variant traditions, regards Ephialtes, son of Eury-

λόγους· ὃς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσσεσθαι ἔφρασε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ 5 διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δέσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων [τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων] ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον,

3 λόγους ὃς Stein<sup>2</sup>, van H. λόγους ὡς || οἴσσεσθαι B οἴ//σεσθαι A οἱ ἔσσεσθαι B 4 τὴν post ἀτραπὸν om. B || οὔρεος ut sol CPdx, van H 7 τῶν . . συλληγομένων del van H optime τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων secl. Reiske. Ἀμφικτυόνων tantum Stein<sup>23</sup>

deimos, a Malian, as the 'traitor'—for reasons given below, c 214, where he is localized more precisely as ὁ Τρηχίνιος, a man presumably of some position. The name is a fairly common one, and appears on a Boiotian inscription (Keil, *Inscr Boeot.* x 3) as Ἐπιφάλης. Did he hope to obtain a local tyranny from the king? In Diodorus 11 8 5 the Traclunian is anonymous

4 τὴν ἀτραπὸν . . Θερμοπύλας c. 216 describes the path, more precisely, as ending at Alpenos (*sic*), but it might be said φέρειν ἐς Θ 'to lead (carry) to Thermopylai' Cp note to c 212

5. ταύτῃ sc. ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ὕστερον δέ. exactly how long after Hdt unfortunately does not say, but it might be as early as the autumn of 479 B C (after the victory at Plataiai, and the punishment of the medizing Thebans). The price is set upon his head by the Pythagoroi when he is already in exile; this act can best be connected with the Lakedaimonian revival of the Amphiktyonic League, which followed the Athenian organization of the Delian confederacy, and can hardly be dated before 476-475 B C, cp c 228 *infra*. Perhaps the abortive proceedings of Leotychidas in Thessaly were not unconnected with the extradition of Epialtes (cp 6 72), and the subsequent fates of Leotychidas and of Pausanias, together with the general depression of Sparta, which lasted nearly a quarter of a century, may have encouraged Epialtes to return to his own land. His death may be dated some years after his crime. He fell a victim apparently to a private, or local, feud, but the Spartans at least regarded him as *vire caesus*, and 'honoured' the assassin. They did not, indeed, give him the Spartan franchise (cp 9. 35),

but perhaps they gave him a great reception (cp 8 124), and saw that he was paid the Amphiktyonic reward.

7 ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων the Pythagoroi have been regarded as the Amphiktyonic Board charged especially with the conduct of political or secular matters, while the *Hieromnemones* had charge of sacred or hieratic questions (cp in modified form K F Hermann's *Lehrbuch* i<sup>6</sup> p 98 f), but Cauer (*op* Pauly-Wissowa i. 1922 ff) has shown the untenable character of this distinction, and assigns, at least down to Attolian times, the administration of the Delphic temple to the *Hieromnemones*, but all the jurisdiction of the League to the Pythagoroi. The evidence for this conclusion is chiefly from the fourth century, but the present case would suit therewith. Anyway the *Pythagoroi* were presumably the older and the original Board, dating from a time before the Amphiktyons had charge of Delphi, and when their only meetings, in spring and in autumn, took place at Thermopylai. So naturally the Pythagoroi were charged with the sacrifice for Demeter, Strabo 420 (ἐθνον δὲ τῇ Δήμητρι οἱ πυλαγόροι). The exact number of Pythagoroi appears doubtful, Athens apparently elected three in the time of Aischines (c *Ktesiph* 115). That would give a total of thirty-six, if each of the twelve members had equal rights. The representatives were perhaps appointed only for a single meeting, Cauer, *op* c 1923 (The number of *Hieromnemones* was twenty-four, two for each Folk, Burgel, *die pylaaisch-delph Amphikty* p 109).

τὴν Πυλαίην with the adjective must be supplied σύνοδον or βουλὴν or some similar term, or the term may denote the actual place of meeting, as in Plutarch, *Mor* 409 a τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἡ

κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεια <sup>10</sup> δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἥσσον. Ἐπιάλτης <sup>214</sup> μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἵπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους

10 ἐπιάλτην B, Holder, van H  
214 2 οὕτως B || δ' ἕτερος λόγος λεγόμενος B

12 ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων? Stein<sup>1</sup>  
4 ἅπαντες R

Πυλαία συνηβᾷ καὶ συναναβόσκειται κτλ.  
The meeting here referred to may have been held at Delphi

9 ἐς Ἀντικύρην cp. c. 198 *supra*, perhaps only as preliminary to his restoration to Trachis

Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου though his patronymic is not given, this Athenades no doubt was a man of good position in Trachis (and of the lakonizing party?). The name occurs in Xenoph. *Hell* 3. 1 18 at Sikyon (Both cases omitted in Pauly-Wissowa, *sub v*)

11 τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω an unfulfilled promise, and naturally of burning interest for the problem of Hdt.'s composition. The work of Hdt. is certainly finished and complete, and it might well be supposed that he simply forgot this pledge. But that supposition hardly meets the case, for the promise itself appears to imply that Hdt., when he wrote this passage, contemplated bringing down his work to a chronological point subsequent to the assassination of Epialtes. He has not done so, and yet his work is complete. His original plan must, therefore, have undergone some modification, for the ὅπισθε λόγοι here will scarcely have designated a separate work, or supplement. When Hdt. started his first work, the history of the invasion of Xerxes, he may have intended to bring the story down into fully contemporary history, or at least down to the death of Xerxes. But this intention suffered a great change when he determined to narrate, not the sequel, but the antecedents, of the invasion of Greece. He was thus led by degrees to alter and extend his conception and plan, so as to include finally the treatise on Egypt, Bk 2, which has even less to say to the main argument of his work than the promised but never written *Assyrian Logoi* might have had. Cp. further, Introduction, § 6

214 2 ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος: this story may have been taken by Hdt. from a literary authority (cp 4 11, 12), making two traitors, a man of Karystos and a man of Antikyra. How should the man of Karystos have known the path? (see below), or with whom was this story in favour? (Athenians, possibly?). A third story is told by Ktesias, *Persika* 24, which Stein well signalizes as more attractive. Thorax the Thesalian, and the two most important men in Trachis, Kallihades and Timaphernes, together with Demaratos and Hegias of Ephesos, advise the king to attempt a flank movement, and the two Trachinians act as guides. This version is perhaps Asiatic.

3 Ὀνήτης ὁ Φαναγόρεω: the only other man of this name known to fame is the celebrated sculptor, Onatas, son of Mikon, of Aigina, a contemporary of the Karystian. Nor is the father's name found elsewhere (except as that of the supposed founder of Phanagoreia, Steph B ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ). For Karystos cp 8 121.

4 Κορυδαλλός, here, and here only, a man's name, is better known as the name of an Attic deme (one of the 'periastic' demes of the tribe Hippothoontis; cp. Milchhoeffer, *Dememordnung*, 31; Pauly-Wissowa, II 2230) κορυδός, κορυδαλλός is a lark, cp L & S. *sub v* For Antikyra, c. 198 *supra*.

εἰσὶ may be simply graphic, or historic present, and cannot be taken to mean that the men in question are still alive at the date of composition. Cp. *ἐστὶ νῦν* of Epialtes, who is admittedly dead.

τούτους τοὺς λόγους rather curious, for what λόγοι have been specified? The phrase may be taken as resuming *ἡλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους*, c 213, but is a trifle shipshod

κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρου μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλίεες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο 5 ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου. ἐκ τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· 216 ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος

2 κατεργάσασθαι Bβ κατεργάσασθαι A, Holder, van H 3  
ὁρμέατο α || λύχων R 5 ἐπιχώριοι <οἱ> suspic. Stein<sup>2</sup> || Μηλίεες  
secl van H, Holder 7 ἔκ τε Stein<sup>1,2</sup>, Holder, van H || τόσουδε (δὴ  
om) B, Holder

2 Ὑδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης cp cc 83 and 211 *supra*. This is probably the first action of 'the Immortals.' Does Hdt avoid the term from its having a touch of profanity for Greek ears? Cp note c 211 *supra*.

3 περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς, 'about the time of lamp-lighting,' i.e. an hour after sunset, as by our law? Or earlier (as at sea)? At any rate far more graphic than by the clock yet the phrase is a *δπαξ* λ in Hdt, but occurs Diodori 19. 31. It may be nearly equivalent to the posting of the first watch (cp 9 51). For a similarly picturesque phrase cp. c 223 *infra*.

4. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην Naturally the Malians knew the path (presumably from time immemorial), and it had actually been used in the war between the Thessalians and the Phokians to turn the position of the Phokian wall, cp c. 176 *supra*.

7 ἐκ τόσου δὴ . . . Μηλιεῦσι. The point of this remark is not very obvious, unless it be taken ironically, 'for all that long time the Malians had been making an ill use of their discovery' (i.e. the path), or, more simply, 'it was indeed a long time since that the Malians had demonstrated the ill use the path might be put to' Macaulay, following Stein, takes *χρηστὴ* to refer not to ἡ ἀτραπὸς but to ἡ ἐσβολή, which seems formally scarce possible, and materially not less obscure ('so long ago as this had the pass been proved by the Malians to be of no value'). The existence of the path could not render the pass wholly worthless, it is the Phokian wall, rather than the pass, which challenges remark in the previous

sentence, but Hdt, having mentioned the two betrayals of the Phokians by Malians (i) to the Thessalians, (ii) to the king, might well add that Malians had long been turning their knowledge of the path to ill account.

216 1. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε sc *ἐστὶ τοιαύτης*. The present is no doubt valid for Hdt's, as for our own time. The variant in Pausan. 10 22. 8 (to which Stein draws attention) is of the utmost importance for a full appreciation of the strategic problem at Thermopylai, and serves to mark a grave omission in the Herodotean narrative, but it is not certain that Hdt and Pausanias are in full contradiction to each other. Hydarnes may have started by the path διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάων (Pausan.) and come down by Ἀνίπαια (Hdt). Hdt takes the Persians up the Asopos-gorge apparently, through which there was a route (see next note), they may have reached the crest, or rather the high valley, not διὰ Τρηχίνος, but by an easier path further to the west (ἡ διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῷ ῥέων Paus), striking into the other on the high ground, behind the Trachinian cliffs. Whether there was any further strategic reason for this detour is a nice problem; cp. Appendix V.

2 τῆς διασφάγος cp. c. 199. There was a route, no doubt, by the Asopos gorge, between Doris or the upper Kephisos valley on the one hand, and Malis or the plain of the Spercheios on the other. Pausanias *l.c.* calls it ἡ ὑπὲρ Τραχίνος, and describes it as ἀποτομὸς τε τὰ πλείω καὶ ὁρθὸς δεινῶς (from the Trachinian or Malian side), it may be identified, perhaps, with ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος

ρέοντος, οὖνομα δὲ τῷ <τε> ὄρει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ  
 τῷαυτὸ κεῖται, Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν  
 5 τοῦ ὄρεος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρῶτην ἐοῦσαν  
 τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε  
 καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ [κατὰ] Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ  
 217 στεινότατον ἐστὶ. κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω  
 ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν

216 3 τε add Stein || ὄρει ABPS οὐρεὶ 4 κέεται Stein<sup>1</sup> || ἀνά-  
 παῖα (bis) B 5 οὔρεος CPdz || ἄλπινον d 6 τῶν ante Μηλιέων  
 om BPz, Holder || μελάμπυγόν V Μελαμπύγου Leopardi, Holder, van H  
 7 κατὰ secl. Stein<sup>3</sup> || τὸ del Krueger, van H. 217. 1 οὕτως B<sup>c</sup>

ἐσοδος, c 176 *supra*, but see notes there, op. also 8. 31 *infra*. The path through the gorge would unite, on the upper ground, with the path διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάνων on the one side, and with the path going east behind the ridge of Kallidromos on the other, i.e. Ἀνόπαια. It is not, however, quite clear in this passage whether Hdt understands the first part of the ascent to have been made by the Persians διὰ τῆς διασφάγος, or otherwise. The path Anopaiā might begin from the head waters of the Asopos, but cp. next note.

4 Ἀνόπαια· cp *Od* 1. 320 ὄρνις δ' ὥς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο (v l ἀνέπτατο), sc. γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. The grammarian in *Anec Ox.* 1 83 has an attractive interpretation ἀν' ὀπαῖα = ἀνὰ ὀπήν, 'up by the hole in the roof'—a charming description of the path taken by the Persians at any rate (in this country it would no doubt be a 'devil's chimney'). That the same name is given to the path (in the valley) and to the mountain seems doubtful; Hdt has not got the name Καλλίδρομος. He also appears to think that the path goes by, along or over, the long ridge of the mountain that is not the case, the path goes round behind the chief ridge (passing, no doubt, several lower or ancillary ridges *en route*).

5. λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν. Alpenos is a κῶμη in c 176, as also plural, there and in c 229 (passages from other and southern sources<sup>2</sup>). The position of Alpenos is explained c 176 *supra*. This sentence λήγει δὲ Μηλιέων ought to come after ἔδρας.

6 Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον. Μελάμπυγος is an epithet of Herakles, denotative of strength, but lending itself easily to comic purposes. Aristophanes,

*Lysistr.* 801-4. On the association of Herakles with the district cp c. 176, notes

7 Κερκώπων ἔδρας. κέρκος is the tail of a beast these 'tail-bearers' are comic personages associated with Herakles (*Connaissez-vous les deux frères Cercopes, monsieur Goubin?* says M. Bergeret, and proceeds to tell the story Anatole France, *L'Anneau d'Améthyste*, pp 143-6. It can also be read in Muller (K O), *Dorians*, ET 1 464, quoted *in extenso* by Rawlinson *ad l*.)

The exact sites of the 'stone' and the 'seats' have still to be identified; they were, presumably, somewhere near Alpenos, on the path in question perhaps the very rock which formed the east gate of the pass.

τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἐστὶ. These words apply, apparently with perfect accuracy, to the Eastern Gate of the pass, as it was in Hdt's time, but nevertheless, for reasons given in the notes to c 176, this part of the pass was practically indefensible, at least without enormous numbers of men. Any one, however, in possession of it could command the Middle Gate on the east side. There is, and no doubt was, a path diverging from the 'Anopaiā' (about the site of the modern *Drakospilia*) which led direct down on the Middle Gate. Hdt does not seem to be aware of that fact.

217 1 οὕτω ἔχουσιν, i.e. τοιαύτην οὖσαν a weak ἔχω, so to speak, repeated from c. 216 *ad init*.

2 τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες. If they were ascending the whole gorge of the Asopos, from the bottom to the top (probably dry, or almost dry at that season, in spite of the recent storms<sup>3</sup>), they would not exactly 'cross' the

τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρους ἐφύλασσον, 5 ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥύόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἣ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον. ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε 218

3 οὔρεα CPdz, van H. 4 δὴ om. α || ἔφαινε B (cp c 219 et 8. 83) ||  
οἱ om B 5 τοῦ ὄρους sec 1. secl van H 6 δεδήλωται εἴρηται α,  
Stein<sup>2</sup> 8 ὑπὸ τῶν α ὑπ' ὧν B, van H || εἰρημένων Stein<sup>3</sup>. εἴρηται  
9 ἐθελοντὶ B ἐθελοντὴν ferret van H || ὑποδεξάμενοι . . Φωκέες (c. 218  
1 1) om B

Asopos, but quit the ravine, and take to the ascent on the left. The 'crossing of the Asopos' might suggest that instead of ascending the gorge, they had fetched a compass to the west at starting; cp. *Myra* and note to c 216 *supra*. In any case it is plain that Hdt. does not here write from autopsy, and even those who think that he saw Thermopylai have not the hardihood to take him round Anopala.

3 τὰ Οἰταίων. The 'Oitaians' meet us here for the first and last time in Hdt. In Thuc. 3 92 2, 3, they appear as neighbours and enemies alike of the Trachinians and of the Dorians, of Doris (cp Thuc 8 3 1). They are not, properly speaking, to be identified with the *Alviānes* (Thuc 5 51 1, cp c 132 *supra*), for Xenoph. *Hell* 3 5 6 mentions them both, and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Οἰταίων appears side by side with τὸ κοινὸν τῶν *Alviānon* on inscriptions; cp Bursian, 1 88. They are presumably to be placed on the higher ground of Oita, above the Spercheios, and on the upper course of the Asopos.

4 τὰ Τρηχινίων constitutes here a difficulty, as it seems to take the Persians away to the right, if they really mounted by the Asopos gorge. Was it perhaps to remove this difficulty, and to enable Hydarnes to cross the Asopos, that Pausanias (a close student and imitator of Hdt.) devised his pass διὰ τῆς *Alviānon*? Or is there not in this passage a dim suggestion that the Persians went, not by the Asopos-gorge, but by another route, 'between Oita and Trachis'? The difficulty is also movable by Leake's supposition that by 'the Trachinian

mountains' Hdt (i.e. his source or authority) understood Kallidromos itself (or a part of Kallidromos), which may in fact have been reckoned (on the sea side, I suppose) at that time to Trachis. But the accuracy of this designation is obviously doubtful.

ἡὼς τε . . καὶ οἱ . . an effective parataxis, and demonstrative.

ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους suggests rather 'the top of the mountain' than 'the summit of the pass' (L & S. actually render it here 'mountain-peak'). But Hdt. below (c. 218) has a higher height in reserve (τὸν κόρυμβον), and may here be given 'the benefit of the doubt.'

6 ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. a reference back to c. 212, so too, just below, ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων refers back to cc 202, 208, 212 rather more vaguely.

7 ῥύόμενοι τε . . καὶ φρουρέοντες they are not in their own country, but they may be said to be covering or defending it, the rather as the path by which the Persians advanced strikes, at *Drakospitia*, into a route across from Thermopylai (by *Boudonitza*, or *Mendenitza*) into the valley of the Kephisos though perhaps Hdt. does not mean all that ἡ κάτω ἐσβολή is of course the road by Thermopylai.

9 ἐθελονταὶ . . ὑποδεξάμενοι the terms emphasize the responsibility, and doubly condemn the failure of the Phokians. They had volunteered for the post, and undertaken, or pledged themselves to defend it to the last. The point is stated, less circumstantially, in c. 212 *supra*.

218 1. ἔμαθον δὲ . . ἀναβεβηκότας,

ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ  
 ὄρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ  
 γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ  
 5 τοῖσι ποσί, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα,  
 καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας  
 ἐνδυομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδέμ  
 σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα  
 'Τδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ [οἱ Φωκέες] ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 10 εἶρετο 'Επιάλτην ὀποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ  
 ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες  
 ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι,  
 οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι  
 ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας ὀρμηθείησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς  
 15 ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 'Επιάλτην καὶ 'Τδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκῶν μὲν οὐδένα λόγον  
 ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

218 2 οἱ πέρσαι ἐλάνθανον B 3 ἐπίπλεον α 4 εἰκὸς α  
 5 ἔδυντο C 7 θώματι Pz, Stein<sup>1</sup> (sic) || οὐδένα B, Stein<sup>1</sup> 2, Holder  
 9 οἱ φωκέες α φωκέες B, Holder. del Naber, van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 10 τὸν  
 'Επιάλτην z || ὀποδαπὸς BP ποταπὸς α ποδαπὸς Cdz ὀλοδαπὸς van H ||  
 ὁ om. B 13 οὔρεος CPdz, van H. 14 ὀρμηθείησαν Stein<sup>(2)3</sup>  
 ὀρμήθησαν α, Stein<sup>2</sup>, Holder, van H ὀρμήθησαν B, Stein<sup>1</sup> 16 τὸν  
 'Επιάλτεα z

'the Persians were already on the summit, when the Phokians discovered the fact in this way.'

2. τὸ ὄρος is governed by ἀναβαίνοντες.

3. δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον is not quite happy; cp. Grundy, *G P W* p. 303. If the Oaks are to be our guides, the station of the Phokians might have to be pushed a good deal westwards, cp. *ib* 302.

νηνεμία c 188 *supra* The weather was all that could be desired from a tourist's point of view, yet the night before, according to 8 12, there had been a furious storm φύλλων. of many former seasons The leaves had not yet fallen in 480 B.C. ὑπό with the dat. the leaves were there already for them to tread on. These leaves are sometimes alleged as a miracle of verisimilitude, but (1) it is at least doubtful whether there were any leaves 'hereabouts', cp. Grundy *l.c.* (n.) 10,000 men marching along a mountain path could hardly have escaped notice even on bare ground!

5. ἀνά τε ἔδραμον, 'sprang up,' cp. c. 212 *supra*, with the tmesis, l. 66

The tenses (ἀνέδραμον, ἐνέδυνον) are observable, also the *paiataxis* ἐνδυομένους, in the very act ἀντίξουν, cc 49, 192, etc. ἐνεκύρησαν, c 208 *supra*

9. καταρρωδήσας μὴ ἔωσι there was a chance for the Phokians, had they been ready! εἴεν might be expected grammatically, the subjunctive is more graphic

10 ὀποδαπὸς, 'of what country,' 5. 13

12 ἐβάλλοντο: imperfect and passive

13. τοῦ ὄρους τὸν κόρυμβον different from and higher than the ἀλωτήριον in c 217, cp. νηῶν ἄκρα κόρυμβα (*heteroclit*) *Pl* 9 241, ἐλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον *δχθου* Aischyl. *Pers.* 659 Did the Phokians retreat to the south or the north, the right or the left of the path?

ἐπιστάμενοι here has no suggestion of *επιστήμη* in it; nor ἐφρόνεον just below of *φρόνησις*, in its later meaning But perhaps the words, unnecessarily strong, have come from a source favourable to the Phokians

14. ἀρχήν, 'originally,' ἴ in the first instance

16. οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντε, οἱ δὲ

Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ 219  
 μάντις Μεγιστίης, ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα  
 ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοὶ σφί θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ  
 ἐξαγγέλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι  
 νυκτὸς ἐσήμεναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ 5  
 τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφειων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ

219 2 ἱερά α 3 ἡοὶ· οἱ β *sibi pariter et illis* Valla || ἐπὶ  
 Valckenaer ἐπεὶ || ἦσαν C ἦσαν β, Schaefer, Holder· ἔσαν z, Bekker :  
 ἦσαν ἐξαγγέλλοντες com Dobree 6 διαφανοῦς οὔσης β

'made no account (of the Phokians) but .'. For the repeated subject with δέ cp c 13 etc λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, cp 5 105 etc

219 1 ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης Megistias the diviner was an Akarnanian, said to be descended from Melampous, cp. c 221 *myra* His warning is earlier in the night, perhaps on the previous evening, at sacrifice There was evidently considerable anxiety in the Greek laager

3 ἅμα, preposition, as often. They did not die at daybreak, however

αὐτόμολοι : Diodoros 11 8 5 gives the name of the deserter as Tyrastidas, of Kyme (Ephoros was of Kyme<sup>1</sup>). It is remarkable to find deserters coming over to the Greek side at this crisis They would report the despatch of the force from the Persian camp Their arrival is dated during the night No doubt a council of war, if not already in session, was instantly summoned (cp Diodor.), and not, as Hdt. might seem to imply, only on the arrival of the next information.

5 τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι· for the word cp c 182 *supra* These scouts must have been on duty during the night, and their arrival, after dawn, confirms the report of the 'deserters' It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the dramatic felicity of this triple warning, but it is impossible to suppose that deliberations in the Greek camp were postponed until the arrival of the scouts Measures had been taken, or concerted, or at least discussed, during the night Diodoros, indeed, 11. 9 (that is, Ephoros) represents Leonidas as dismissing the Greeks soon after midnight, retaining only the Thespians, who raise his force to 500 With this band he makes a desperate night-attack on the Persian camp, and effects great slaughter, penetrating

even to the tent of Xerxes, but with the advent of light the paucity of the foe is perceived, and the Greeks are surrounded and overwhelmed The last day's fight is briefly and badly paraphrased from Hdt The night-engagement looks like pure fiction; but the force of Persians that has circumvented the Greeks disappears at the critical moment from the pages of Diodoros as from the narrative in Hdt

6 ἐνθαῦτα may be 'there' or 'then': in this case it appears to be temporal, but the time must be dated immediately after the second, if not the first, warning

7 ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι cp 6 109 ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γ, a pretty certain result of any council of war, let alone a Greek one Hdt's account of the difference of opinion is curious some were for standing their ground, others 'resisted,' ἀντέτεινον (cp 8 3 οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἄλλ' εἶκον) It would seem more natural to state the facts in inverse order some (the majority) were for going, others (the minority) resisted, opposed, and—remained; for the 'schism' was not apparently one merely of opinions or plans The facts that some remained and were slain, that others departed, are no doubt historical, but Hdt.'s report of the council of war, of the division of opinion, of the bare alternatives presented, can hardly be regarded as final Surely some device, some proposal with a definite bearing upon the general plan of campaign, as well as upon the immediate situation created by the prospective circumvention, must have been discussed. The path was known, and the possibility of its being used by the Persians already considered (cp cc 175, 217). The Greek commander and officers must have already thought on what was to be done, in case the Persians attempted to force this path,



ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. λέγεται δὲ <καὶ> ὥς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρῶσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτὸς

8 ἐκλείπειν B || τοῦτο del van H 220 1 καὶ add Bekker, Stein<sup>2</sup> 2 δὲ om. C τε d. δέ <τε>? Kallenberg 3 ἐκλείπειν B 4 αὐτὸς Stein<sup>3</sup>. μᾶλλον

and succeeded, nay, they must also have taken into account the possibility that the Persians would circumvent them by ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἑσόδος (c 176 *supra*)

8 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο the narrative rather breaks down. Hdt has no actual decision to report of the council of war, and the chronological indication is at once elaborate and vague. The council could not, indeed, supersede the ἡγεμονία (c 204) of Leonidas, the actual decision lay with him. Hdt plainly does not know what the decision of Leonidas was, or whether he had any plan, beyond the desperate plan of remaining to face certain death as an act of personal gallantry, perhaps 'devotion,' with his own men

11. παρεσκευάδατο the pluperfect does not appear in this case to have any special temporal significance, but it may express the fixed and certain quality of their 'preparation'. The use of the word seems, however, peculiar. the παρασκευή would seem more called for on the side of those who were departing. The account of the latter is remarkable. διακριθέντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο: i.e. from their comrades at Thermopylai, who were remaining with Leonidas διασκεδασθέντες. ἐτράποντο i.e. from one another, each band of men to its own city. The Peloponnesians at least would have gone together as far as the Isthmos the second clause must be largely proleptic

220 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ the formula itself expresses a doubt, Hdt has, indeed, already committed himself to the previous story, apparently representing the departure of the troops as an act of insubordination or desertion. He proceeds to harmonize the two λόγοι within certain limits. That neither story explained the retreat of some of the troops, the larger portion, and the retention of others, the lesser portion,

or that there was any alternative explanation possible, does not seem to have occurred to Hdt. He appears to think that Leonidas would have had the whole forces under his lead stay and share his inevitable fate, and the more the better. The solid fact, that the hundreds were cut to pieces at Thermopylai, while the thousands lived to fight at Plataiai, appears to have made no impression upon our author's mind

2 μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος certainly the part of a rational commander, it being admitted that their remaining at Thermopylai meant certain death, without any adequate return of loss inflicted on the Persian.

αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρῶσι. The construction here is rather ambiguous. Strictly αὐτῷ cannot be reflexive, and therefore simply reports a matter of fact, asserted in the λόγος, or, as below, in the γνώμη. But Kuehner and Baehr take this αὐτῷ as 'for himself,' though 'not for εἰναῖ,' but after an ἔφη, or φάναι (λέγεται), or after an ἐνόμιζε (out of κηδόμενος), and so too below. In regard to the substance, Leonidas perhaps sent the Λακεδαιμόνιοι away, and only retained his own body-guard, together, of course, with the Boiotian contingent, and possibly others (Lokrians?). The heroism of the king's decision is not cheapened if we suppose it dictated not by mere blind loyalty to the real or supposed maxims of Spartan warfare, but by a well-considered plan of action, designed to save the situation, or at least to save as many fighting men for Greece as possible. That the king and the Spartans were bound to stay to the last is obvious. their retreat must have meant a panic flight for most of the others.

4 ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γνώμην

τὴν γνώμην πλείστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε ᾗσθετο τοὺς 5  
 συμμάχους ἔοντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακιν-  
 δυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπικέαι οὐ  
 καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ  
 Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς  
 Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου 10  
 τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνά-

5 τὴν γνώμην Valckenaer, Stein<sup>2</sup>. τῇ γνώμῃ codd, Stein<sup>1</sup> || πλείστος  
 del Gomperz, Holder || εἰμι α. εἰμι ὄχλος B εἰμι πολλός Gomperz, Holder  
 6 ἀπροθύμως C || διακινδυνεύειν B. συγκινδυνεύειν Plutarch. Mor. 865  
 8 ἐλείπετο d. ἐπείπετο Krueger, van H. 9 ἐκέχρηστο z. ἐκέχρητο  
 codd, Holder ('fortasse recte' van H.) 10 χρεωμένοισι P, van H.  
 11 καταρχὰς APd<sup>z</sup> || ἀγειρομένου R

πλείστος εἰμί with the form of expression, p 1 120 (Astyage loq) καὶ αὐτός, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτη πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί. Also 5 126 αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκων ἀπάγειν Cp also Thuc 3 31 2 τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν (sc ὁ Ἀλκίδας) ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῃ πάλιν προσμεῖξαι. But App Crit With a very careful writer the superlative adjective would imply the existence of more than two alternatives so in the cases of Alkidas and Aristagoras. But here μάλλον (if read) would counteract that inference, which would in any case be too much for Hdt, and there is no sign here of 'three courses' the problem being merely whether the allies had or had not orders from Leonidas to depart.

8 ἐλείπετο . . οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο The jingle is not pleasing Stein, who takes αὐτῷ *supra* as strictly objective and constructed with λέγεται direct, observes that these verbs are in the imperfect, because they are intended to convey what, according to Hdt's opinion, was in the mind of Leonidas.

9 ἐκέχρηστο . . αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς. The pluperfect is a genuine temporal pluperfect, but the actual date intended is only vaguely signified. It seems to coincide with the date of the Argive intelligence (c 148 *supra* πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα) but how does it stand in relation to the (supposed) date of the oracles to Athens, cc 140-1, with which the tenor of this response is wholly inconsistent? (This observation only convicts Hdt of an oversight, and might become a fresh argument

against the ostensible date of the responses to Athens, if only the story here could be accepted as historical.)

11. ἢ Λακεδαίμονα . . ἢ . ἀπολέσθαι. This appears to be a brief and lucid explanation of the verses which follow rarely did Delphi put the future alternatives so clearly before the consultants. In this case both the verses and the gloss appear to be *ex eventu*. They serve a double purpose (1) Delphi finds in this story a part of its apology, or rehabilitation, (2) Sparta finds a consolation, a justification for the apparent failure at Thermopylai. The story is intrinsically improbable, and its historical credibility is further damaged by the preservation of a variant in Diodoros 11 4, which, however, only puts the 'devotio' of Leonidas and his men in its proper perspective, if any such oracle had really been obtained by Sparta before the war. There Leonidas leaves Sparta, with full knowledge and deliberate intention of incurring his fate, in order to compass the prediction, the Ephors being fully cognizant of his purpose. The earlier and more tentative form of the legend in Hdt appears as an alternative to the historical traditions, which represent the defence of Thermopylai as a serious undertaking, intended and expected to succeed. Hdt has combined, or at least 'contaminated,' the two traditions, the fact and the fable, but has preserved, or obtained, neither in its full form. More might surely have been ascertained of the true story of Thermopylai-Artemision in his day than he has either consciously or implicitly presented by a sort of

στατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὸν βασιλέα σφών  
ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δέ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρᾶ λέγοντα  
ᾧδε.

- 15 ὑμῖν δ', ᾧ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόριοι,  
ἢ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι  
πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης  
πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων

12 ἔσεσθαι B, Holder, van H || σφῶν B 13 ἀπολέσθαι BP.  
ἀπολέσθαι α ἀπολέσθαι van H || ἔχοντα χρᾶ λέγοντα codd ἔχοντα  
om S (uncis circumd. Stein<sup>1</sup>) χρᾶ ἔχοντα sine λέγοντα Bekker, Holder,  
van H. 14 ᾧδε τάδε S (aut λέγοντα τάδε aut ἔχοντα ᾧδε legendum  
cens Schweighauser, Gaisford) 16 ἢ ἄστυ μερικυδὲς? van H  
17 πέρσεται Oenomaus ap Euseb priaep εν 5 25 || οὐκί z, van H. ||  
ἡρακλέος BP., van H 18 βασιλῇ α βασιλῇ S βασιλεῖ C ||  
οὔρον con Stein<sup>2</sup>. appr van H 19 τῶν SCd.

nemesis he is diverted from the investigation of the human facts by his partiality for divine fictions

13 λέγοντα ᾧδε this use of λέγειν for the written response should save the least alert reader of Hdt from the wild inferences regarding the purely oral character of his sources, which have been largely based upon his use of such formulae of the *vox viva*. Cp. Introduction, § 10, and c 228 *infra*.

15. ὑμῖν δ': is this response conceived as a contrast, or continuation, of the one to the Athenians in c 140?

οἰκήτορες a word used with strict appropriateness of the Spartans, cp. c 153 *supra*

16 Περσείδῃσι. Περσείδης is a son or descendant of Perseus as in Thuc 1.9.2 Had the Delphic Oracle adopted the theory (from Argos) given cc 61, 150 *supra*, according to which Πέρσης is the son of Περσεύς? In 1.125 Hdt himself speaks of the Achaimenid clan (φρήνη) as the source of οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι, a text which passes unchallenged.

Was this oracle older than the prose interpretation, above given, and intended to do duty in a war between Sparta and Argos? Certainly it might have been fulfilled by the fall of a Spartan Herakleid in an Argive war, even though the Herakleids and Perseids alike had been long dethroned in Argos. But more probably metrical convenience and the

tables of the logographers determined the use of the word here, the response itself being coined *ei eventu* for the case of Leonidas

18 Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος The proper name here is masculine, cp Κέκροπος οὔρος c 141 *supra*. There was a hero Lakedaimon, son of Zeus and Taygete, who wedded Sparta, daughter of Eurotas, Pausan 3.1.2, his shrine was at Alesiai near Therapne, *ib* 20.2 Amyklas was his son, 7.18.5, and a Eurydike his daughter, 3.13.8 On the way from Sparta to Amyklai was a sanctuary of the Graces, of which he was reputed founder, 3.18.6, cp. 9.35.1 For further reff Roscher, *Lexikon*, 1812. (Therapne 6.61 *supra*)

19 τόν is finely demonstrative, but grammatically obscure, obviously not referring to βασιλῇ nor to Ἡρακλέους much less to Λακεδαίμονος, but apparently to some one like the δέξας Ἀρης of the Athenian oracle, c 140 *supra*

ταύρων . οὐδὲ λεόντων Stein, after Baehi, sees a reference to the λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι in c 126 *supra*, but Hdt. has not composed the oracle, nor had the Pythia perused his work The reference is to the name and the lion of Leonidas, c. 225 *infra*. The bulls are thrown in

σχήσει μένος . . ἔχει μένος . σχήσεσθαι exhibit the varying force of ἔχειν (cp c. 164 *supra*), and the poverty of the Delphic poet's dictionary.

ἀντιβῖν· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἐ φημί  
 σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.  
 ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδα, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος  
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους  
 <δοκέω> μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως  
 ποίχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τότε οὐκ 221  
 ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο  
 τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίνην τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι  
 τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἵπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν  
 τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμψων, 5

21 τόνδ' d || διαπάντα AB 23 μούνων Plutarch. Mor 865, prob  
 Valckenaer, Bekker, van H., alii. μούνον codd, Stein 24 <δοκέω>  
 Stein<sup>3</sup> || διενειχθέντας codd, corr. Krueger 221. 2 ὅτι καὶ. οὐ γὰρ  
 μούνον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλὰ καὶ z, Krueger, Baehr, vulg, corr. Stein 3  
 ἀκαρνήνα S ἀβαρνήνα C 4 τὰνέκαθεν B, Holder || τοῦτον <τὸν>  
 εἵπαντα Matthiae, Bekker. τοῦτον. . ἐκβαίνειν damn van H || εἵπαντα  
 αSV εἰπόντα RVcorr. · ἀπαντα Paris 1635 z εἰπόντα post ἐκβαίνειν z

21 τῶνδ' ἕτερον 1 e ἡ ὅστυ ἡ βασιλῇ  
 διὰ δάσσηται, a tmesis, διαδα-  
 τέεσθαι 8 121 *infra*, 4 145

22. ταῦτα. ἐπιλεγόμενον resumes the  
 construction interrupted by the insertion  
 of the oracle. Perhaps the versified  
 oracle was not in the first draft of Hdt's  
 work (1) The rendering of the oracle  
 in both prose and verse, and first in  
 prose, is unusual, (2) the suspension  
 and resumption of the construction is  
 observable, (3) ταῦτά τε δὴ here just  
 marks the point of insertion above,  
 ταῦτα δέ σφι. But perhaps the process  
 of insertion began with the record of the  
 oracle in prose, and this ταῦτά τε δὴ  
 originally followed immediately on ἐξη-  
 λείφετο. We should then have in this  
 passage three strata of deposit, represent-  
 ing the three drafts in which these Books  
 (7-9) seem to have been composed. Cp  
 Introduction, § 9

κλέος καταθέσθαι. cp. 9, 78.

23 μούνων Plutarch (*de Malign* 31)  
 gives μούνων. The mss. here have μούνον,  
 which might come to the same thing if  
 it be taken (with Blakesley) to agree  
 with κλέος, but not if interpreted with  
 him, 'pure, unmixed with any discordant  
 incidents.' As agreeing with Λεωνίδα  
 it would give an absurd sense

24 οὕτω, with ἀκόσμως.

221 1 μαρτύριον δέ μοι. Hdt.'s  
 notions of evidence, or proof, are not  
 perhaps always very strict. What is

proved by the fact that Leonidas wanted  
 to send away Megistias, and Megistias  
 sent away his only son, except that  
 Leonidas and Megistias fully understood  
 that they were face to face with death?  
 If Leonidas tried to persuade Megistias  
 to go, when the others were going,  
 could that prove the king to have dis-  
 missed the allies, or to have remained  
 behind in consequence of an oracle?  
 But Hdt plainly wishes to adopt what  
 he regards as the nobler view of the  
 varying conduct of all concerned Cp  
 Introduction, § 11.

3 Μεγιστίνην τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα: here  
 introduced, with his heroic pedigree, or  
 at least ultimate patronymic, as though  
 he had not been mentioned just before,  
 in c 219. As the previous passage is  
 apparently original, and the seer essential  
 to it, the inference is natural that this  
 passage is of later insertion, and shows  
 knowledge, acquired later, by Hdt. Cp  
 Introduction, § 9. Anyway, it is mani-  
 fest that the conduct of the Greeks at  
 Thermopylai had been a good deal can-  
 vassed; the apology betrays the criticism  
 Akarnania was a land of diviners; cp.  
 9, 93, 1 62. On Melampous cp 2 49.

5 φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμψων,  
 'it is manifest that Leonidas tried to  
 dismiss him.' What was the proof?  
 That the son of Megistias was saved?  
 Or does Hdt merely mean to assert, as  
 a notorious fact, the refusal of Megistias?  
 Cp. c 223 *infra*

ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὃ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατεύμενον, ἔοντα οἱ μονογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

- 222 Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἶχοντό τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες, ἔμμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξασθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

7 ἀπέλιπε 8P ἀπελίπετο αC ἀπελείπετο d κατέλιπε Paris.  
idem z 222. 1 οἱ sec. l. om. α || τε om β 4 γάρ σφέας Stein<sup>1</sup>  
5 ὁμήρωι C ὁμήρω R 6 ἀπολιπόντες om. S || ἀπαλλάξασθαι  
Paris 1634

7. συστρατεύμενον as a combatant? But there was no Akarnanian contingent! Probably in attendance on his father, as acolyte, had he been a soldier he would have remained. Probably he lived to be a diviner too. What an authority he must have been for the facts! Hdt met him? Cp Introduction, § 10

222 2 Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι . μούνοι. Diodoros 11 4 7 gives Leonidas 'about 400' Thebans, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος· διεφέροντο γὰρ οἱ τὰς Θήβας κατοικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας συμμαχίας. This politic division probably comes from Thucyd 3 62 3 f. (Thebano loq.). The Theban contingent is dismissed with all the others (except the Thespians) Pausan 2. 16 4 is quoted (by Stein) to prove that the Mykenaians also remained; but the words of Pausanias (Μυκηναῖοι πέμπουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοις μετέσχον τοῦ ἔργου) do not require us to believe that the men of Mykenai fell with the 300. Hdt. here speaks of Λακεδαιμόνιοι. It may be that Leonidas retained all the men of Lakadamon, Spartiates, Perioikoi, and Helots alike, or that the word is here used (not incorrectly, but less precisely) instead of the Σπαρτιηγένων of c. 220

3 Θηβαῖοι μὲν . ποιούμενος. this absurd statement is sufficiently refuted by Plutarch, *Mor.* 865, except that the Greek critic is too hasty in ascribing to Hdt. himself the *κακοήθεια* which undoubtedly belongs to Hdt.'s sources (cp c. 233 *ἡγήσατο*). Hdt., however, has shown

himself even less of a critic than usual to adopt the scandal as his own. Cp Introduction, § 11.

4. ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος . cp. cc. 14, 57. The name of the Theban commander is here omitted, but cp cc. 205, 233

5 Θεσπιέες . συναπέθανον Rawlinson, accepting the fact, shows a curious wisdom in saying: "The Thespians were perhaps excited by the hope of becoming the head of the Boeotian confederacy." What! the 700, from little Thespiai, who remained to die? If so, they were nicely fooled! But if 700 men of Thespiai remained with Leonidas, and died side by side with the 300 Spartans, history and poetry ever since have failed in their duty to these heroes of the city of Eros. However deeply Hdt. has drunk, directly and indirectly, of Spartan sources, however partial the legend of Thermopylai to the gallant leader and his guard, these Thespians could not be such mere ghosts and supers on the stage of Thermopylai had their action and their fate been such as Hdt. here records in a parenthesis. The reconstructed story of Thermopylai must take account of this consideration cp. Appendix V. § 5 Diodoros gives no Thespians in the army-list (11. 4. 7), but afterwards mentions that Leonidas retained the Thespians with him, an act which only raises his total force to 500 (11. 9. 2).

8 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω . a common name, and with an Athenian ring in it

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, **223**  
ἐπισχῶν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην πρόσσodon  
ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ  
τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος  
ὁ χώρος πολλὸν ἢ περ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἳ τε <sup>5</sup>  
δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην  
Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ  
μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος.

223. 1 ἐπεῖτε vel ἐπειδὴ? van H || ἐπανατείλαντος B 2 <τὴν>  
πρόσσodon? Stein<sup>2</sup> 3 ἐπέσταλτο ἐπὶ ἄλτεω C 4 οὔρεος CP<sup>2</sup>z,  
van H 5 χώρος χρόνος P || ἥπερ α 6 προσήσαν B προσείσαν d  
|| οἱ om. B 8 ἐπεξήσαν B ἐπεξήεισαν d || εὐρύτατον z, Wesseling  
aliqua

(Of the ten men or so known seven are Athenians Pape-Benseler, s v) The father's name is more uncommon, but hardly more aristocratic The notice is from tomb, or epigram

223 1 σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο. no doubt to the rising sun, cp c 54 *supra*. There Xerxes apparently acted in person

2 ἐπισχῶν χρόνον the participle absolutely, the accusative of duration, cp 1. 175 ἀντέσχον χρόνον

ἀγορῆς . . πληθῶρην cp 2 173, and c. 215 *supra* a πληθῶρην in a different connexion, c 49 *supra*

3 ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω not an elegant collocation of syllables The pluperfect is strictly temporal ἐπιστέλλειν does not appear to connote much authority.

4 ἡ κατάβασις ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις the way down was shorter in actual distance (not merely in time) Leake in one place seems to contravert the truth of this statement (*NG* II 54) Rawlinson (*ad l*) replies that if the descent by *Αἰ Γιαννι* (a monastery) be taken as the track of Hydarnes instead of the more circuitous one preferred by Leake, Hdt's statement is correct But Leake himself (*op* p 39) recognizes that 'the summit' was nearer to the east end of the ridge than to the Asopian plain, whence (according to him) Hydarnes had begun his march, so that Hdt's assertion is true, whatever the precise route followed from the summit (of the pass) to Alpenoi Dr Grundy's map unfortunately does not display the path 'Ανοπαία', his report, too, leaves some doubt as to the relative distances from the Asopos to the summit,

and from the summit to Thermopylai, *GPW* p 302f The whole distance which Leake (*op* c 54) estimated at not less than 12 miles, Grundy puts at not much less than 17. The matter is a small one, and not a point on which anything important here turns The actual time occupied by Hydarnes in descending from the ἀκρωτήριον in c 217—which it had taken them all night to reach—to his arrival at the Middle Gate in c 225 *infra*, would not be more than 5 or 6 hours But it is not to be supposed that Hdt had footed the path.

7 τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον a truly grand phrase, even suggesting the march out from Sparta, or Lakonia, for which ἔξοδος is the regular word, e.g. 9 19 λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου 9 26 κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης Thuc 2 10 1 οἱ αἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἐκδημον ἔχειν (also of a mere 'sally,' Thuc 5 10 1, etc.) Hdt. uses ἔξοδος 3 14 (ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ) of men led out to execution (ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον), a law of Solon's enjoined good behaviour ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς (Plutarch, *Solon* 21); and in literary composition, or criticism, the ἔξοδος was the close of the tragedy (Aristot *Poet* 12 6=1452 b)

8 κατ' ἀρχὰς on the first and second day, perhaps, though there had been little if any fighting on the second, cp. c. 212 *supra* ἐπέξήσαν resumes ἔξοδος

τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος The phrase is obscure αὐχὴν suggests rather a convexity than a concavity, rather a hill than a hollow, rather an isthmus than a tunnel, cp 1. 72 (neck of Anatolia), 6 37 (of Thracian Chersonese). But Hdt also uses the word in applica-

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς  
 10 προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε  
 δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στευνῶν . . . ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες  
 μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύ-  
 νοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν  
 15 καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλευνες κατεπατέοντο ζωὴ  
 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ

9 'οἱ δὲ rectius, aptius post ἡμέρας' Stein<sup>12</sup>. illuc trai van H. 10  
 στεινόπορα C στεινότερα BPz 11 δὴ z || lacunam indic Stein<sup>13</sup>  
 13 ἐράπιζον C 14 θάλατταν d 15 δὲ ἔτι α 16 <οἱ> δὲ  
 "Ελληνες λαμπρῶς ἡγωνίζοντο> ante ἅτε ins Schenkl

tion to waterways, 4 85, 118 (Bosporos), 4. 89 (Istros) So here the neck might stand (a) for the pass as a whole, connecting the head and body of Hellas. But in this case Hdt would be (erroneously) representing the Hellenes as advancing beyond the West Gate. Or again (b) the term might be applied to a section of the pass, to wit, 'the Middle Gate' itself, at which the Greeks were posted, and which they were defending. What then was the 'neck' of the Middle Gate? (1) If the Gate is correctly conceived as a col, the road rising here up over a projecting spur of the mountain (Kallidionos), it would not be by nature the narrowest, or even a very narrow section of the pass, hence, indeed, the wall built across it (τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος, cp. c 176). But this 'spur,' or the 'saddle' itself, might perhaps be called a 'neck', or again (ii) the road here, as connecting the two semicircular theatres, behind and before 'the Middle Gate,' might perhaps be so designated. In either case the Spartans are here to be thought advancing down the slope in front of the Phokian wall. But more probably (iii.) 'the Middle Gate' may be held to include a narrow stretch of roadway below the hill, and between Kallidionos and the sea, which, as Dr Grundy has fairly shown (*G.P.W.* p 286), connected in ancient times the hill, on which he places the Phokian wall, with the more open ground in the neighbourhood of the hot springs. If so, that passage to the west, below the hill, might be the αὐχὴν, the hill itself being presumably the head. (Dr Grundy himself uses the term 'neck' of the ridge connecting the mound of the Middle Gate with the mountain side, *op. c. p.* 288 *ibid.*, p. 289

dis, and also carries the ancient road over this very 'neck'.) If the αὐχὴν is this stretch of straight road below the mound or col, and flanked on the south by Kallidionos, on the north by the sea, then the Lakedaimonians must be conceived as advancing not merely beyond the wall and down the hill, but through this 'neck' into the more open theatre about the hot springs (τὸ εὐρύτερον. ἔξω τῶν στευνῶν). But in this case τὸ εὐρύτερον is hardly a part of the αὐχὴν.

12 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων c 82 *supra*, *σημάντορες*. On this idea that the 'barbarians' had to be flogged into battle (ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρράπιζον π. ἄν.) cp. c 22 *supra*. It is an exaggeration that defeats its own purpose, diminishing the heroism of the Hellenes in proportion to the pusillanimity of their foe. Had Aristotle, *Eth. N.* 3. 8. 4=1116a, this story in view?

14 ἐσέπιπτον. ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. this they could not have done, unless the sea had been close in to the scene of action, the water fairly deep, and the fighting (if ἐσέπιπτον retain any sense of 'falling,' which is not the usual force of the word) on somewhat elevated ground. These conditions would have been better realized in immediate proximity to the Middle Gate itself than at some distance in front of it, and ἔξω τῶν στευνῶν. This observation supports Stein's view that there is a lacuna here after στευνῶν, and that the sentence ἐπιπτον. ἀπολλυμένον should have found room in c. 210 (or perhaps, rather, in c 212?). The change of subject from συμμίσγοντες (sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες by the previous context) to ἐπιπτον is almost intolerable.

16 ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. cp. 4 135 τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιςτος ἀπολλυ-

ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν  
περιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον  
ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δόρατα **224**  
μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλεόσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα,  
οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Λεωνίδης  
τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ  
ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν **5**  
ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ  
ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων· καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα

σ 17 σφίσι Stein. σφι 18 περιόντων R || <οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι>  
ἐπεδείκνυντο van H ἀπεδείκνυντο Cd<sup>z</sup>, Stein, Holder ἀπεδείκνυντο α  
ἐπεδείκνυντο BP || ἔχον z || μέγεθος Paris 1635 z 19 παραχρεώμενοί P,  
van H || ἀπτεόντες B (ἀπτεόντες S) 224. 2 πλεόνεσιν B 3  
κατηργάζοντο B 5 οὐνομαστοὶ z 6 ἀξίων del. Krueger, 'fortasse  
rectius' van H ἀξίων λόγου vel ἀξιολόγων? Stein<sup>2</sup> || ὀνόματα van H  
7<sup>-</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ z, van H || περσέων τε B

μένων λόγος τὸ ἀπολλύμενον is here  
collective. How different the case of the  
free citizens of Hellas, c. 224 *μηδία*, all  
whose names were known and memoi-  
able!

17 ἐπιστάμενοι perhaps merely 'ex-  
pecting', cp c 152 and 8 132. The  
latter part of this chapter is badly in  
want of a subject (cp App Crit.) but  
the want were best met by the transfer of  
the previous sentences, cp 1 14 *supra*.

19 παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες  
*παραχρεῶσθαι*, to despise, neglect, set at  
naught, cp. 8 20, 4 159, etc. On  
*χρέωμαι* as "the genuine Ionic form" cp  
Weir Smyth, § 289 3, p 260. Whether  
we should understand τοὺς ἐχθρούς, or  
take the word as middle and absolute,  
is not clear. ἀτέειν is not used by Hdt.  
elsewhere; and only once in Homer, *Il.*  
20 332, in participle, as here (of the  
madness, wildness, of facing hopeless  
odds).

224 2 τηνικαῦτα, 'by that time'  
(rather than 'under those circumstances').

3 οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς  
Πέρσας just like the Athenians at  
Marathon, cp. Suidas *sub* ι διεξιφίσω  
and my Hdt IV-VI n. (1895) pp  
230 ff. It is possible that the Athenian  
legend of Marathon had associated the  
long sword with that victory before the  
story of Thermopylai was garnered by  
Hdt., or even before the battle of Ther-  
mopylai was fought (cp 9 27, where,  
however, the claymore has not yet  
appeared), or it is possible that the

legends of Marathon and of Thermopylai  
were developed in rivalry with each other,  
and that Aristophanes (*Knights* 781 ff.)  
brought the ξίφος into prominence in  
the Attic legend, and even took it from  
this very passage. It does not figure in  
Hdt's account of Marathon (written after  
this passage). οἱ δέ (δόρατα μὲν), the  
emphatic subject, cp cc. 8, 50 etc.

4 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ just like the  
Polemarch at Marathon, 6. 114.

5 τῶν ἐγὼ ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα,  
where? when? from whom? Hdt un-  
fortunately leaves us to guess. It is  
curious that he does not give any of their  
names in this place, though he goes on  
to name several Persian ὀνομαστοί. The  
sentence τῶν ἐγὼ . . . τριηκοσίων (or rather  
καὶ ἕτεροι κτλ.) might well be a later  
insertion, the names he might have  
learnt at Sparta, where, near the theatre,  
with the monuments of Pausanias and  
of Leonidas, there stood στήλη πατρώθεν  
τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν  
Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν, Pausan. 3  
14 1. There can be no doubt that this  
record was in existence in Hdt's time,  
and it is obvious that he need not have  
visited Thermopylai (where there may  
have been a similar record) in order to  
obtain the list. Cp Introduction, §§ 9,  
10.

7. καὶ δὴ Περσέων corresponds (as Stein  
points out) to Λεωνίδης τε above, a cor-  
respondence which supports my sugges-  
tion that the words καὶ ἕτεροι . . . τριηκοσίων  
are a later insertion. The duplicate



ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο  
 παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνευ  
 10 θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης  
 Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω τὸν  
 οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ εἰσότης ταύτης  
 225 τέκνου. Ξέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχό-  
 μενοι, . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμός ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς δὲ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις.  
 5 τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὐ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς

8 οὐνομαστοί α || ὀνομαστοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱκ ὀνομαστοὶ α  
 9 ἀτάρνεω βz 10 ρατογούνης α ρατογόνης C || ἀτάρνης Pz 11  
 τοῦ βασιλέως del van H 12 ἀρσάμεω βPz, Holder, van H.  
 13 μούνου β, Holder, van H. || ταύτης εἰσότης β, Holder 225 1  
 δὴ om. β || μαχεόμενοι β 2 lacunam indic. Stein<sup>3</sup>. μαχόμενοι, <καὶ>  
 ὑπὲρ Schaefer, Stein<sup>12</sup>, Holder, van H || τε δὲ β 4 ὑπεξείρυσαν d  
 ὑπερεξείρυσαν α ὑπερεξείρυσαν C || ἀντίους malit van H || τετράκις ter  
 Valla πολλάκις d 5 μέχρις β

ὀνομαστοὶ further confirms the point, the one in this sentence being, of course, the earlier.

9. Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης. "It cannot be supposed that [the] sons of Darius bore names so thoroughly Greek as these," Rawlinson *ad* 7. One may suppose either that the princes bore names which the Greeks assimilated, or that these names come from some purely literary list (like that in the *Persai*), or even that these princes were known by nicknames to the Greeks in the forces ('Fine-locks' and 'Full-bloom') We have here a suggestion of Greek sources on the Persian side, cp Introduction, § 10

ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνευ θυγατρὸς Artanes is brother of Dareios the king (τοῦ βασιλέως), son of Hystaspes, son of Arsamēs, cp. c. 11 *supra*—a curiously elaborate description of Dareios and of his brother, if Hdt were chary of the patronymic! He perhaps takes the description over bodily from his source (Dionysios of Miletos<sup>2</sup>), and carries the Achaemenid pedigree back in this case as far as his authority went. The lady's name, Φραταγούνη, is made = Rhodogune, O P. *varā*, *urad* = ῥόδον (Stein) (Rawlinson's *Vocabulary*, iii p 549, connects *Phraḍasmēnes*, etc, with *frādat*, 'liberal,' 'generous'; Baehr quotes Oppert *frāta*

*gaunā*=*de forme d'avee*) She was sole heiress to her father, as Hdt explains τὸν οἶκον, as in 3 53 τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς of property, οἶκος λέγεται ἡ πᾶσα οὐσία, Ammonius, p 102 (Baehr) Hdt does not apparently mean that Artanes divested himself of his substance during his life

225 3. Λακεδαιμονίων both the situation and the term suggest that the 300 were not the only men of Lakēdaimon present, cp c 202

4 ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. How was all this remembered? Did the Thebans report it? or Persians? or Greeks on the Persian side? Or stray local onlookers? Οἱ Ἀριστοδamos ὁ τρέσας? (He was not present) What was done with the dead body of Leonidas when they drew it out from under the *mélēē*? Did they bear it back with them to 'the hill,' where the last stand was made, and the end came? (The body was afterwards found apparently, c 238 *infra*)

5 τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε, 'the struggle here lasted', cp σύστασις c 167.

οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. On the phrase and the situation cp c 233 *infra*. The arrival of these men (Hydarnēs and the 'Immortals'), or rather the news of their arrival, is the

δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νείκος· ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν 10 τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν

6 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπύθοντο S || ἑτεροιοῦντο S 7 νίκος PR νίκος Sz ||  
ἀνεχώρεον B 11 τοῖσι· τῇσι α ὅσοις Longin π ὕψ. 38

signal for a change in the course and character of the struggle (νείκος of actual battle, Homeric, and a term strong enough to be chosen by Empedokles as one of the poles of his cosmic dualism) But Hdt's description of the change might be clearer (especially if he had ever visited the scene) Though he has described the path as coming down to Alpenos (c. 216 *supra*), it is not in this place by any means clear that Epialtes and his men arrive *a tergo*, and that in retreating ἐς τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ the Greeks are moving in the direction of the men with Epialtes and Hydarnes, or that as they 'passed beyond the wall' the Greeks must have moved up the slope, out of the road way, on to somewhat more open ground, or that there were several 'hills' or 'hillocks' east of the wall, upon one or other of which they might have elected to take their last station (ἵζοντο)

7 τὸ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ not to be confounded with the narrow Western Gate, ἀμαξιτὸς μόνη, κατὰ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν c. 200 *supra*, the ἐμπροσθε Θερμοπυλέων, κατὰ Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πῶλιος, ἀμαξιτὸς μόνη of c. 176 not to be confounded with the still narrower Eastern Gate, ἐπισθε Θερμοπυλέων, κατὰ Ἀλπηνοῦς ἐπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς μόνη *ibid*, close to which the path Ἀνοραία came down (or one fork from it) κατὰ Ἀλπηνοῦς πόλιν, τῇ καὶ τὸ στενὸν ἐστὶ, c. 216.

The narrow way here in question is the passage of 'the Middle Gate,' or Thermopylai proper, in traversing which, from the west, the road rose over a low spur, or ὑπώρη, of Kallidromos, to the wall, beyond which, going east, the ground declined again towards the larger spur, or process of the hill, which formed the Eastern Gate, and down over which the ten thousand Persians came streaming, when the Hellenes were

informed (by the watchtowers at the wall?) that the 'strangers' were there

9. οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων should mean apparently the remnant of 700 Thespians, and 300 Spartans, but that can hardly be so cp c. 222 *supra*. Probably the body which takes its stand closely massed on the hill is made up of Spartans, Perioikoi, and perhaps some Helots too, but not a man, save from Lakedaemon.

ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς . . ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ This sentence again has the air of an insertion, perhaps from the author's hand, although the νῦν ἔστηκε cannot be precisely dated, nor can it prove autopsy on the writer's part. The Lion has long disappeared, but may yet one day be 'restored' if that time comes, it will be a matter of some interest to set the Lion on the proper hill. The Lakedaemonians had to receive an attack on both sides, perhaps from all sides - their *Kolonos* stood more or less clear of the mountain (S) and of the road (E and W). I counted three, if not four, such *Kolonoi* there (April 1899) that might dispute the honour. From notes taken at the time *an Ort und Stelle* I see that I inclined to identify the *Kolonos* with the highest of the mounds, immediately above the Upper Mill, and that appears to be Dr. Grundy's view (*G. P. W.* 312), though the Phokian wall stands on the 'summit of the slope,' or western side of this hill.

11 μαχαίρησι might be only the same weapons as τοῖσι ξίφεσι in c. 224 *supra*: the words τοῖσι . . περιεοῦσαι favour that interpretation, but properly the μάχαιρα is a dagger, short sword, or dirk, which hangs beside the ξίφος, at least on the Homeric hero, *Il* 3 272. It is clearly distinguished from the ξίφος in Xenoph *Hell* 3 3 7. The sense of this passage seems to demand a short weapon used at closest quarters

οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν  
15 περισταδόν.

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδίων τοιούτων γενομένων ὁμῶς λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμεῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς, ἐπεὰν οἱ  
5 βάρβαροι ἀπίωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν διστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι.

13 ἀντίης malit van H 226 2 ἄριστος ἀνὴρ BPz || διηνέκῃ H  
3 συμμεῖξαι Stein<sup>12</sup> 4 πιεθόμενον B || πρὸς τῶν τευ van H.  
5 ἀπίωσι B ἀπίωσι van H || πλήθεος νέφους Eustath II 704 6  
τοσοῦτο . εἶναι secl van H τοσοῦτον RS τοσοῦτόν τι V τοσοῦτό τι  
Pz τοσοῦτο τὸ Valckenaer

13 οἱ μὲν κτλ clearly describes the Persian forces which follow the Greeks eastwards out of the open, through (οἱ across?) the 'neck,' then up the hill, across the wall, which they (partially) destroyed in passing, every inch of the way perhaps disputed, till the Greeks withdrew on to 'the Kolonos'—not on the main road going east, but somewhat to the right (or south). These Persians would naturally then work round the hill from the west, to north and south.

14 οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν Some account of the precise part played in the last scene by Hydarnes and his men is fairly to be expected, it cannot be said that Hdt supplies it. If the περιελθόντες is referred specifically to those 'who had come round' by Ἀνοπαία, yet the words πάντοθεν περισταδόν (sc κατέχωσαν βάλλοντες) can hardly be restricted to their action. If the words πάντοθεν περισταδόν describe the last situation generally, then περιελθόντες cannot be confined to Hydarnes and his men. Did they actually take part in this last scene at all?

226 1 καὶ Θεσπιδίων If Thespians were with the 'Lakedaemonians' until the bitter end, and if there were 700 Thespians (or the remains) to 300 Lakedaemonians, how comes it that Sparta has ever since reaped all the glory, or almost all? Is it simply that Sparta was responsible? that a Spartan king fell? Is it that the blow which but stimulated Sparta, annihilated Thespians? But that was not so. It is

at least arguable that there were many more than 300 'Lakedaemonians' at Thermopylai first and last, and also that the Thespians, however gallantly they may have behaved, were not on 'the hill' in Thermopylai at the last. Cp Appendix V § 5

2 λέγεται by whom? where? The anonymous Trachinian stranger might be source of the anecdote, which might then have come to the ears of many in the Persian camp, but would the Trachinian have known the Spartiate's name? Did Demaratos supply the omission? (What a pilgrimage was his to that hill of slaughter! Every dead Spartiate face known to him!) Or were these anecdotes picked up by Hdt. in Sparta, and additions to his original draft? Or was the practice of collecting laconic apophthegms already in fashion? Could he draw upon literary sources for such bon-mots? Hdt. does not seem to guarantee the truth of the anecdote λέγεται, φασί, if anything, suggest a doubt. Why does not Hdt. preserve the much grander bon-mot of Leonidas? Pergite, animo forti, Lacedaemoni: hodie apud inferos fortasse cenabimus (Cicero, *Tusc D* 1 42. 101) Cp Introduction, § 10

Διηνέκης. Hdt. might have supplied his patronymic from the stela in Sparta, were he much given to putting such materials together. The mention of the Trachinian can hardly be held to prove that Leonidas began by occupying Trachis, cp c. 203 supra.

τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἶπεν ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον  
τὸ Μῆδων πλῆθος, ὥς πάντα σφί ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος  
ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μῆδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ  
ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν 227  
καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον  
λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάν-  
του παῖδες. Θεσπίων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν 5  
Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφί αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι 228

7 τούτοις τοῦτο B 8 τὸ τῶν RS(V) 9 τῶν om C 10  
καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ secl. Naber, van H 227. 2 διηνέκεά φασι B  
4 Ἀλφεός ἀδελφεός BB· ἀλφεὺς C Ἀλφεός Eustath. 228. 1  
ταφείσι R θαπτείσι SV

227 2. φασὶ presumably the same authority as before, the *φασί* (*bis*) applies to his bon-mots, the *λέγεται* above, like the *λέγονται* here, to the *ἀριστεία* Dienekes is called a Lakedaemonian here (in respect of his jests), a Spartiate above (in respect of his prowess) a distinction without a difference, for the two brothers who succeed him are 'Lakedaemonians', but if Hdt has followed a separate source for the jests, that might explain the addition of τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον. Perhaps the record of the *ἀριστία* belongs to the original story of Thermopylai, and the jests of 'Dienekes the Laked' are a later insertion, from a different source. Cp Introd § 9, Aristoph *Wasps* 1084.

3 λέγονται cp λέγεται c. 226 *supra*  
4 Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες They may have been of the 300, but perhaps they were not even full Spartiates—for a Perioikos might on occasion be allowed a patronymic. Alpheios is better known as a river than as a man; Maron is suggestive rather of wine than of water (cp. Homer, *Od.* 9. 197 ff., Eurip *Kykl.* 141, 412), and the word, or title, doubtless underlies the city-name of Μαρώνεια (c. 109 *supra*), famous for its wine. There was a cult of 'Maron' and 'Alpheios' in Sparta. Pausan 3 12 7 καὶ Μάρωνος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ Ἀλφείου. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐς Θερμοπύλας στρατευσάντων λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίως μαχέσασθαι μετὰ γε αὐτὸν δοκοῦσι Λεωνίδα. Dienekes has dropped out between Leonidas and these gallant brethren, or else Pausanias substitutes Leonidas for Dienekes. The cult does

not necessarily discredit the historical personage (cp the case of Brasidas, Thuc 5 11 1, Aristot *Eth. N.* 5. 7 1 = 1134 B). Orsiphantos, or Orsiphantes, the father's name, nowhere recurs, and has a somewhat hieatic flavour. ὀρσός is Lakonian for ὀρθός, Aristoph *Lys.* 995.

5 εὐδοκίμει seems to connote a less formal award than the *ἀριστεία*.

6. Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew Dithyrambos, son of Harmatides, was not the captain, or general of the Thespians (cp. c. 222 *supra*). Dithyrambos, as a proper name, is a little startling: it is primarily (like Μάρων) a title of Bakchos, cp Eurip *Bakch.* 526, it is secondarily a kind of poetry or melody (of which Anon was inventor, cp. 1 23). This Thespian is the only human person to whom the name is given. His father ('Wagoner') may have been a musician—of the Dionysiac order (the dithyramb was always in the 'Phrygian' mode, and decidedly orgiastic: Aristot. *Pol.* 5 (8); 7. 9 f = 1342 A-B).

228. 1. αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον generally an especial honour, cp. 1 30 καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως. So too at Marathon Pausan. 1. 32 3. But how was it managed at Thermopylai? The body of Leonidas was not buried there at all, but beheaded, impaled, and exposed (cp. c. 238 *infra*, and note). There were a thousand dead Greeks on view, 8 25: did the Persians then bury them? It is not recorded. Stein refers θαφθεῖσι to the funereal monuments (afterwards) erected (cp. ταφῆναι 3 55,

πρότερον τελευτήσασι . . . ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας  
οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

5 μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
ἐν Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.  
ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι  
ιδίῃ

ὧ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε  
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

2 lacunam indic. Stein<sup>3</sup> <τῶν συμμάχων> ἢ? Stein<sup>2</sup> · οἴχεσθαι τοὺς  
συνμάχους? Stein<sup>1</sup> τελευτήσασι ἢ <τοὺς> Schaefer, Holder, van H.  
ἢ om B 4 μυριάσι B || τῇδε διακοσίαις Diodor 11. 33 τᾶδε τρια-  
κοσίαις Schneidewin, van H. 5 πελοποννήσου B. πελοποννήσου z  
6 δὴ om B || συνάπασσι malit van H. 7 ἰδία B 8 ξεῖν' R:  
ξεῖνε αV ξένε Diodor . ξέν' Strabo 429 || ἀγγειλον z, Lycurg c. Leocr.  
109 · ἀπάγγειλον Strabo 9 πειθόμενοι νομίμοις Lycurg, Diodor, Strab.

and *ἔθαισαν* 1 30), yet he thinks that the Persians buried these corpses. But would the Persians bury? cp 1 140. Perhaps some pious though medizing Greeks did so. Those that died in the first two days' engagements would perhaps have been buried by their comrades—so far as the bodies were recovered.

καὶ τοῖσι . οἴχεσθαι looks like an after-thought, and as such is not even quite grammatically expressed, *τελευτήσασι* and *ἀποπεμφθέντας* not referring to the same persons. Perhaps *τοὺς ἄλλους* might be understood. Cp App Crit

3 γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε a useful illustration of the meaning of *λέγειν*, *λόγος*, etc. Cp c 220 *supra*, *Introd.* § 10. These epitaphs could hardly have been erected until after the victory at Plataiai in 479 B.C. Probably some little time elapsed even after that victory before the obsequies were performed at Thermopylai, and orders given for the erection of monuments and inscriptions. The Pylagoroi (c 214) may have moved in the matter at the spring meeting of 478 B.C., but perhaps the matter was not determined until 476 B.C. Cp note to c 238 *infra*.

4 μυριάσιν . τέτορες The first epigram gives the numbers of the combatants—three million on the one side, four thousand on the other. The latter figure includes only the Peloponnesians, agrees with Hdt's army-list c 202 *supra*, and may be the source of his estimate there. As Thespians, Thebans,

Lokrians, Phokians count for nothing, there is an extreme of deficiency in this direction, which is hardly overcome by the supposition that they each had special monuments and inscriptions of their own. This epigram is *τοῖσι πᾶσι*; but the outsiders are ignored, much as the Athenians were apt to ignore the Plataians, in their account of Marathon (cp 9 27). The epigram does not assert that all the 4000 were slain, cp 8. 25. The 'three hundred myriads' constitutes the oldest extant estimate of the land-forces of Xerxes. Taking 300 as a poetic license for 30, or 'myriads' for 'chiliads,' we have what is on the whole an acceptable figure (though no doubt ideal) for the land-army, cp Appendix II § 5. Diodorus 11 33 2 in quoting this epigram has *διακοσίας*, and gives *ἑκατὸν μ* as his own estimate, 11 11 2. Hdt's estimate, c 185 *supra*, is somewhat lower than the epigrammatist's. In regard to the form of the epigram as *Πελοποννήσου* has survived the scribes we should probably read *ποκά τῇδε τριακοσίαις*.

8 ὧ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν the poet's second venture is decidedly happier, this sublime distich (*ἡ θουλουμένη ἐπιγραφή*) is quoted with variations by Strabo 429 (and others) (1) ὧ ξέν', ἀπάγγειλον and (2) τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις "Longe praestat Herodotea lectio" (Valck.) Cicero, *Tusc* 1 42 101, translates (from the inferior version) "dic hospes Spartae, nos te hic vidisse iacentes, dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur."

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε. 10  
 μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι  
 Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
 μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς  
 οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.  
 ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος 15  
 ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ  
 δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίω Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεος ἐστὶ  
 κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

10 δὴ δὲ C || μάντι B 11 κλειτοῖο B, Holder: κλειτοῖο  
 van H || Μεγιστίου Anth. Pal 7. 677 14 ἡγεμόνα Stein<sup>2</sup>. ἡγε-  
 μόνas 15 ἔξω . . ἐπίγραμμα del. Krueger, van H 16 ἐπί-  
 γραμμα . . μάντιος om. Paris 1635 z || τὸ: τοῦ B 17 λεωπρέπεως C  
 λεωπρέπεος B

13 Λακεδαιμονίοισι the word repeated from the epigram=τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιάται just before.

τῷ δὲ μάντι: cc 219, 222 *supra*. This one diviner has an epitaph as long as οἱ πάντες and οἱ Σπαρτιῆται put together. Whether the previous story is a product of the epigram (κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς=c. 219; οὐκ ἔτλη κτλ =c 222), to some extent, is a fair question. Simonides was (as Hdt. expressly asserts) on terms of special friendship with Megistias. To obtain the three epitaphs Hdt. had no more need of visiting Thermopylai than had Cicero

12 Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν gives little or no indication of the exact scene of the diviner's death, although, had we no other evidence, we might suppose that the struggle took place at the West Gate, the nearest to Spercheios a poetic stream, as canonized by Homer, *Il.* 16 174, 23. 142

15 ἔξω . . ἐπίγραμμα (1) ἔξω=πλήν, (u) the dative τῷ ἐπιγράμματι might be expected after ἐπιγράμμασι. The anacoluthon is designed to avoid the reference of τὸ τοῦ μ. ἐπίγραμμα to σφέας (Stein), but the neuter accusative can here hardly be in direct construction with ἐπικοσμήσαντες. As preposition ἔξω naturally would take a genitive (c 29 l 6), but it appears with an accusative (of motion) c. 58. But cp. App Crit

16. Ἀμφικτύονες This action of the Pythagoroi may fairly be associated with their proceedings against Epialtes c 213 *supra*, and both with the remarkable attempt of Sparta to revive and exploit

the Delphian Amphiktyony as a make-weight to the new Delian confederacy, cp Busolt, *Gr Gesch.* III. 1 pp 80-88.

17 Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεος. The unsurpassed master of commemorative epigram, and not of epigram only, cp the citation from his 'Ἐνkomion' on the heroes of Thermopylai, Diodor. II. 11 (=Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* III<sup>4</sup> p 383) This one chapter of Hdt contains three authentic epigrams by Simonides (cp. Hauvette, *de l'authenticité* etc pp 43 ff), although Hdt. does not expressly refer any of them to that author. Simonides was indeed the first and not the least fertile of the historians of 'the Median war' besides numerous epitaphs, dedications, and such like inscriptions, he composed (to order) elegies, encomia, hymns, dirges, etc., as on the battle of Marathon (cp my Hdt IV.-VI II. 180 ff.) so on Thermopylai, Salamis, Plataiai, which must have helped largely to fix both the sentiment and even the tradition of the facts. Cp Introduction, § 10, Appendix I.

Simonides is here given his patronymic in 5 102 (*ubi vide* for reff) he is described as 'the Keian,' or man of Keos. This passage has the appearance of being the earlier composed. Hdt. names Simonides here simply as the friend of Megistias (for ὁ ἐπιγράφας does not necessarily mean that he actually composed the quatrain, cp 4 88), there, in his poetical capacity.

Simonides was not an uncommon name (e.g. Thucyd. 4. 7. 1 Σιμωνίδῃς Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός). at least a dozen

229 Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ  
 Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησα-  
 μένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε  
 ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν  
 5 Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο  
 νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, παρεὼν σφί τούτων  
 τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ  
 διενειχθέντας Εὐρυτον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν  
 περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἑωυτὸν  
 10 κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅπως δὲ αὐτὸν

229 3 μεμετιμένοι d || γε: τε B, Holder 6 ἀποθανεῖν codd  
 7 ἐβελῆσαν α 8 διενειχθέντας α 9 ἑωυτὸν Krueger: αὐτὸν  
 codd, Stein<sup>1</sup>, Holder

men are known to have borne it, many of them men of letters. Of the identity of Simonides, son of Leoprepes, with 'the Keian,' the most celebrated of all his namesakes (Σιμωνίδῃ γε οὐ ῥάδιον ἀπιστεῖν, σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, Plato, *Rep* 331E), there is no doubt *Mar. Par* 54 Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπους ὁ Κεῖος. His absolute primacy leads to his being frequently mentioned without patronymic or *ethnikon*, as by Plato, *l.c.* He was credited with a life of ninety years, 559-469 B.C., *Mar. Par* 57. He bore the same name as his grandfather, who was also a poet, *ib* 49. The name Leoprepes occurs at Sparta 6 85, and as that of his father in two epigrams ascribed to Simonides, Bergk, *P.L.* III<sup>4</sup> p. 496 (146, 147), one of which M. Hauvette (no. 10 *op. c.*) regards as genuine.

229. 1. τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων seems to show that Hdt. has no clear idea that there were more than 300 'Spartiatas' or 'Lakedaimonians' at Thermopylai in all λέγεται by no means guarantees the truth of the λόγος, rather the contrary.

Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον. Hdt. does not furnish them with patronymics, c 224 notwithstanding, he follows his special source, without attempting amplification or combination. Eurytos is a good heroic name: (a) one of the mysterious Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε, *Il.* 2. 621, 11 750; (b) the founder of Oichalia, in Thessaly, *Il.* 2. 730 (but cp Strabo 339, 350, 438), a mighty archer (cp *Od.* 8. 226) whose bow came to Odysseus, *Od.* 21. 31 ff.

Aristodemus rejoices in a name which

is found early in the Herakleid pedigree, as the father of Eurysthenes and Prokles, c 204 *supra* etc., the man who, according to Spartan tradition, had set the Dorians in Sparta. 6. 52 The name occurs again in the royal lineage as that of the guardian (πρόδικος) of Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias the king, Xenoph. *Hell.* 4. 2. 9 If this Aristodemus too was of Herakleid blood his fate is all the more pathetic

2. παρεὼν, acc abs., cp. Madvig, § 182 κοινῷ λόγῳ χρ., 'after coming to an agreement' or 'after agreeing to a common line of action.'

3 μεμετιμένοι, one of the most astounding words in Hdt., cp 6 1. μ. ἦσαν not quite what μετεώρω (? cp 2 165) would have been

5 Ἀλπηνοῖσι cp cc 216, 176 *supra* ὀφθαλμιῶντες. the disease, so common in ancient and modern times in Greece, and throughout the east, is due to the sun and dust, cp. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2. 1 3 (in Chios) (It was another kind of 'ophthalmia' the Persians suffered from in Makedonia, 5. 18—more like that described in Plato, *Phaedr* 255 c, D)

7 ὁμοφρονέειν, 'to be of one mind'; cp 9 2, 8 3, 8 75

γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας. i.e. like the braves and the deserters at Thermopylai, c. 220 *supra*

8. πυθόμενον, as was likely in Alpepos, cp c 216.

10. τὸν εἴλωτα is fairly taken to mean, not that there was one helot attending on the two invalids, but that every Spartan at Thermopylai had at least one

ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν [ἀγαγόντα] οἵχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λιποψυχέοντα λειψθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἢ μούνον Ἀριστόδημον ἀλογήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί, οὐκ ἂν σφι 15 Σπάρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μνηίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι 230

11 ἀγαγόντα del. van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> 13 λιποψυχέοντα AB. λειποψυχέοντα ceteri φιλοψυχέοντα Valckenaer, van H || ἢ Stein. ἦν α. om B 14 ἀλογήσαντα ἀλγήσαντα CP(V)dx, Wesseling, Gaisford, Krueger, Baehr. 'neutrum placet' van H || ἐν σπάρτῃ S || σφῶν AB: σφέων 15 ἐμοί om. B 16 προθέσθαι B || νῦν B, Krueger, Holder, van H. 17 αὐτῶν om. Pz || ἀπολλομένου d. ἀπολομένου C 18 οὐ θελήσαντος α || μνηίσαι Stein μνηίσαι

helot to serve him: cp. 8. 25 *ἡφρα*. "His helot," Rawlinson Such virtue is in the article

13. λιποψυχέοντα the word in Thuc. 4. 12. 1 (of Brasidas!), Xenoph. *Hist* 5 4 58 (of Agesilaos!), Pausan. 4 10 3 (of a brave Spartan, wounded in battle with the Messenians), always refers to physical exhaustion, a bodily faint: Grote here renders it "overpowered with physical suffering" (which is not quite its usual force) The alliteration λιπ-λειψθῆναι (which Baehr thinks designed) is also bad, but helps to explain a corruptela Valckenaer's emendation (see App Crit.) is also supported by Tyrtaeus 10. 7 μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρναμένοι.

14. ἀλογήσαντα is rendered "in Sinnbetheorung" and left by Stein, though manifestly corrupt, van Herwerden prints (Wesseling's) conjecture ἀλγήσαντα without approving it The word is used absolutely 8. 116, or with a suppressed object, easily supplied from the context, cp 8 46, here the construction would be harsh, and the word almost unmeaning (for it can hardly mean 'bereft of his senses').

The argument puts two alternatives. (a) that the one survivor had been the only man disqualified or excused from fighting, (b) that the two men excused from fighting had both returned together to Sparta. in either case there would have been no wrath in Sparta μούνον ἀλογήσαντα, or whatever it represents, is plainly a predicate, but the corruption

in the passage may extend beyond the single word.

15 κομιδὴν c 170 *supra*, 8 19, 108, 9. 73.

γενέσθαι, like ἀπονοστήσαι, after εἰ, even in *oratio obliqua*, is rather startling, but not unparalleled (Though there is no other instance in these Books, cases occur in 1. 129 εἰ . . δαῖν, 2 172 εἰ . . εἶναι, 3 105 εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν, 108 εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι cp. Stein *ad l.* 24.) The infinite δοκέειν is, of course, idiomatic; cp Madvig, § 168 b, and προσθέσθαι quite regular.

σφι is observable, but yet hardly "sachlich ungenau" (Stein), as the sentence is not merely hypothetical, but negative. 'they would not have been (and they were not) angry with the two men (but only with Aristodemos)' Perhaps σφῶν (if Hdt ever used it) might have been formally more exact

16 μῆνιν· here a purely human wrath, yet not, perhaps, without a religious sanction

νυνὶ Stein maintains (against Dindorf), although it is the only instance of the *ι δεικτικόν* in Hdt

17. τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος, 'having no better excuse than the other man to allege' (cling to); cp. 6. 94 ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος

18 σφι sc. τοῖσι Σπαρτιήταισι.

μνηίσαι a poetical word (chiefly in Hom and Soph<sup>2</sup>), cp 5. 84, 9. 7.

230 1. οἱ μὲν . . λέγουσι. οἱ δὲ there was a variant, which was even more



Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἷ  
 δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξέδν αὐτῷ  
 καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐβελήσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπο-  
 μέναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ  
 231 ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν. ἀπονοστήσας δὲ <ὦν>  
 ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε ὄνειδος τε καὶ ἀτιμίην.  
 πάσῃων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο. οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε  
 Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο. ὄνειδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας  
 232 Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιήσι  
 μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσάν <οἱ> αἰτίην. λέγεται

230. 2 ἐν σπάρτῃ S 4 τὴν μάχην καταλαβεῖν B 231. 1  
 <ὦν> add. Stein<sup>3</sup> 2 ὁ om BPz, Holder || ὄνειδος τε εἶχε(V) B,  
 Holder, van H. 3 δὲ Stein<sup>2</sup>: τε 5 Ἀριστόδημος del. Naber,  
 van H. 232. 1 τῇ ἐν α. τῇσι B || πλαταιήσι α πλαταιήσι B  
 2 ἐπενειχθεῖσάν: ἐπενειχθείσαν ABCSV ἐξενειχθείσαν Rd || οἱ z, Stein<sup>8</sup>

severe on the memory of Aristodemos, not allowing him even the excuse (*πρόφασις*) of sickness. Perhaps the *συνάγγελος* rather discredits this account, and Hdt appears to give the other the preference. Moreover the object, or objective, of the *ἀγγελίη* is not given; there is more local colour and precision about the other story *ἐξέδν* cp. *παρέδν* c. 229.

4. *καταλαβεῖν*, to 'overtake,' to arrive before the close of, the battle (*γινομένην*, predicative). But 'which battle'? on which day? The former story clearly specifies the third day's fighting, and accounts for the action of Eurytos by the news of the advent of the Persians down Anopaiia. A 'messenger,' or 'envoy,' at a greater distance from Thermopylai could hardly have known of the desperate nature of the situation.

231. 2 *εἶχε ὄνειδος τε καὶ ἀτιμίην*. he incurred the disgrace of (partial) disfranchisement, or excommunication.

3. *πάσῃων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο*, 'his degradation took the following form' (predicative participle). This appears to be the extreme form of *ἀτιμία* described by Xenoph. *Rep. I* 9, and implied by Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 30. Where large numbers of persons had incurred it, the penalty was occasionally remitted, as in the case of the Sphakterian prisoners, Thucyd. 5 34. 2, who were first deprived merely of the *ius honorum* and *ius commercii*, and subsequently completely restored. Cp. the case reported by Plutarch, *l.c.* (Sparta could not afford

to disfranchise many Spartiatai, owing to her miserable policy and political position, Rome never displayed her immense superiority to Sparta more superbly than when the word went forth, after Cannae, *non redamini capivros*. On the pluperfect cp. next c.

*ἔναυε* *αἰεῖν* (Att. *αἰεῖν*) *ἐναεῖν*, to kindle fire. Cicero, *de Off* 1 52, 'sunt illa communia, Non prohibere aqua *profluente*, Pati ab igne ignem capere, si quis velit, Consilium fidele deliberanti dare quae sunt is utilia, qui accipiunt, danti non molesta.' It is from these common offices, or benefits, of human society that *οἱ τρέσαντες* at Sparta were excommunicated.

4. ὁ τρέσας, 'the quaker,' 'the coward.' *τρέμειν* is found in use from Homer to Plato and Demosthenes, to quake, tremble, and so to fear. Hdt seems to write as though this *ἀτιμία* was invented to meet the case of Aristodemos. Had such a case never arisen before? (Cp. next c.) Tyrtaios 10. 14 *τρέσαντων* δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

232 1 ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιήσι μάχῃ a forward, though not an explicit, reference, cp 9 71. Hdt. regards this man with much sympathy.

2. ἀνέλαβε the metaphor here is not quite lucid. *τὴν ἀρχὴν* in 3. 73, 'to take up again,' to recover the supreme power, *τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετήν*, Xenoph. *Mem.* 3 5 14, are as obvious as Aristot. *Eth. N* 3 5 14=1114A οὐδ' ἀφέντι λίθον ἔτ' αὐτὸν δυνατόν ἀναλαβεῖν. Again, Thuc. 6. 26. 2 *ἀπὸ δ' αἰνιγμάτων*.

δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον εἰς Θεσσαλίην τῶν  
τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Παντίτην·  
νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον εἰς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι. 5

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν 233  
μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι  
πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν  
Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ  
Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων 5

4 παντίτην C  
γινόμενα τῶν περσέων B

233 2 ἐχόμενοι del. Cobet, van H  
5 ἐπειγομένων α

3

πολις ἐαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου κτλ Xenoph.  
*Hell* 6 5 21 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυρίας  
εἰδοκεῖ τι ἀνελιγμέναι τὴν πόλιν κτλ are  
simple enough, but do not help towards  
ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν The way to this  
lies rather through two passages of Hdt.,  
8 109 ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν  
τὴν προτέρην κακότητα, and 5 121 τοῦτο  
τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμάχεσαντο (οἱ  
Κᾶρες), so here, τὴν αἰτίαν The word  
seems to have lost definite colour.

λέγεται this envoy-story is in so  
far better that 'Thessaly' is named as  
the (rather improbable?) bourne of the  
envoy, and there is no variant

4 Παντίτης, however, looks painfully  
in his fate like a double of Othryades,  
the sole survivor of another three hundred  
from Sparta, 1 82—save that Othryades  
had absolutely nothing to reproach him-  
self with. If Pantites means 'the all-  
honourable man,' his name but makes  
him look the more like a fable, or a  
broad hint (to Aristodemos) The truth  
of this story would rather conflict with  
the opinion expressed by Hdt. in c 229.  
The messenger *motif* had been developed  
with variations before the story preserved  
by Plutarch, *Mor* 866 (= *de Malig* 32),  
could have been devised of the relatives,  
one of whom rejected the king's friendly  
attempt to save him with the surly  
apophthegm μαχαράς τοι οὐκ ἀγγελια-  
φόρος εἰπόμην But the other relative  
might have been Aristodemos

5 ὡς ἡτίμωτο the pluperfect would  
here have the strictly temporal force  
which it hardly has above in c 231.

233 1 οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι Hdt expresses  
no doubt, and reports no variant, of this  
story—which is nevertheless, as Plutarch  
(*Mor* 866 D, E, 867 A = *de Malig* 33)  
points out, manifestly absurd and in-  
credible \* Plutarch's arguments are not

all equally convincing, but those which  
arise from the admissions of Hdt and  
the nature of the case are sufficiently  
strong, apart from the conflict of evidence  
as to matters of fact. They may be  
enumerated briefly (i) Leonidas would  
not have kept with him men suspected  
of medism or treachery at the supreme  
hour, (ii) he would have given them  
'as hostages' to the departing Greeks;  
(iii) he could not, with 300 men,  
have detained them, 400 strong, against  
their will, (iv) their detention would  
have been inconsistent with his object,  
as reported by Hdt (c. 220), to secure  
the glory for the Spartans alone, (v)  
the battle-field was no place for such an  
appeal as that made by the Thebans  
(weak!), (vi) the Thebans would not  
have asked support from the Thessalians,  
with whom they were at enmity, had  
just been at war (a question of evidence!  
the 'silence' of Hdt does not disprove  
Plutarch's statement); (vii) the *stigmata*  
would have been an honour to the  
Thebans the bodies of Leonitades and of  
Leonidas were alike despitefully used by  
Xerxes, (viii) as a matter of fact, Leon-  
itades was not the commander of the  
Thebans on this occasion. See below.

τέως demonstrative, 'for a time.'  
2 ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι this asser-  
tion is manifestly absurd.

3. πρὸς, 'against'; cp c 145.

5 Ἑλλήνων. the word chosen, pre-  
sumably, to include the Thespians. It  
suggests, at any rate, more than the 300  
Spartiates

ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν the  
exact moment at which the Thebans  
separate themselves from 'the Hellenes'  
is marked. Leonidas is already dead  
(notwithstanding τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ, but  
they had his body, which is hardly

χειράς τε προτέινουν καὶ ἦσαν ἄσπον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὥς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοις ἔδωσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίετο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ  
 10 τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας. οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὥς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος  
 15 Ξέρξεω ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ

8 ἔδωσαν ἂν Reiske 9 ἐχόμενοι del Cobet, van H || εἶεν· εἶναι  
 SPz 10 γεγονότος βασιλεῖ ὥστε α γεγονότος· βασιλέος τε β ||  
 ὥς τε Bekker 11 περιεγίνοντο S, Plutarch. Mor 866 || τῶν λόγων  
 τούτων B, Holder. τούτων del van H. 15 ἔστιζαν Plutarch.

what Hdt means), and word has been brought to the officer who succeeded him in command that τοὺς σὺν Ἐπιδάτῃ ἦκειν (the message cannot have been exactly in that form!), c 225 The 'schism' among the Greeks is a part, or might be, of the ἐτεροίωσις τοῦ νείκεος there reported, but was it any part of the regular story of Thermopylai, any part of the Spartan tradition? οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων looks there as if it had come in to pave the way for this appendix

ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων. strictly speaking, it would seem, on Hdt's own showing, that it is the retirement of 'those with Leonidas' which causes the material 'schism'; then the Thebans move forward in suppliant guise. ἄσπον is a noticeable word; itself a comparative (ἀγχι), and used as such in the *Iliad*, it receives in the *Odyssey* a new comparative ἄσποτέρω, 17. 572, 19. 506

6. λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων cp c. 104 *supra*, 'the truest of true speeches' or 'statements'—a very suspicious formula in this connexion

8 ἐν πρώτοις ἔδωσαν, 'had been among the first to give', cp c 132 *supra* The Thebans as a matter of fact probably surrendered after Thermopylai

ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι. cp. just above, where Herodotus has borrowed the phrase, as it is so true! What was sauce for the goose was to be sauce for the gander. necessity is a sound plea or king or for council (cp. μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες c. 132 *supra*).

9 τοῦ τρώματος· a definite, a serious,

but not necessarily a fatal blow, 6. 132 (Marathon), cp. 8. 66. If there had been fighting on both the first and second days the plural might perhaps have been used.

10. ὥστε, 'and so', cp c 137

11 Θεσσαλούς Plutarch, *lc*, asserts that not long before (ἐναγχος) the Thessalians had been lords of Greece down to Thespiæ, and that the Thebans had expelled them after a battle in which the Thessalian (tagos), by name Δαρταμύας, had been killed, but that sounds very ancient history!

12. ὥς γὰρ . . . προσιόντας Plutarch naturally makes the most of this detail speechifying, slaying, advancing against the Spartans, Thessalians bearing witness (possibly 'interpreting'?), and all the hurry and scurry of the battle-field at once a cumulation of improbability.

15 ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆα as slaves, cp. στιγματίας, and δραπετής ἐστιγμένος, Aristoph *Bds*. 760 Blakesley here talks of 'tattooing,' Rawlinson of 'branding,' both referring to 2. 13 (cp. *Galatians* 6. 17) which, of course, does not approve either method. In 5. 6 and 35 no doubt the στίγματα are produced by the process of tattooing, but in the case of slaves, and such like, and for punishment, 'branding' is the probable process, cp c 18 *supra* (where the branding is to end in blindness) The Samian 'stigma' on the Athenian prisoners (Plutarch, *Perikl* 24), and the Syracusan (*Nikas* 29), are stricter parallels. What was the Persian king's 'stigma'? Not the 'broad arrow'!

στρατηγού Λεοντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, 234  
Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρτητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε.  
“Δημάρτητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·  
ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, κόσοι  
τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι 5  
τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες.” ὁ δ' εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ,

18 ἄστυ τῶν δ 234. 1 οὕτως ἡγωνίζοντο B 2 ἡρώτα CP:  
3 δὲ γὰρ δ || ἀληθινή z 4 ὅσα ὡς Cobet || εἶπες B 5 εἰσὶν  
B | κόσοι Cobet

Plutarch says that Hdt was the first historian to record the branding of the Thebans a remarkable observation, not as discrediting Hdt, but as suggesting a more or less copious literature on the Persian war of older date than the work of Hdt Cp. Introduction, § 10

ἀρξάμενοι ἀπό, 'beginning from,' or, as we should say, 'with', cp. 3. 12 ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξ

16 τοῦ . τὸ Πλαταιέων. This sentence at least cannot date before the year 431 B C, and, if from Hdt's own hand, may have been inserted by him among the batch of final revisions of the work This observation does not, however, of necessity extend to the whole anecdote, the whole chapter Even if the source of the scandal against the Thebans is an Athenian or atticizing (e.g. Plataian) one, there was plenty of bad blood all along, and there were even special occasions, during the *Pentekontaetæris*, to account for the story of the Theban conduct at Thermopylai, without supposing that the whole story dates after the surprise of Plataiai in 431 B C by Eurymachos, son of Leontiades. Plutarch indeed (*l.c.*) asserts that the commander of the Thebans at Thermopylai was not Leontiades at all, but Anaxandros, and as he quotes the authority of Aristophanes (of Boiotia) and Nikandros of Kolophon for the fact, it cannot be easily discredited, but the insertions in Hdt might easily extend to the name of Leontiades in this chapter, and in c 205 *supra* It is more certain that Eurymachos, son of Leontiades, commanded the Thebans at Plataiai in 431 B C (Thucyd 2 2 3), than that Leontiades, son of Eurymachos,

commanded the Thebans at Thermopylai in 430 B C

17 στρατηγήσαντα The tense (equivalent to a pluperfect) because his death has been before mentioned. Thucyd 2. 2 3 and 2. 5 7 does not call him στρατηγός (e.g. Εὐρύμαχος εἰς αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸς δὲ ἐπραξαν οἱ προδιδόντες)

18. τετρακοσίων a coincidence, and a suspicious one, for Thucyd. 2. 2 1 gives Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (of whom 180 fell into the hands of the Plataians and were put to death, 2 5 7)

σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ cp. c 164 *supra* (ἐσχέ) It is very doubtful whether Plataiai in 431 B C had anything which could be called an Akropolis, the Thebans piled their arms in the Agora (Thuc 2 2 4), and there is nothing said of a citadel, either there or in the story of the siege 429-427 B C

234 2 Δημάρτητον third entrance of Demaratos, and scene with Xerxes (cp cc 101-4 and 209—not reckoning the notice in c 3, which hardly belongs to the actual story of the war) This is the last of three great scenes, or dialogues, with Xerxes, Artemisia taking the place of the Spartan in Bk 8 *mutatis mutandis*, even as he has supplanted Artabanos (But cp. further c 289 *infra*, and 8 65)

3 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, 'by the course of events' (not 'by the truth of your statements'). Facts have verified the Spartan's predictions, and Xerxes is prepared to trust him as an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός No doubt his truthfulness was the virtue primarily illustrated, cp. c 101

4. ἀπέβη οὕτω, 'went off accordingly,' have occurred, just as you predicted

πλήθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις  
πολλαί· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαί-  
μονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη· οὔτοι

7 πολλὸν om. *d* post Λακεδαιμονίων locat *z* || πόλις *αΡz* πόλεις *β*  
et reliqui 9 μάλιστα κη· οὔτοι Schaefer, van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> μάλιστα,  
καὶ οὔτοι codd., Stein<sup>1 2</sup>, Holder

7. πόλεις πολλαί· referring to the 'Perioikoi' who are included in Λακεδαιμόνιοι (if not the Helots to boot), and contrasted with Σπάρτη. Strabo 362 gives 30 as the number for his own day, and the conventional 100 for antiquity *ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Σπάρτης αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλιναι τνὲς εἰσι περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἑκατόμπολιν φασιν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι*. Very few townships in Lakonia proper attain to historical renown, or even mention Pausanias 3. 21. 6 gives a list of eighteen free states for his own time, and mentions that the Eleutherolakones had numbered twenty-four πόλεις (in the time of Augustus), other towns were subject to Sparta. (Stein mentions that the number of known names is about sixty, Clinton, *Fasts Hell.* 11<sup>3</sup> (1841) pp 491 ff., actually gives them all.)

8. ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι sc *χωρᾷ* Λακεδαίμων is an adjective; cp 6. 56 and c 220 *supra* (perhaps meaning originally 'hollow,' *κόλλος*, the vale, of Eurotas, cp. L. & S *sub v*).

9. Σπάρτη πόλις 'Sparta,' notwithstanding the accent, must originally have meant 'the sown-land,' the most cultivated portion of the Eurotas valley, where the city itself was situated. Sparta was never 'a fenced city,' being still, even in Thucydides' day, *οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης* (1. 10. 2) eminently then a πόλις ἀνδρῶν—for 'stone walls do not a city—make', but the *ἀνδρες ἐνοικοῦντες* *ἔσω*, as Sparta perpetually witnessed, and the best Greeks themselves saw; cp. 8. 61. 7 *infra*.

ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα. The figure 8000 is obviously a round number. It represents here the total sum of adult citizens for 480 B.C. It may represent Hdt's estimate for his own time, cp. 5. 97. It accords with the army-list for Plataiai, to which Sparta furnishes 5000 citizen-soldiers (cp. 9. 10, 28) on the assumption that the levy *πανδημί* is to be reckoned at

two-thirds (Thuc 2. 10. 2), that figure there implies a total of 7500–8000 citizens.

Beloch, *Bevölkerung* 131 ff., has challenged this figure, and rejected the belief in a material reduction of the total number of Spartan citizens during the fifth and fourth centuries. He takes 2500–3000 as a constant maximum for the Spartiate militia, he thinks the 5000 Spartans at Plataiai include 2500 Perioikoi, he regards all higher estimates as exaggerations; the supposed diminution in the number of citizens he explains as itself an exaggerated inference from the growth of the class of Spartan 'inferiors' (*ὑπομείονες*) by transfers from the class of 'Peers' (*ἴσμοιοι*). Thus, to take an extreme case, he sees the 'Peers' in the 700 Spartans of Plutarch, *Agis* 5, although Plutarch adds *καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἑκατὸν ἦσαν οἱ γῆν κεκτῆμένοι καὶ κληῖρον*. Could a Spartiate be a 'Peer' without possessing a κληῖρος?

Beloch's analysis of the data for the Peloponnesian war and the subsequent periods is illuminative, but his reduction of the Spartan totals to 3000 or less, and his denials of any serious reduction in the number during the fifth and fourth centuries, are not convincing. The only express text which supports his contention is Isokrates, *Panath.* 286 (§ 255), where the rhetor reduces the original militia of Sparta to 2000 men, for rhetorical purposes: the passage, however, implies a larger figure for the writer's own day.

The following considerations are adverse to Beloch's theory.—

(1.) The strong tradition of higher figures, in Herodotus, Aristotle, Plutarch.

(a) Would Hdt have assigned 8000 citizen soldiers to Sparta, if such a total was from three to four times too large? The Spartans may have been as discreet in warfare as the Japanese, but the Greek world could hardly have blundered so grossly as to acquiesce in a troubled estimate. Nor is Demaratos dramatically 'pulling the king's leg' on this occasion to make sport for Hdt's audience: the

πάντες εἰσὶ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν 10  
 ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὅμοιοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.”  
 εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης “Δημάρητε, τέφ' τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν, ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις  
 αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος.”  
 δ·δ' ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλευεαί μοι 235  
 προθύμως, δίκαιόν με σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον· εἰ τῆς  
 ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστέλλεις ἐπὶ τὴν

10 ὅμοιοι CPdz || γε μὲν· γε μὴν R 12 ἀπονητοτάτω B 13  
 ἐπικρατήσομεν B 235 1 δὲ εἶπεν B || συμβουλευεαί A<sup>1</sup> 2 ἔστι  
 σοι 3 ἀποστέλλας Cd

Plataian army-list would refute that suggestion

(b) Aristotle, *Pol* 2 9 16=1270 A, records a tradition that the Spartans had once numbered 10,000. The figure is obviously conventional, but it is not national, and it stands quite out of relation to 2000-3000.

(c) Plutarch's 9000 (*Lyk.* 8) no doubt represents a theory in the days of Agis IV (cp Grote, II. 314), but a theory may be good or bad. As the number of *κλήροι* in a Lykourgean land-assignation the figure is no doubt unhistoric, as a regulative maximum for Sparta's citizens it may deserve more respect. Beloch admits that Agis and Kleomenes III raised the number of citizens to 4500, some 1500 above his own normal maximum for the fifth and fourth centuries. Sparta never had so many citizens as in the decadence!

(ii) The position achieved by Sparta in Lakonia, in Peloponnese, in Hellas, coupled with her political constitution which restricted the franchise to the Spartiates, would be inexplicable on the supposition that the privileged few numbered only some 3000 men.

(iii) The evidence for a great and growing reduction in the numbers of Spartan citizens cannot be explained as merely the reflexion of the relative and changing numbers of 'Peers' and 'Inferiors,' both alike accounted Spartan citizens. Moreover, the losses experienced in the fifth and fourth centuries (notably by the earthquake and Helot rising in 464 B.C., and by the emancipation of Messenia in 370 B.C.) go far to explain a reduction in the actual numbers of Spartiates, to say nothing of natural decline in a close aristocracy, never reinforced or recruited *ab extra*.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the cognate question concerning the whole census for Lakonia, the figures for which must in large part be inferred from the total for the citizen body: enough if reason has been shown for a pause and further retraction of the whole evidences available, before discarding the Herodotean figures for the Herodotean period. Aristotle's verdict that the land could have supported 1500 cavalry and 30,000 hoplites (*Pol* 2 9. 16=1270 A) should be carefully considered.

10. ὅμοιοι, possibly used with a suggestion of its technical force at Sparta; cp preceding note.

13 ἔχεις, 'has hold of', cp ἔχειν = γινῶναι 6 52 (Stein).

14 τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, 'the ins and outs of their plans' (Blakesley), cp 3. 156.

235 1 συμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως: the force of the middle voice is here observable, cp 8 102 συνεβουλευετο. The adverb seems to mean 'in earnest.' One would rather expect the *προθυμία* to be predicated of Demaratos, but it might come to much the same, and the king had previously turned his advice to ridicule, c. 105.

2. εἰ κτλ seems to be a *protasis pendens*, but an apodosis is not far to seek. Baehr, indeed, suggests that it should have come instead of ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου κτλ, in fact regards that as the virtual apodosis. But it may just as well, or better, be reckoned to the protasis, and part of the hypothesis. The real apodosis has been already implied: sc. τὸ ἄριστον ἂν εἴη. Cp. for a similar case c. 5 *supra*.

3 τριηκοσίας probably a third, or at any rate a quarter, of the whole fleet, cp c. 89. But Demaratos takes no

Λάκαιναν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ  
5 οὖνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος  
γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον <ἂν> ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιάτησι κατὰ

4 λάκαιναν α. λακεδαίμονα β λάκαιναν χώραν, ἔστι [δὲ] Krueger ||  
κειμένη β 5 ὄνομα van H || χίλων α 6 μέζον A<sup>1</sup>BR μέζω  
Cδ || ἂν add. Stein<sup>2</sup>

account of the losses off Sepias and Euboea, or in the fighting at Artemision!

4. Λάκαιναν. simply the feminine adjective of Λάλων, and still nearer the proper stem than Λακεδαίμων above, and specially appropriate in Demaratos' mouth.

5. Κύθηρα. τὰ (modern *Cerigo*), the island off Malea, cp 1. 82 ἡ Κυθηρὴ νῆσος. in 1 105 as here. The older name Πορφύρουσσα (διὰ τὸ κάλλος τὸ παρὰ τῶν πορφύρων, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης, Steph B *sub v*) suggests its chief commercial value, the epithet of Aphrodite, Κυθήρεια, its religious interest, cp 1 105; while in this place its strategic importance is mainly in view, cp Thuc 4 53.

Χίλων in 1 59 there is a Chilon of Lakedaimon, contemporary with Hippokrates the father of Peisistratos (about contemporary, that might be, with Solon and other sages), who gives some advice to the Athenian, which is not taken. In 6 65 there is a Chilon son of Demaimenos, whose daughter, Perkalos, is wife to Demaratos. The contemporary of Solon cannot be the father-in-law of Demaratos, perhaps the two Chilons were grandfather and grandson, but which was the sage? Probably the elder.

6. ἔφη. The observation of Chilon obviously means that Kythera, from the opportunity it offered to an enemy (especially a maritime power) as a base of operations against Lakonia, was more of a curse than a blessing to 'mesogaian' Sparta. Was this strategic observation as old as the days of Solon, or as young as the Archidamian war, and moreover the eighth year thereof (424 B.C.)? Stein, without venturing to date the composition of this passage as late as 424, argues that the comparison of this place with Thucydides, 4 52 ff., appears to prove that the notion of occupying Kythera had been current since the beginning of the war (431 B.C.), i.e. he appears to think that this passage was written after the outbreak of the Archidamian war in the light of an idea first

started in or about 431 B.C. But Pausanias 1. 27 5 preserves a completely acceptable record of the occupation of Kythera by Tolmides, on his great *Periplus*, which is also recorded, without much detail, by Thuc 1. 108 5, though he mentions the burning of Gytheion. The date of that exploit is 456-455, cp. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III 1 325 f. This earlier date for the inception of the idea suits far better any rational view of the composition of Hdt's history, and especially of the provenience of his sources, as here the Demaratos-source, than Stein's indication. But is the perception of the strategic aspects of Kythera only as old as Tolmides and the exploit of the *Pentekontaeteris*? It figures here, in the first instance, as a virtual criticism on a profound error or shortcoming in the Persian plan of campaign, it is repeated substantially in Bk 9. 9 as the sagacious criticism, not of Chilon the Spartiate but of Chaleos the Tegeate<sup>1</sup> and referred not to the Persian fleet in 480 B.C. but to the Athenian fleet in 479 B.C. There was one man at least at that time who will have understood perfectly the best use of a fleet against the Peloponnesos, to wit, Themistokles, and the veiled critique in 9 9, as here, might safely be carried back to the great Athenian. That reference would at least safeguard this passage as part of Hdt's original concept and draft of his work (cp. Introduction, § 9), but is it even necessary to stop there? The use of such islands generally, and of Kythera in particular, was probably understood in the Peloponnesos, and ages before the Persian war (cp 5 125). Kythera itself had been a bone of contention (cp 1. 82). It is dramatically appropriate for Demaratos to point out the obvious advantages of Kythera to Xerxes, but we may be astonished at his moderation in fathering the mot upon even the elder Chilon; it might go back to the days of the Phoenicians, or even of Minos (to whom might be ascribed the introduction of the Aphrodite cult. is not the Snake-goddess of Knossos (cp

τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τοι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι, οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὁρμώμενοι <οἱ σοὶ> 10 φοβεόντων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἔωντος [οἰκῆιου], οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονται τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλίσκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτη. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται, ἣν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήης, τάδε τοι προσδόκα 15 ἔσεσθαι. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαι τοι ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις 20 προσχωρήσουσι."

Λέγει μετὰ τούτων Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ 236

8 τοιοῦτον B || τοι. τι B 10 ἐκ ταύτης ὦν Bz, Holder, van H || ὁρμώμενοι Cd. ὁρμεόμενοι P, Stein<sup>1</sup>, van H. || οἱ σοὶ con. Stein<sup>2</sup>, add Stein<sup>3</sup> 11 φοβεόντων φερόντων B 12 οἰκῆιου Stein 'ex margine vid irrepsisse,' Kallenberg || ἔστοαί A<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup> 14 ἐλάδος α || ἤδη δὲ B 15 λείπεται γίνεται B || ποιῆς codd. 16 πελοποννήσου Rd 17 τῷ χώρῳ del van H || πελοποννησίων Rd 18 γενομένων Stein γενομένων || τοι om S 19 πόλεις πόλεις B πόλεις α' 20 προσχωρήσουσι R

A J Evans, *Annual of B.S.A.* ix pp 75 ff) the Oianian Aphrodite? Cp note 1 5 *supra*)

11 παροίκου δὲ πολέμου It was an obvious rule of Spartan policy, enforced by the miserable domestic situation, with helots ever ready to revolt, Argos ever plotting to recover the lost hegemony, allies constantly striving to push their local interests irrespective of Sparta's dignity, that war and trouble 'at home' kept Lakedaimonians within the Isthmos. They could not help Kroisos or Ionia in 547 B.C. they could not help the revolted Ionians in 498 B.C. by reason of that, they had to acquiesce afterwards in the growth of the power of Athens, because they were πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξηργόμενοι, Thuc 1 118 2. This was no great *anacronism* of Spartan policy and history, which Demaratos divulges to Xerxes, but a glimpse of the facts obvious to Greek publicists.

13 καταδουλωθείσης λείπεται this observation, put into the mouth of Demaratos, contains the clue to the policy and action of Sparta in the Persian

war, Sparta could not afford in her own interest to allow all Greece outside the Isthmos, and Attica especially, to be conquered and incorporated in the Persian empire (as Makedon and Thraciae had been for a generation). The isolation of the Peloponnesos was an impossibility in view of the naval power of the Persians, or, after that was destroyed, of Athens —if Athens 'medized'.

14. ἀσθενὲς. μῦνον is redundant, and the redundancy is heightened by λείπεται. 16 ἔστι. ἰσθμὸς στενός how completely 'dramatic' the conversation is, this sentence shows, the information is addressed to Xerxes, not to Hdt's audience or readers.

17 πάντων Πελοποννησίων Demaratos might seem to have forgotten Argos, but Πελοποννησίοι is frequently used for the allies of Sparta (e.g. by Thucydides), and Demaratos perhaps is talking the language of the *Pentekontaeteris*. In 9 26 the Arkadian orator carries the unity of the Peloponneses back into heroic times.

236 1. Ἀχαιμένης. though here described he has been introduced before.



καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ  
καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
ὁρῶ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους δς φθονέει τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι  
5 ἢ καὶ προδιδούῃ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι  
τοιούτοιςι χρεώμενοι Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν  
φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῇσι  
παρουσίῃσι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νεναυγήκασι τετρακόσiai, ἄλλας  
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν

236. 4 ὁρέω B, Stein<sup>1</sup> 5 τὰ πρήγματα B 6 χρεώμενοι BF,  
van H 7 δέ α 8 τῶν. τῷ Valckenaer, Holder. ἐκ τῶν Baehr  
ἰπ’ ὧν? Stein<sup>1</sup> τῇσί τοι νέες vel τῇσι τῶν νεῶν? Stein<sup>2</sup> 9 πέρι-  
πλῶειν z, van H.

and that twice c 7 Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφεῷ  
μὲν ἐωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί (Αἰγυπτῶν  
ἐπιτράπει Ξ), and c 97 Ἀχαιμένους ὁ  
Δαρείου· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγει Ἀχαι-  
μένους Ξέρξῃ ἐὼν ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφῆς.  
If there is any name in the Achaemenid  
family that might have been trusted to  
stick in the reader's or listener's memory  
surely it was Achaemenes. These re-  
peated introductions in a written work  
suggest, not so much a provision for  
sectional readings aloud, as a close, and to  
some extent absent-minded, fidelity to  
various sources, for various sections,  
or a composition subject to repeated  
revision, yet not quite fully revised. Cp  
Introduction, § 9

2 παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ was it a  
casual conversation, and not rather a  
council of war? After Artemision-  
Thermopylai the king will have had to  
consider further plans. The conversa-  
tion here proceeds in complete oblivion  
of the naval engagements

5 τρόποισι τοιούτοιςι χρεώμενοι.  
Hdt takes the opportunity of read-  
ing his compatriots a lesson on one of  
their worst vices, φθόνος. Put into the  
mouth of Achaemenes as a criticism  
of Demaratos and his (supposed) plan,  
which was thoroughly sound, the remarks  
on φθόνος are neither logically nor  
psychologically acceptable. The result  
is to stultify Achaemenes. But the  
remarks in themselves are so painfully  
true, the formula below (c 237 ὅτι  
πολιτῆς κτλ) is so just, that Hdt's  
intention can hardly have been to stultify  
Achaemenes. It is perhaps out of the  
abundance of his own heart, and the  
bitterness of his own experience, that  
Hdt. here speaks in the person of

Achaemenes. Strange, that with this  
clear perception of the viciousness of  
envy as practised on earth, he should  
have thought it pious and ethical when  
transferred to heaven, and made a law  
of the divine nature! Cp. c. 10 *supra*,  
Introduction, § 11

8 νεναυγήκασι τετρακόσiai Achai-  
menes remembers the loss of 400 ships,  
recorded above c. 190, as 'the lowest  
estimate', but he has forgotten, or  
ignores, the loss of 200, recorded in 8.  
13, though it has taken place at least  
forty-eight hours before the time of the  
conversation, and he equally ignores the  
losses in the three days' naval engage-  
ments (8 11, 12, 14 ff), which have  
preceded this conversation, on Hdt.'s  
own showing. Either the conversation  
is quite imaginary, or it is misdated.  
It is certainly in part imaginary, and it  
is probably, as presented, a fiction, but  
the fundamental principle laid down by  
Achaemenes, that the fleet and the land  
forces must advance *pari passu*, may be  
rightly associated with his name, and  
certainly represents the Persian plan of  
campaign as pursued and maintained  
from Doriskos to Salamis. The Greeks  
in the suite of Xeixes, and especially  
the European Greeks, and of them  
perhaps Demaratos, may have criticized  
this plan adversely, especially after the  
relative success of the Greek fleet at  
Artemision, and may have suggested  
raiding the Peloponnesos. Perhaps this  
advice was given rather at Phaleron  
than in Trachis, cp 8 67 ff.

9. ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου i.e. τοῦ  
ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ

τριηκοσίας seems an unnecessarily  
large number for a mere *Periplus*: the

Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἀλλῆς δὲ ἐὼν 10  
 ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ  
 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἔσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ  
 ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ δια-  
 σπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσσαι ἐκείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκείνοι σοί. τὰ  
 σεωυτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὖ γνώμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ 15  
 ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον τά τε  
 ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί. ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοί γε αὐτοὶ

10 πελοπόννησον Rd || ἀξιόμαχοι τοι (bis) B, Stein<sup>12</sup> || γίνονται B  
 14 ἔσσαι κείνοισι CPz· ἐκείνοισιν ἔσσαι B (ἐκείνοισε V) 15 τιθέμενον  
 Stein. τιθέμενος || ἔχων PRV ἔχε S, Wesseling, van H 16 ἐπιδέ-  
 χεσθαι B

real answer to the proposal at this stage would have been that these vessels would encounter the unbroken Greek fleet, on its retreat from Artemision, now rendered inevitable by the fall of Thermopylai, even if it is not yet known in the Persian camp to have taken place already! Nothing shows more completely, not merely the independence of Hdt's sources for his various λόγοι, but his failure to relate the stories of Thermopylai and Artemision to one another, than his presentation of this discussion, in this form, at this crisis.

περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον They are a long way from the Peloponnesos, they have just annihilated Leonidas and his men in Thermopylai, and all central Greece is at their feet: this plan, to have any sense at all at this point, must be regarded as a device to break up the Greek fleet, for that purpose a *mise en scène* nearer Salamis would have more verisimilitude. Demaratos has not proposed a *περίπλους* but the seizure of Kythera (an *ἐπίπλους*).

12 ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἔσονται. These words are an absurdity placed here immediately after the fall of Thermopylai, i.e. immediately after the three days' fighting off Artemision. They are dated either too late, or more probably too soon, and would be more appropriate on the eve of the battle of Salamis as an argument against breaking up the fleet at Phaleron. ἀρχήν, 'originally, in the first instance, at all,' might suit a date before any fighting had taken place, which indeed appears to be Hdt's self-contradictory assumption in this passage. Thus ἀρήξει might as well have been perfect as future, in the light of the facts.

15 γνώμην ἔχω the opinion, or proposal, maintained by Achaemenes is a grotesque absurdity, only suited to warfare as conducted on the boards of the comic opera. It amounts to this: there are three points of which a good general takes no account: first, the enemy's line of defence, secondly, the enemy's course of action, thirdly, the enemy's forces and resources. One has known wars conducted, alas! at least in their earlier stages, apparently upon this fashion, but no military authority, except the Achaemenes of Hdt., has ever laid it down as a deliberate maxim. It might then be suspected that Hdt. is dramatically conveying a criticism on the Persian plan of campaign; but if so, it is a grossly unfair one, and indeed refutes itself—for has not Achaemenes just protested against reducing the number of his fleet, as the enemy will then be ἀξιόμαχοι? It is much more probable that this sentence represents some criticisms passed on the Greek plan of campaign. The τὰ σεωυτοῦ τίθεσθαι εὖ might pass as the Peloponnesian formula. Greeks outside the Peloponnesos might think they were describing the Peloponnesian or Spartan notions of strategy and leading in the words of Achaemenes.

16. ἐπιλέγεσθαι, to reflect, consider, ponder. Hdt. also (afterwards?) used the word for 'to read,' l. 124, 2 125.

τῇ τε στήσονται τ. π. cp. c. 175 *supra*

τά τε ποιήσουσι, 'what they are going to do.'

17. ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί, 'and whether they be few or many in number.'

ἐωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ  
 237 παρεὸν τρώμα ἀκεύνται." ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοισίδε. "Ἀχαι-  
 μενες, εὐ τέ μοι δοκέεις λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος  
 δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μέντοι  
 ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅπως οὐκ  
 5 εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον  
 ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος καὶ τῷ ἔοντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν  
 πολιήτῃ εὐ πρήσσοντι φθονέει καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ συγῇ,  
 οὐδ' ἂν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστά  
 οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι·  
 10 σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὐ πρήσσοντι

18 περιφροντίζειν R 19 οὐδὲ ἐν α 20 ἀκεύνται Stein<sup>2</sup>: ἀκέ-  
 σονται Reiske. ἀκέονται Cobet ἀνιεύνται codd. (ἀνεύνται C) 237. 1  
 τοισίδε τοῖσιδε Stein. τοῖσδε 4 ἔσσωται B || ἐκείνῳ RSz 5 εὐνοέει  
 ABCd εὐ νοεῖ R 7 τῇ συγῇ τῇ τε γῇ B: τῇ φύσει Naber. del  
 van H. 8 οὐδ' ἂν οὐδὲν B || τοῦ . . ἀνὴρ del. van H. || τὰ om B  
 9 ἀνήκοι ἀρετῆς B 10 δ' B

18. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως, 'let each attend to his own business—the enemy to his, and we to ours—and all will be well'! Hdt. sometimes gets his ideas a little mixed, cp. c. 152 *supra*. This is a good political but a bad polemical maxim. The use of the simple personal pronoun reflexively is unique in Hdt, but it is eased by the ἐκείνῳ γε αὐτοῖ ἐωυτῶν πέρι just before.

19. οὐδὲν . . ἀκεύνται = ἀκέσσονται (Attic ακοῦνται), Stein, but cp. App. Crit.

τὸ παρεὸν τρώμα, evidently simply the affair at Thermopylai, without reference to affairs at Artemision, cp. c. 233 *supra*.

237. 2. εὐ τε . . καὶ . . a parataxis. Xerxes' commendation is very ill-deserved by the speech of Achaemenes; but that the king endorsed the principle of joint-action and touch between the fleet and the army, the whole history of the campaign demonstrates.

3. ἔλπεται, 'expects,' 'believes' 9. 113

5. τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον: sc. in cc. 3, 101 ff, 209 *supra*. The maintenance of the present λεγόμενα with the adverb πρότερον helps to stamp the conversations as literary fictions (Xerxes would have said λεχθέντα.)

6. τῷ ἔοντι, 'the fact,' which he proceeds to state

πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ: this is

eminently a Greek *gnome*, and no doubt embodies Greek experience and common sense. φθόνος, στάσις, was the price the Greek paid for ἐλευθερία, αὐτονομία, the πόλις (avons-nous changé tout cela?). In 3 80 Hdt spares neither Greek nor barbarian. φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. This political and mortal vice becomes a cosmic or divine principle, as in c. 46 *supra*, or in c. 10, cp. 236 above. 7 τῇ συγῇ "tacite, clam," Baehr, "by his silence," Stein. But cp App Crit.

8. συμβουλευομένον i.e. 'consulting him'; cp c. 234 *supra*, for the middle.

9 εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι "nisi magnos in virtute fecisset progressus," Baehr, cp c. 9 *supra* ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνέκει cp. also c. 13. The ἀρετή here mentioned is plainly not polemical, but political, not courage, nor even justice, so much as benevolence (φιλία).

10 ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ Xerxes, the Persian king, extols the eminently Greek institution of *ξενία*, as a corrective and contrast for the relation of πολιήτης πολιήτῃ. Though the term is used by Hdt of Xerxes' own relatives, cc. 29, 116, yet manifestly the true *ξενία* which is here in view can only obtain between equals, and, properly speaking, between equals who are members of different political associations—tribal, civic, national. Thus, curiously enough, Hdt. in this

ἐστὶ εὐμένεστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλευ-  
σειε τὰ ἄριστα, οὕτω ὦν [περὶ] κακολογίης τῆς ἐς Δημάργ-  
τον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου [πέρι], ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω.”

Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήγε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Λεωνίδεω, 238  
ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεύς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων,  
ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δῆλὰ μοι

11 ἔστι μὲν B 12 κακολογίης πέρι B, van H περὶ om.  
Paris 2933, Krueger secl Stein, Holder 13 ἔχεσθαι B, Holder,  
van H ἀπέχεσθαι A<sup>2</sup> περιέχεσθαι reliqui πέρι, ἔχεσθαι Stein πέρι  
seclusi 238 2 ὥς ὅτι α 3 ἐκέλευε C

passage preaches, as the cure or connective for inner discords, rivalries, jealousies, party struggles, in a society, not a development of virtue, or friendship in the given society—that is too much to expect—but the encouragement of international amities (between individuals).

11 συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβου-  
λεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα, ‘and when you consult him he would give you the best advice,’ i.e. according to his ability, τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι.

12 κακολογίης [πέρι]. Stein’s comparison of 8 77 (ἀντιλογίης χρησμών πέρι) might justify the maintenance of πέρι here *secundo loco*, but his punctuation with a comma after Δημάργτον is questionable (unless another comma be placed after ξείνου) ἐόντα ἐμοὶ ξείνου would have been clearer, and may have been the original reading, but Baehr defends the genitive abs as meaning not *qui* but *quia meus est hospes*.

13 ἔχεσθαι, ‘refrain,’ ‘hold himself off’, and much more forcible with the direct genitive τινὰ is courteous

τοῦ λοιποῦ sc. χρόνου primarily a partitive genitive, serves as a date (cp c. 166 *supra*) or period Madvig, § 66.

238 1 Ξέρξης διεξήγε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν .  
cp διεξιέναι c. 39, διεξήγε c. 40 *supra*. This inspection of the dead comes in here curiously in view of 8 24, in connexion with which this passage must be read. The original draft of Hdt’s work would seem not to have contained the (Athenian) story of the fighting off Artemision at all, or not at all in the form in which we now read it. The previous conversation with Demaratos and Achaemenes completely ignores it. Apparently in the original draft the Hellenes retired from Artemision without, or almost without, striking a blow (this was,

perhaps, as the Asiatic Greeks liked to tell the story), cp Introduction, §§ 9, 10.

2 ἀκηκοὺς. from Demaratos? but surely not first after the finding of the body? (Demaratos may have been sorry it was not the other king’s, cp 6 65 ff.)

3 ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι decapitation was a Persian mode of execution, c. 35 *supra*, 8 118, Xenoph *Anab* 2 6. 1, etc., but this indignity to the corpse of his gallant foeman is truly barbarous—if truly reported. The report is not quite clear was only the head of Leonidas impaled? Baehr understands αὐτόν after ἀνασταυρῶσαι, Blakesley, with strict attention to the actual expression, sets ‘it,’ viz. the head, on a pole. One hopes Demaratos had nothing to say to this. Rawlinson adduces parallel cases the outrages inflicted on the body of Amasis, 3. 16 (by Kambyases), Xenoph *Anab*. 3. 1. 17 (Xenoph log.) καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψηλόμθεα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεὺς γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι, δς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρὶον ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν (that was of course Kyros’s body and hand, as expressly recorded, 1 10. 1. There was more excuse for that, as he was a traitor and rebel). The head and (r) hand of Crassus were cut off by Surenas and sent into Armenia (to Hyrodas), Plutarch, *Crass.* 32.

What became of the body of Leonidas? Was it buried at Thermopylai? cp. c. 225 *supra*, and was it there still in Hdt’s day? Pausanias 3 14 1 says that in Sparta, to the west of the Agora, was a kenotaph to Brasidas, and a little further on (opposite the theatre) memorials of Pausanias and Leonidas: τὰ δὲ ὁστὰ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πανσαγίου κείται. The passage is unfor-

πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ  
 5 ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν  
 ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ  
 οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οὐ μὲν  
 δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίευν τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο [ποιέειν].

239 [Ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε.

4 ἐν A || καὶ καὶ δὴ z δὴ καὶ Wesseling, Palm, Baehr, van H  
 6 ζῶντι CPd<sup>z</sup>, vulg. || ἂν om α 7 ταῦτα om β || παρηγόρησε Pd<sup>z</sup>  
 8 οἱ Stein<sup>1</sup> 9 ποίειν Stein · del. van H 239. 1 ἀνειμι .  
 ἐξέλιπε secl Stein<sup>3</sup> totum caput damn. Krueger, vide comment. infra ||  
 ἐκείσε ἐπ' ἐκείνο BP · γρ ἐκείσε Pmarg || τὸ om. BP<sup>z</sup>, Holder, van H.

tunately corrupt 'Pausanias' is suspicious, and 'forty' years after impossible. Perhaps the bones were brought back to Sparta four years after (476 B.C.) The story in 8.114 does not well agree with this account of the mutilation of the king's corpse.

δὴλὰ μοι: an asyndeton, very unusual in the case of δὴλὰ, which, Stein points out, is combined by Hdt with *νυν, ὦν, δέ, δὴ, τε, ὥστε*, and adds. 'The remark is probably a later addition' *Optima* Cp. Introduction, § 9 The remark will extend down to τὰ πολέμια. But what were the πολλὰ ἄλλα τεκμήρια which Hdt might have adduced of the anger (θυμός, cp cc. 11, 39 *supra*) of Xerxes against the Spartan king and commander? And even this anger is not brought into any rational motivation, e.g. the supposed Spartan outrage on the Persian heralds, c. 133 *supra*.

5 πάντων . . ἀνδρῶν with Λεωνίδῃ.

6 οὐ γὰρ ἂν, 'for, otherwise', here the protasis is easily supplied from the context (εἰ μὴ ἐθυμώθη). παρενόμησε: a barbarous king might break Hellenic law. On a Greek battle-field the corpses would have been returned ὑποσπένδους.

7. μάλιστα . . τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα a more personal formula than the commoner τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. On the point cp c. 181 *supra*: this opinion would hardly have pleased the Spartans.

8. οὐ μὲν δὴ κτλ. This sentence seems originally to have immediately succeeded the word ἀνασταυρῶσαι above, and to have immediately preceded the words οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εἰς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες with which Bk 8 now opens.

9 τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο [ποιέειν]: sc ταῦτα, or ταῦτα πρήσσειν, cp. c. 39

*συμφα*, and the more elegant formula c. 36, τοῖσι προσέειπε αὐτῇ ἡ ἀχαρις τιμῇ. The pluperfect marks the permanent or official character of the ἐπίταξις (rather than that the order had been issued *ad hoc*).

239 The whole chapter is athetized by Krueger on grounds which may be classified as follows —(i) The anecdote of Demaratos is here introduced as though it were part of the main argument, resumed after an episode, or digression, whereas it is this anecdote which is the digression (ii.) The formula for the digression, or rather the return (ἀνειμι . . ἐξέλιπε), is not Herodotean. Hdt's formula is ἀνειμι, or ἐπάνειμι ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον, as c. 133 *supra*, l. 140 (iii.) This episode is badly introduced here, and without excuse in the context. If it had come in anywhere, it should have been in c. 220 *supra*. (iv) The asyndeton ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι is intolerable (v) The argument is badly conducted: (a) the description of the wonderful discovery is postponed to a disquisition on the motives of Demaratos; (b) the motive is asserted to be ill-will, and then left an open question. (vi) The language of the passage is not Greek, and not Herodotean, but late (a) ἐξέλιπε, 'broke off,' ceased, was interrupted, is bad (but cp *infra*); (b) τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς for τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐς Δελφοὺς will not do, (c) τρόπῳ θωμάσις is not a genuine Greek expression; (d) συμμάχεται should be συμμαχεῖ (cp l. 98); (e) ταῦτα for what follows, instead of τῶδε; (f) these are late or rare words—δελτίον, ἐκκνᾶειν (ἀπαξ λ.), ἐπιτήκειν, ὁδοφύλαξ. Van Herwerden regards Krueger's argu-

ἐπίθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν

ments as good, and brackets the whole chapter. Stein glibly says only the first sentence, which is genuine, if the rest of the chapter is genuine. Krueger's arguments are not all sound, nor all equally unsound. (ii) The formula does not mean, 'I resume my story, the thread of my story, where it was interrupted,' or 'broke off', it means, 'I will here return to a place in the story, where on the former occasion (in the former draft) I was guilty of an omission' (or, where the former narrative made an omission). Thus (i) the anecdote is not really introduced here as a resumption of the main thread, or current, of the story, but as a *casus omissus*, as an appendix and supplement. That being so, the formula could not be identical with that for resuming the interrupted current of the main narrative, and the very variation of the formula is itself significant. The appendix has not, indeed, much justification in the context, but it has some. (iii) Stein, who accepts all the chapter except the first (and indispensable) sentence or *junctura* as genuine, points out that the preceding passage has contained a striking evidence of the loyalty of Demaratos to Xerxes and the Persian cause. The forger (it must be admitted), equally with the author, might see to that. (iv) The *Asyndeton* is no more intolerable here than in the preceding chapter (Stein's acceptance of all but the first sentence veily makes the *Asyndeton* intolerable). (v) Bailly conducted arguments are not really un-Herodotean, there are heaps of them in the genuine work. (vi) The arguments from language are overdone. ἐκλείπειν is a word used by Hdt in a variety of senses, in 4. 33 ἐκλείπειν Ἄνδρον is to 'skip' Andros, c 83 *supra* contains a very strange use of the word, Aischyl. *Pers.* 513 πολλὰ δ' ἐκλείπω λέγων, 'I omit a great deal in my report'. (b) a textual emendation would set right. (c) Is it *τρόπος* or *θωμάσιος*, or the combination of the two, which is barbarous? The expression certainly is not happy, or even true, but why not Greek? (d) *συμμάχεσθαι* is used by Xenophon, Plato, etc., but not apparently earlier. (e) *ταῦτα* seems paralleled in c 152 *supra*: ταῦτα λέγεται ὡς ἂν. The *Testimonia* for this chapter do not prove its authenticity, but they date the text a long way back, and the anecdote

still further. Thus Pollux cites 'Herodotos' for words found only in this passage, and so carries it far beyond any extant MS, and perhaps to the Archetype. *Onomast.* 4. 18 Ἡρόδοτος μὲν λέγει δελτίον διπτυχον. 10. 58 Ἡρόδοτος μὲν γὰρ κηρὸν εἰρηκεν (τῇ πινακίδι ἐνόντα). Again, Aeneas Tacticus (c. 350 B.C.) has the anecdote without names, places, or date. *Poliorrh.* 31. 14 ἤδη δὲ τις ἐν δέλτου ξύλῳ γράψας κηρὸν ἐπέτηξε [v.l. ἐπέθηκε] καὶ ἄλλα εἰς τὸν κηρὸν ἐνέγραψεν εἰτα ὅτε ἦλθε παρ' ὃν εἶδε, ἐκκνήσας τὸν κηρὸν καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ὁμοτρόπως ἀντεπέστειλεν. This text is apparently genuine, and possibly based upon the passage here in question, at least Valckenaer was hardly right in thinking Polyamos 2. 20 derived from Aeneas as alternative to Hdt, for the anecdote is there told without the use of a single notable word from this chapter (except the proper names). Δημάρατος, ἐπιστέλλων Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας, ἐς πτόχα ἀκήρωτον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράψας ἐπεκήρωσεν, ἵνα ὡς ἀγραφὸς διὰ τῶν φυλάκων κομισθῇ. If it is too much to say that Polyamos here owes nothing to Hdt, yet Trogius Pompeius had told the anecdote in an alternative version, in which the 'sister of Leonidas' figures unnamed, a 'slave' is introduced as messenger, and the action of Demaratos is ascribed to patriotism. Either Trogius, or his source, is contradicting Hdt, or an interpolator of Hdt is contradicting the *amicitior patriae post fugam, quam regi post beneficia* of the rival source (cp. Justin 2. 10. 12-17). The existence, perhaps pre-existence, of the variant is adverse to the authenticity of the text. In fine, there are four principal counts against the passage.

1. The linguistic or stylistic peculiarities in the chapter throw doubt on its Herodotean authorship. The late words are most suspicious, the accumulation of anomalies betrays a forger.

2. The extremely unfavourable impression of Demaratos conveyed by this chapter conflicts with all the other passages in which he figures in the work of Hdt (but cp 6. 61).

3. This chapter supplies the name of the wife of Leonidas. It appears, in fact, as a combination of c 205 *supra* with 5. 48.

4. The existence of the discrepant version (Trogius), and what may be called

Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφί ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον·  
 5 ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρὸπῳ θωμασίῳ. Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος  
 φυγῶν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ  
 συμμαχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὐνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκά-  
 ζειν εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπεῖτε  
 γὰρ Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν  
 10 Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημήναι,

5	θωμασίῳ Stein <sup>2</sup>	θωμασίῳ C	θωμασίῳ B	θωμασίῳ α, Stein <sup>1</sup> ,
Holder	6 εἶκός B	8 ἐπεῖτε	γὰρ om B	9 ἔδόκεε B
	δὴ om α			11

the 'tentative' version (Aeneas), suggests that this anecdote is a gradual and relatively late fabrication, and cannot be traced back to the sole authority of Hdt in this passage, which might have commanded more general assent from the first.

But if the student of Hdt. should still prefer *errare cum Steinio* (quem ne hic quidem nisi summa cum laude nomino!) he must see, with Stein, in this chapter evidence of at least one retraction of the work by its author. Stein regards this passage, though "irreproachable in contents and language" (*nach Inhalt und Sprache unverdächtig*), as a later addition from the author's hand—with the exception of the first sentence, which he regards as a spurious and therefore still later addition. Here then is a recognition, *quantum valeat*, of the three drafts! Cp. Introduction, § 9.

1 ἀνεμι cp c 137 *supra*, ad f 4 82 ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμεῖς λέξων λόγον, 5 62 ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμεῖς λέξων λόγον

ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγον obviously c 220 *supra*, where there is no explanation given of how the Spartans came to have word of the projected invasion *αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς*. For ὁ λόγος cp c 171 *supra*, 4. 16, 30, 82.

τὸ πρότερον is the most puzzling term in the sentence, but it is equally puzzling whether it came from an interpolator's hand or from the author's. The difficulty would be solved by dropping the article; cp Apparatus Criticus. (Schweighauser held that with the adverb of time, or place, the article made no difference.)

ἐξέλιπε, explained above Com-

mentators, who do not see that the writer is, not returning to the main current of the story, but making good a failure, or omission, in the main story, find a great difficulty in this word.

3 πρῶτοι. what, before the Argives? c 150 *supra*

οὕτω δὴ looks like 'tum primum,' not 'tum demum'; Stein cps 9 106 But is the δὴ genuine?

τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς Stein cps. 2 150 ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη The parallel is not exact for the Syrtis might be said to be ἐς Λιβύην more easily than the Oracle to be ἐς Δελφοὺς (Is this a late usage? even approaching a Latinism? ad (=apud) Delphos?).

4 τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον i.e. in c 220 The pseudo-Herodotus has the courage of his craft, but he had better, perhaps, have said εἶπα, cp c 196 *supra*.

5 θωμασίῳ, 'surprising,' or perhaps 'admirable,' excellent, clever a late meaning.

Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος the patronymic is not necessarily discrediting, but it is here a little surprising, coming so soon after cc 234-37.

6 ἐς Μήδους cp 6 70 (where this phrase is not used).

τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ συμμαχεται i.e. σύμμαχόν ἐστι, perhaps the earlier (and more Herodotean?) phrase, cp Antiphon 5 43 καίτοι τὸ εἶκός σύμμαχόν μοι ἐστιν. τὸ οἶκός c 103 *supra*.

7. πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν cp c 10 *supra* πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, 5. 45 πάρεστι. προσχωρέειν ~ On ταῦτα see above.

9. ἐν Σούσοισι c 3 *supra*

11. εἶχε: ἐδύνατο

ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθείη, ὃ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε·  
 δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα  
 ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας  
 δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα<sup>15</sup>  
 φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρήγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν  
 ὁδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ  
 εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφί, ὥς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ  
 ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν ἐκκνῶν κελεύουσα, καὶ<sup>20</sup>

14 τῷ om α || ἔγραψε β || βασιλέως α 15 ἐπέτεξε SV ἐπέταξε R  
 16 κεινὸν om β || πρᾶγμα S || παρέχει RV παρέχη S παρέχοι <οἱ>  
 Abresch 17 ἐπείτε vel ἐπειδὴ δὲ? van H 19 δὲ om R 20  
 αὐτὸ δ || ἐκκνῶν Naber, van H, Stein<sup>3</sup> κνῶν

12 λαμφθείη· sc ὁ Δημήτριος, 'was  
 fanned out'. The use is remarkable, as  
 the idea of actual 'arrest' is hardly  
 present, and so it goes beyond λαμφθῆναι  
 in 2 89. Perhaps the subject here is  
 really ὁ ἄγγελος, out of ἐξαγγεῖλαι.

ὃ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε the δὲ  
 with resumed subject, cp c. 51. There  
 are three other stories in Hdt of in-  
 genious devices for sending messages  
 (a) the story of Kyros and his hare, 1  
 123, (b) the story of Histaios and 'the  
 man with the tattooed head,' 5 35, (c)  
 the story of the arrow, 8 128. Of the  
 four, (d) the device of Demaratos is the  
 poorest, and the most improbable in  
 itself, and comes in for scant recognition  
 by Aeneas l c in his list of ἐπιστολῶν  
 κρυφαίων πέμψεως.

13 δελτίον κτλ on the language of  
 this sentence see above.

14 ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέως γνώμην· cp  
*supra* Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα. What a possession this tablet  
 (if genuine!) would have been, though  
 only a wooden one (there are older ones  
 in our museums).

15 ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν κηρός is pro-  
 perly beeswax, Pollux 10 58 gives μάλθη  
 and μάλθα, from Kratinos and Aristo-  
 phanes, as the material used on writing-  
 tablets, and the word is found *ap ps* -  
 Demosthenes 42 11 ἐν μάλθῃ γεγραμ-  
 μένην τὴν μαρτυρίαν. Pure wax was  
 probably easier to remove.

16 κεινόν: but would not even the  
 blank tablet have excited suspicion?  
 Would not an innocent message on the  
 wax to another address have been even  
 more secure?

17. ὁδοφυλάκων cp. l 12 *supra*  
 ἀπύκετο τὰ γράμματα? τὸ δελτίον?  
 ὁ ἄγγελος? Was it handed from place  
 to place, or conveyed by one hand all  
 the way? The writer seems acquainted  
 with a postal system (perhaps the  
 Roman?).

οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι· cp εἶχε  
*supra*, συμβαλέσθαι 4 15, 45, 87, etc.  
 But what did they wish to reckon with,  
 calculate, or 'conjecture'? The mean-  
 ing of the empty tablet? Or what they  
 were to do with it? Or who had sent it?

18 ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι a deliberate  
 Herodotean touch, cp 8 35 and cc  
 114, 224 *supra*.

19 Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω  
 δὲ γυνὴ cp c 205 *supra*.

Γοργῶ cp 5 48, 51. She was  
 eight or nine years of age in 498 B.C.  
 How old she was αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ  
 πολέμου τούτου ἐγειρομένου depends on  
 the date fixed therefor; but in 481 B.C.  
 this ingenious lady would still have been  
 but five or six and twenty. Her name  
 is superb a Valkyrie sort of name,  
*Grainnikhilde*, or what not (Pape-Benseler,  
*sub n*), Γοργοῦς ὄμματ' ἔχων II 8 349  
 of Hektor. Notwithstanding its terrible  
 associations the name was not uncommon  
 (cp Theokrit *Id* 15, in quite humble  
 circumstances), but the daughter of  
 Kleomenes is the first mortal of the  
 name known to story. She did not lose  
 her head, but alas! her hero lost his  
 (c 238 *supra*).

20 ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, 'of  
 her own accord devised and made a  
 suggestion' αὐτῇ is curious, and so is  
 the vagueness of the object for ἐπιφρα-